



PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

School of culture, History and Language
College of Asia and the Pacific
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Out of print books in pdf format

This PDF document may be copied, printed and stored for use in libraries and for personal use. It may not be reproduced for sale or distribution.

Pacific Linguistics Home Page: <http://www.pacling.com>

A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary



Professor Harry Shorto
(1919-1995)

Main editor: Paul Sidwell
Assisting editors: Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer

579 A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary

Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995)

edited by Paul Sidwell, Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer

A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary is the magnum opus of Harry Shorto (1919-1995), formerly Professor of Mon-Khmer Studies in the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, until his retirement in 1984. He is the author of two standard reference works, *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* (1962) and *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971) des. The MKCD is Shorto's grand synthesis of seventy years of historical and comparative research on the Mon-Khmer languages.

Meant to be published in the early 1980s, Shorto's manuscript was rediscovered by his daughter Anna, and has been carefully edited in line with the author's intentions. The MKCD presents 2,246 etymologies with almost 30,000 lexical citations; even today, it is the most extensive analysis of Mon-Khmer to appear since Wilhelm Schmidt laid the foundations of comparative Mon-Khmer exactly 100 years ago with the *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen* (1905) and *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker* (1906).

A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary includes numerous Munda, Austronesian, Thai, Burmese and Chinese lexical comparisons. It is an incomparable resource for studying Southeast Asia's rich legacy of language contact, and for investigating distant genetic relations with its largest, oldest language family. Clearly establishing the terms of reference for future discussion of Mon-Khmer etymology, Shorto's MKCD joins such defining works as Emeneau and Burrow's *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961) and Turner's *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (1966-85) in the canon of 20th century comparative linguistics.

2006 ISBN 0858835703 643 pp

*A Mon-Khmer
comparative dictionary*

Pacific Linguistics 579

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in grammars and linguistic descriptions, dictionaries and other materials on languages of the Pacific, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, southeast and south Asia, and Australia.

Pacific Linguistics, established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund, is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world. Publications are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise, who are usually not members of the editorial board.

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Bowden, Malcolm Ross and Darrell Tryon (Managing Editors),
I Wayan Arka, David Nash, Andrew Pawley, Paul Sidwell, Jane Simpson

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD:

Karen Adams, *Arizona State University*
Alexander Adelaar, *University of Melbourne*
Peter Austin, *School of Oriental and African Studies*

Byron Bender, *University of Hawai'i*
Walter Bisang, *Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*

Robert Blust, *University of Hawai'i*
David Bradley, *La Trobe University*
Lyle Campbell, *University of Utah*
James Collins, *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*

Bernard Comrie, *Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology*
Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, *Universitas Atma Jaya*

Matthew Dryer, *State University of New York at Buffalo*

Jerold A. Edmondson, *University of Texas at Arlington*

Nicholas Evans, *University of Melbourne*

Margaret Florey, *Monash University*

William Foley, *University of Sydney*

Karl Franklin, *Summer Institute of Linguistics*

Charles Grimes, *Universitas Kristen Artha Wacana Kupang*

Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

Lillian Huang, *National Taiwan Normal University*

Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, *Universitas Atma Jaya*

Marian Klammer, *Universiteit Leiden*

Harold Koch, *The Australian National University*

Frantisek Lichtenberk, *University of Auckland*

John Lynch, *University of the South Pacific*

Patrick McConvell, *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*

William McGregor, *Aarhus Universitet*

Ulrike Mosel, *Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*

Claire Moyse-Faurie, *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*

Bernd Nothofer, *Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*

Ger Reesink, *Universiteit Leiden*

Lawrence Reid, *University of Hawai'i*

Jean-Claude Rivierre, *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*

Melenaite Taumoeofolau, *University of Auckland*

Tasaku Tsunoda, *University of Tokyo*

John Wolff, *Cornell University*

Elizabeth Zeitoun, *Academica Sinica*

A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary

Harry Shorto (1919-1995)

Main editor: Paul Sidwell

Assisting editors: Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer



Pacific Linguistics

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

The Australian National University

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

Copyright in this edition is vested with Pacific Linguistics

First published 2006

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Shorto, H. L.
A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary.

Bibliography.
Includes index.
ISBN 0 85883 570 3.

1. Mon-Khmer languages - Dictionaries. 2. Mon-Khmer languages - Etymology. 3. Mon-Khmer languages - Comparison.
4. Asia, Southeastern - Languages - Dictionaries. I. Sidwell, Paul J. II. Cooper, Doug. III. Bauer, Christian. IV. Australian National University. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Pacific Linguistics. V. Title.

495.93

Front cover: glazed plaque no. 103 on the exterior basement, Eastern side, of the Ananda pagoda at Pagán, ca. 1105, Dewatāw series. The inscription in Old Mon reads: *dewatāw ma rap bhaddapīdh* 'gods holding thrones (or tables ?)'. (Illustration courtesy of Christian Bauer © 2001.)

The editors wish to express their gratitude to Anna Shorto, without whose faith and perseverance this publication would not have come to be.

Pacific Linguistics gratefully acknowledges the support of CRCL Inc. in funding this project.

Typeset by Paul Sidwell
Cover design by Addcolour Digital Pty Ltd
Printed and bound by Addcolour Digital Pty Ltd, Fyshwick, Canberra

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Some Background Notes</i>	xxvi
<i>The Future of the MKCD</i>	xxxi
<i>References</i>	xxxv
<i>Notes on the Dictionary Entries</i>	xliii
<i>Symbols & Abbreviations</i>	xliv
Part 1 Vocalism	1
Part 2 Consonantism	36
Part 3 Comparative Dictionary	69
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons	532
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons	559
Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3 and Appendices A, B	572
Appendix D The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia	588
Appendix E In Defense of Austric	599

Preface

Paul Sidwell

Australian National University

It gives me great personal and professional satisfaction to join my colleagues Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer in presenting the long-awaited *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* (MKCD) by the late Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995).¹

The MKCD will occupy an important place in the literature. Certainly, it is indelibly marked by its era: the Austric hypothesis was still in play, and various branch alignments, particularly among the Katuic and Bahnaric languages, had not yet been fully worked out. But the MKCD also represents the state of the art today: such is the void we confront that it stands, *sui generis*, as the 20th century's only published attempt at a broad comparative analysis of the full Mon-Khmer language family.

The MKCD was originally meant to see print at the end of the 1970s. However, Shorto decided to further revise his manuscript, taking new sources of data into account, and time and health eventually failed him. Publication as originally intended would and should have been a fitting climax to Shorto's career, but it has fallen to a new generation to bring his final work to press.

We do so with the conviction that the contribution of Shorto's MKCD is as relevant now as it would unquestionably have been twenty-five years ago. Then, the MKCD would have crystallised the state of the art in comparative-historical Mon-Khmer linguistics. Today, it will reinvigorate the field of comparative linguistics in Southeast Asia, providing an extensive, integrated framework for building, criticising, and contextualizing our ongoing research efforts.

It is inevitable that a quarter-century of new field research will require extensions to, and adjustments in, Shorto's technical analysis. Nevertheless, the MKCD will make striking contributions to comparative Mon-Khmer studies, kick-start the etymological analysis of modern Mon-Khmer languages like Vietnamese and Khmer, and have a marked impact on comparative and historical linguistics for the other Southeast Asian language families, including Austronesian (especially the Cham language), Tai-Kadai (particularly Thai and Lao), Sino-Tibetan (especially Burmese), and Hmong-Mien.

¹ In addition to the tremendous assistance I received from Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Bernard Comrie and the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig) for financial support received for this and related projects during 2005 and 2006. I would also like to thank Anna Shorto for her hospitality and generosity in helping to make this publication possible. A number of scholars also offered useful advice: Bob Blust, Anthony Grant, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Justin Watkins.

To help the reader appreciate both the historical position and present-day value of the *MKCD*, an extended discussion of the work follows. It begins with a description of the editorial choices and challenges encountered in bringing the manuscript to publication. A survey of Mon-Khmer linguistics in the past century comes next, as a preliminary to the critical assessment of the *MKCD* that forms the main part of this *Preface*. Finally, Christian Bauer's *Background Notes* discuss the long genesis of Shorto's work, and Doug Cooper's *Future of the MKCD* describes our plans for incorporating the *MKCD* into an ongoing *Mon-Khmer Languages Project*.

The Road to Publication

The *MKCD* manuscript was first brought to my attention by Anna Shorto, daughter of the late Professor, in mid-2003. Over the course of several months we established an understanding about the disposition of the *MKCD* and of related unpublished notes in Anna's possession. It was her father's wish that the complete collection should appear in print, a view that I firmly shared and willingly agreed to work toward.

The simplest approach would have been to scan the manuscript pages and distribute the image files electronically. But while this would have been quick and inexpensive, it would have merely preserved Shorto's manuscript as an historical artifact, obscuring its treasure trove of data, analysis, and commentary, including some 2,246 etyma, and almost 30,000 citations drawn from nearly 250 languages.

Making the data within the manuscript directly available to researchers via an online database was a far more desirable alternative. I had already been discussing plans for a Mon-Khmer etymological database with colleagues, and had begun to cooperate with computer scientist Doug Cooper (*Center for Research in Computational Linguistics*) in making my own Katuic and Bahnaric resources Web-accessible.

Cooper suggested that we produce an electronic text that closely followed Shorto's manuscript in order to publish a typeset, printed volume as expeditiously as possible, and then convert this same text into the XML-tagged format needed to build an online database, and allow more extensive data mining in the longer term. We resolved to proceed on that basis, and began to contact Mon-Khmer specialists seeking support for the combined text-and-database project.

To our delight, we discovered that Christian Bauer (*Humboldt University*), who had been Shorto's student while the manuscript was being developed, had independently visited Anna Shorto, making copies of the papers, and taking preliminary steps toward having a facsimile edition of *MKCD* published in Europe. This included typing the drafts of Parts 1 and 2, and exchanging correspondence with a potential publisher.

Bauer, Cooper and I readily agreed to work together (from Berlin, Bangkok, and Canberra, respectively). This has been a truly collaborative effort, with Sidwell taking charge of reconstructing Shorto's text as Main Editor, Cooper accepting responsibility for digitization, data mining, and ongoing electronic publication, and Bauer (who had worked under Shorto in the critical period 1977–1982, with yearly visits thereafter) providing an essential link in clarifying the author's intentions and final thoughts.

Editing the Manuscript

The text presented here is derived from a combination of Shorto's drafts, notes, and unpublished papers, carefully edited and joined to construct a work that is coherent and faithful to the author's intentions.

Shorto's original plan called for three main sections. These were Part 1: *Vocalism*, Part 2: *Consonantism*, and Part 3: *Comparative Dictionary*, as well as various indexes and appendices. Parts 1 and 2 posed significant editorial challenges; in particular, although Part 3 had gone through two complete drafts, the extant manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 were written in support of the first draft of the comparative dictionary, and had not been updated by the author to reflect his revisions. Furthermore both manuscripts were received incomplete, with an unknown number of end pages missing.

Part 3, which we received as a 600-page typed text, is the largest, most important, and most completely realised section. As noted, this was actually a second draft (the first had been compiled from file cards, now lost) that was essentially completed when Bauer arrived at SOAS to write his dissertation under Shorto in 1977.

Shorto continued to update this draft, however, including data from newly available language sources, and pencilling numerous notes in the margin. As he did not manage to retype the augmented text, we eventually integrated the greater part of these marginalia in the course of typesetting and proofing of the text for publication.

Part 3 also included two appendices: *A—Stiengan* (South Bahnaric) and *B—Northern Mon-Khmer* (Palaungic). These contain several hundred lexical comparisons that are particular to the respective sub-groups. The text of Part 3 includes many references to entries in these appendices, and we can expect that more extensive comparative work will see many of them integrated into a revised Proto-Mon-Khmer reconstruction.

Part 1

Part 1 concerns Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism. Shorto clearly intended to explicate this aspect of the reconstruction with an extensively detailed text that would run to more than one hundred pages. Unfortunately, this was never finished; Shorto left us an early but complete paper on proto-vocalism, along with a partial draft of Part 1 of the *MKCD*.

Part 1 as it appears now in print is a hybrid of these two articles, which are discussed in more detail below. First, the detailed justification of Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism found in the early, complete paper, including tables showing the Mon : Khmer vowel correspondences and the evolution of Old Mon vocalism, was integrated into the unfinished draft of Part 1. Then, the merged text was edited to reconcile the forms and numbering of reconstructions with those seen in Part 3 (the comparative dictionary). Part 1 ends where the manuscript breaks off.

Shorto's paper on proto-vocalism was written in the late 1960s, long before the first draft of the comparative dictionary was finished. Its main section contains some 600 etymologies that illustrate phonological correspondences using Mon and Khmer as criterion languages, plus supporting comparisons from other languages drawn from the missing card files.

This paper is particularly important from the programmatic perspective. In tabulating vowel correspondences between Mon and Khmer, Shorto suggests that there were various vowel alternations (or 'alternances' as he calls them) within Proto-Mon-Khmer. This principle let Shorto separate a core of regular correspondences from a large

set of alternances, and appears to be his answer to a problem mentioned by various writers (e.g. Thomas 1964, Blood 1966): the apparent great confusion of correspondences that had resisted systematisation and blocked the reconstruction of proto-vocalism.

The surviving partial draft of *MKCD* Part 1 is quite different. It begins with a short introduction to the history and state of the art of Mon-Khmer comparative studies. Then, with little preparatory justification, it launches directly into a table of proto-vocalism, giving the list of reconstructed phonemes, and supporting examples grouped according to the class of vowels.

Proto-Mon-Khmer word-final consonants were also meant to be dealt with in Part 1, as is made clear by a mention in the beginning of Part 2. However, the section is absent from the surviving text, which has only a truncated discussion of rhymes with finals **-ʔ* and **-h*.

Shorto raises several issues concerning these finals. First, a number of etymologies appear to show alternances between finals **-ʔ* and **-h*, the function and distribution of which are not understood. Second, Shorto reconstructs final clusters of the type **-Cʔ* and **-Ch* in some etyma on the basis of their reflexes in Vietnamese and Mường. Now, it is known (since Haudricourt 1952) that certain Vietnamese tones correlate with final stops and fricatives in other Mon-Khmer languages. The occurrence of these tones where the rhyme is already closed by a continuant implies the reconstruction of an additional final segment in Shorto's analysis. Third, in a small number of entries Shorto also presents a final cluster with **-s*, which he posited as an instrumental suffix.

Finally, it is apparent that Shorto made a small alteration to his proto-vocalism at the time of the second major draft: an additional vowel **uə* is posited in a small number of cases, although always bracketed.

Part 2

Part 2 comes to us in a more complete form, missing only a final few pages. It includes a table of initial consonant correspondences for twenty Mon-Khmer languages, and a systematic explanation of the reconstruction of initial clusters. Although the etymological illustration of cluster reconstructions is truncated, this does not seriously affect the substance of the discussion.

But although Part 2 is nearly complete, the table of consonant correspondences and reconstructions was prepared for the first draft of the comparative dictionary. The second and final draft incorporates an important change in the reconstruction that is not reflected in that table. Examining the proto-forms in Part 3, one will notice that, in addition to proto-phonemes **t*, **d* and **n*, Shorto reconstructs forms with **t₁*, **t₂*, **d₁*, **d₂*, **n₁* and **n₂* in non-final positions.

We puzzled over these for some time until, during a visit in late 2005, I fortuitously stumbled upon an unpublished manuscript still in Anna Shorto's possession. In this paper, titled "On Mon-Khmer inter-branch relationships," Shorto discusses the phonological correlates of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, and writes:

"The whole of this group is characterized by a shift of **t* in initial position in structures **CCVC* (in some cases) to a sibilant, *prima facie* via an affricate stage. This minor shift is interesting because it apparently extends to Munda. Its incidence may be conditioned by the lost (in Mon-Khmer) *V₁* of Proto-Austroasiatic **CVCVC*, or it may entail reconstructing an additional proto-phoneme (**t₁*,) **t₂*. Thus we find

‘taro’, Khm. **tra:v**, Ste **traw**; RL **ˈsəroʔ**, Khs. *shriew*, Sora **'saro:-gai-ən**, Mundari **sāru**, Santali **saru**;
 ‘sun, day’, Old Mon *they*, Khm. **thɲay**; KY **səŋiʔ**, RL **ˈsəŋiʔ**, Khs. **sngi**, Mundari **siŋgi**.

Contrast (a bad example since it uses infixes, but with a Munda cognate) ‘new’, Khm. **thmɲy** ~ Middle Mon *t/a/mi*, RL **ˈt/ən/meʔ**, Khs. *th/ym/mai*, Kharia **'t/ən/me**.

A parallel shift of ***d** to a palatal is attested at least for Khmuic and Palaungic, and one of ***n** > **l** at C₂ in structures *CCVC certainly for these languages and possibly for Khasi. A reconstruction of two ***t**’s, two ***d**’s and two ***n**’s would of course—for those who favour the Austric hypothesis—bring PAA closer to Proto-Austronesian.”

Shorto was clearly referring to himself as a supporter of the Austric hypothesis, so his motivation for altering the consonant reconstruction between the first and second drafts is made plain. However, only ***t**₂, ***d**₂ and ***n**₂ are reconstructed to account for the sibilant and lateral reflexes in Northern Mon-Khmer. A second set, consisting of ***t**₁, ***d**₁ and ***n**₁, is not dealt with in Part 2. Yet our text of the *MKCD* distinguishes between the three notational sets ***t**, ***d**, ***n** : ***t**₁, ***d**₁ ***n**₁ : ***t**₂, ***d**₂, ***n**₂. At this time, we suggest that the unmarked notation indicates that the reconstruction is intentionally underdetermined in order to avoid a clumsy notation such as ***t**_{1/2}.

Aside from this point, the major editorial issue for Part 2 was synchronizing the form and numbering of examples with Part 3. There were also some issues concerning language (sub)branch names and the treatment of marginal notes.

The first naming issue relates to Shorto’s treatment of Bahnaric, which can now readily be seen as having been based on the limited data available in the 1960s. In editing *MKCD*, we have globally replaced the terms Stiengan and Bahnaran throughout with the more recognizable South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric. But aside from this change in terminology, Shorto’s outdated classification has not been altered. We discuss the issue further below.

The second naming issue involves the Katuic branch, which was also poorly understood in the 1960s. For reasons discussed below, Kuy (then thought to be closely related to Khmer) was originally Shorto’s primary Katuic representative. His later notes and marginalia make it clear that as data on lesser-known Katuic languages came into his possession in the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto recognized and began to correct his error. In editing Parts 2 and 3, we have replaced ‘Kuy’ with ‘Katuic’ where and whenever it is clear that Shorto intended to designate this branch of Mon-Khmer.

Finally, as new language data became available throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto never ceased adding marginal notes and alterations. We have integrated these marginalia into the text, excepting those cases where Shorto’s pencilled notes were not legible enough to allow accurate readings.

Part 3

The comparative dictionary of Part 3 arrived in our hands as a carefully typed and painstakingly corrected manuscript.

Preparing Part 3 for publication was a massive but relatively straightforward task. All of Shorto’s typographic corrections were applied, and his extensive marginal notes were incorporated into the text. His layout was slightly modified in the interests of

readability. Usually, this entailed breaking the entries into their constituent sections, and adding labels as necessary. In addition, Shorto's phonetic transcriptions of Thai references were replaced by more commonly used Haas-style equivalents.

One other large-scale modification was made in the interests of making the text more accessible. Shorto made extensive use of abbreviations for language names, text sources and semantic values. This made sense as a space and labour-saving device in the days when hot metal type was being set, but in the computer age it serves little purpose, and can lead to unintentional obscurity in the text: indeed, quite some effort was required to identify many of his sources. Wherever practical we have spelled out abbreviated forms.

MK Comparative Linguistics in the 20th Century

Before we can consider the content and contribution of Shorto's *MKCD*, it is necessary to survey the larger stage of Mon-Khmer research.

The *MKCD* forms a link in a chain that reaches back to the foundational works of the German comparativist and ethnologist Pater Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), who pioneered the application of neo-grammarian principles in investigating language families beyond Indo-European.

With the European colonisation of Southeast Asia, scholars began to have access to increasingly reliable lexical data for many languages of the region: colonial authorities carried out linguistic surveys, missionaries generated lexicons and bible translations, and dictionaries of Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese became available. Schmidt drew upon these sources to establish the field of comparative Mon-Khmer studies with a series of four major publications at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901, 1904, 1905, 1906).

The first (1901) examined the Aslian languages of Malaya (Senoï and Sömang specifically), demonstrating that they are genetically part of the Mon-Khmer family. This contrasted with Skeat and Blagden (1906), who in their contemporaneous study concluded that there was merely a Mon-Khmer stratum among languages of the peninsula.

Schmidt (1904) next discussed Northern Mon-Khmer languages, dealing with Khasi and Palaungic only, as he lacked Khmuic data. A third paper, Schmidt 1905 (usually referred to as the *Grundzüge* [roughly, 'Foundations'] from the title) was a systematic treatment of Mon, Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar. He treated this group as forming a core Mon-Khmer family, to which other languages could be compared and related within a wider Austroasiatic or Austric framework.

The *Grundzüge* is an extensive attempt to analyse the historical phonology of the Mon-Khmer family. Schmidt's method relied upon interpreting the Indic-based scripts used to write Mon and Khmer. It assumed that the spellings faithfully recorded phonetic values when and where those scripts were adopted (roughly mid-first Millennium).

For Bahnar and Stieng he utilised lexicons that had been compiled in Vietnam by Dourisbourne (1889) and Azémar (1886). The data from these languages revealed relatively conservative, unrestructured phonologies, largely confirming the interpretations of Written Mon and Khmer.

By choosing to work mainly with written languages Schmidt followed established methods, as the comparative investigation of Indo-European had proceeded principally by using Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Although Schmidt did err to some extent by placing

too much importance on the etymologically Indic phonetic values of the spellings, he established basic patterns for reconstructing proto-consonantism that endure to this day.

Schmidt's treatment of proto-vocalism was less successful. His failure to understand differences in the inherent vowels of the Mon and Khmer scripts led him to ignore important length and quality distinctions among the low central and back vowels. The apparent confusion of vowel correspondences created such difficulty for Schmidt that he was only able to posit phonetic equations, and not proper vowel reconstructions.

On the other hand Schmidt's morphological analyses, which related affixes to various phonetic changes, and established the importance of the patterning of segmental collocations within the rhyme, were brilliantly insightful.

Thus the *Grundzüge*, with more than 900 Mon-Khmer lexical comparisons, reconstruction of proto-consonantism, and morphological analyses, laid the foundation for all subsequent comparative work. Astonishingly, given the absence of any comparably extensive synthesis later in the 20th century the *Grundzüge* was not exceeded (in print) until the appearance of the present *MKCD* 100 years later.

Schmidt's ultimate work in this series was his (1906) attempt to link Mon-Khmer and Austronesian in a grand Austric macro-family. This bold hypothesis remains controversial. Although it faces serious difficulties in the light of Shutler and Marck's (1975) now generally accepted formulation of a Formosan homeland for Austronesian,² it still competes with other models of deep genetic relationship among the various language families of Asia (see Sagart et al. 2005 for recent papers and discussion). Schmidt's evidence was both lexical (more than 200 comparisons) and morphological (including parallels in prefixes and infixes), and found a small and enthusiastic following, including Shorto, and nowadays notably Laurence Reid (e.g. 1994, 1996, 2005).

Contemporary with Schmidt was Skeat and Blagden's (1906) massive comparative Aslian lexicon. It was richly annotated with wider Mon-Khmer comparisons, and serves as a useful complement to Schmidt's work. However, Skeat and Blagden did not use their lexical materials within the framework of comparative reconstruction, instead, seeing the presence or absence of etyma in various languages as evidence of ancient migrations and population mixing. These ultimately contributed to unhelpful notions about language classification, and comparative Aslian studies languished for another 70 years.

Other resources that became available during this highly productive period include the ongoing publication of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, especially the survey of Mon, Khmer, Siamese, and Chinese families (Grierson 1903). However, despite ever-increasing access to data, and a solid foundation of comparative analysis, comparative Mon-Khmer studies soon fell into a prolonged lull, overwhelmed by what appeared to be a series of intractable problems.

Vietnamese was a striking example. Some scholars (e.g. Maspero 1912) sought to explain its tonal nature by invoking Thai and/or Chinese ancestry; as late as 1942 Sebeok cast doubts on its relation to various Mon-Khmer languages. Still, a solid line of inquiry based on the epigraphic tradition continued at SOAS (London) and the French EFEO.

² That paper was written specifically to refute Dyen's (1965) classification that suggested a Micronesian homeland for Austronesian. By implication it also refuted the idea, expressed by Shorto from time to time, of an Indo-Chinese homeland, which would have reconciled more easily with the Austric hypothesis.

The key transitional figures were Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), and Gordon Luce (1889-1979). Working at SOAS well into the 20th century, Blagden developed considerable interest in Mon, and had prepared a preliminary etymological dictionary on index cards by 1928. Never completed, Blagden's notes informed various research publications and four fascicles and a plates volume of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* (between 1919 and 1936), and were eventually passed on to Luce.

An indefatigable field worker, Luce compiled thousands of pages of notes and wordlists for the languages of Burma.³ Luce clearly meant to carry through Blagden's dream of a Mon etymological dictionary. He expanded and corrected Blagden's corpus of transcribed Mon texts, developed a set of lexical comparisons, and also improved the morphological analyses of the language(s). Luce published extensively, including the three-volume *Old Burma-Early Pagan* (1969-70), and the posthumously published two-volume Paris lectures *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma* (1985), but included only comparative lists rather than reconstructions.

The mid-20th Century saw a rebirth of interest in comparative Mon-Khmer studies. Haudricourt (1952, 1953) breathed new life into the field with his proof that Vietnamese tones could be explained by direct reference to Mon-Khmer etymology, rather than to Thai or Chinese. This was a powerful demonstration of the insights into phonology and proto-history that comparative investigation of Mon-Khmer languages could offer, and came as a new wave of field data began to emerge, particularly from Indo-China.

1959 was an especially good year, bringing the publication of the first volume of the huge multi-dialectal Bahnar dictionary of Guilleminet, as well as Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow's *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*.

Pinnow's understated title suggests a tentative historical phonology of Kharia (a Munda language of India), but his 514 pages of dense text were a first attempt at an Austroasiatic etymological dictionary, with more than 550 etyma and a representative set of languages. Issues of Kharian phonological evolution were handled in the context of a preliminary Proto-Munda and Proto-Austroasiatic reconstruction: more than 400 cognate sets supported the proto-vocalism, and more than 500 supported the consonantism.

Pinnow made extensive Mon-Khmer comparisons, with the implication that regular Munda : Mon-Khmer correspondences would reliably establish etyma as ancient within the Mon-Khmer family, even if they are now apparently isolated within particular Mon-Khmer branches. For an example close at hand, see #182 in this volume: Kuy (Katuic) **bru**: 'hill' is related to Kharia **'biru** 'hill', demonstrating the root at both Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic levels. But Pinnow's results were hampered by a lack of data, and by problems of interpreting sources. His book's ultimate impact on the field was not nearly commensurate with the effort that had gone into it.

As the 1960s progressed Mon-Khmer research positively blossomed. A generation of young and mostly American scholars traveled to Indo-China, collecting data on many previously little-known and undocumented languages, and preparing various sub-group-level reconstructions. These include Proto-Mnong (Blood 1966), Proto-East-Katuic (Thomas 1967), Proto-Viet-Mường (Barker 1963, Barker and Barker 1970), Proto-Jeh-Halang (Thomas and Smith 1967), and Proto-North Bahnaric (Smith 1972).

³ The Luce Papers are now held in the manuscripts collection of the Australian National Library. The Mon-Khmer and Sino-Tibetan lexical materials are being scanned by CRCL, and will be published on-line in 2007 at <http://archives.sealang.net/luce>.

1964 also saw the founding of the journal *Mon-Khmer Studies* in Saigon; it is today based at Mahidol University, Thailand. European interest was rekindled at this time as well. For example Michel Ferlus (CNRS, France) began his decades-long commitment to collecting data on various languages of Laos and Vietnam, and Scandinavian scholars, including the Kammu specialist Kristina Lindell, became increasingly active.

The world-wide interest in Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic linguistics stimulated a major international conference on comparative Austroasiatic at the University of Hawai'i in 1973; a substantial two-volume set of proceedings was published in 1976 (Jenner et al.). A second Austroasiatic conference was held at Mysore (India) in 1976.

Throughout this period, Harry Shorto was in the thick of things as both author and editor. Taking up the torch from Blagden and Luce after accepting a lectureship at SOAS in 1948, Shorto first published his *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* (1962). He followed this up with *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971), which included extensive etymological commentary, reflecting progress that would lead to the first draft of the *MKCD* (the genesis and history of these books is detailed in Bauer's article, below).

As his work on the *MKCD* progressed, Shorto actively sought out scholarly discussion and debate. He presented his reconstruction of Mon-Khmer proto-vocalism to the Hawai'i comparative Austroasiatic conference, and defended the Austric hypothesis at a symposium in Toronto in 1976. In both cases he made extensive reference to his draft *MKCD* (the Toronto paper is reproduced as Appendix E).

But the 1970s also marked a turning point. With the political transformation of Indo-China attentions were refocused elsewhere. As Cold War funding dried up, the field began to dissipate as researchers turned to other languages and interests. Nevertheless, a core of highly motivated scholars continued their efforts.

Gérard Diffloth was the most notable member of this group. Beginning with Aslian, he produced a reconstruction of Proto-Semai in 1977. Diffloth then ambitiously widened his research program, boldly proposing to systematically work through each Mon-Khmer sub-group, and eventually arrive at a comprehensive Mon-Khmer database and reconstruction. He produced some very important early results, which include book-length reconstructions of Proto-Waic (1980) and Proto-Monic (1984), and a substantial paper on Proto-Katuic (1982). Since then, however, Diffloth has concentrated more on data collection and analysis, choosing to delay the release of his results.

Independently of Diffloth, Ferlus (1983) produced his own Proto-Monic reconstruction. He also began working on the history of the Vietic languages, and has produced an extensive body of work on the topic (e.g. 1982, 1991, 1992a, 1997, 2001 etc.). Ferlus has also offered a reconstruction of the history of Khmer (1992b).

From the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, while important descriptive work on Mon-Khmer languages was pursued by various researchers, the output of comparative studies generally declined, e.g. the Proto-Plang of Paulsen (1989), Proto-South Bahnaric of Efimov (1990) and Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996). But since the year 2000—as we approach the centenary of Schmidt's foundational efforts—a new generation of comparative studies has begun to appear, producing extensive work on Bahnaric (Sidwell 2000, Sidwell and Jacq 2003) and Katuic (Thongkum 2000, Sidwell 2005).

In conclusion, an overall evaluation of the progress of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics in the 20th century reveals periodic ebb and flow. The field advanced in fits and starts through Pinnow's attempted consolidation in 1959, then lost focus when no

similar effort was completed in the 1970s or 1980s. Although branch level comparative studies continued to be pursued, these were conducted without reference to any published, overarching analysis of Mon-Khmer. Predictably, results were mixed.

For example, Diffloth's comparative analyses of Waic (1980) and Monic (1984) were of the highest analytical standards. The years he had invested in compiling notes for a comparative dictionary and preliminary PMK reconstruction—never published, although substantial fragments of early drafts of these works can be inspected at the Cornell University Library manuscript archives—clearly informed Diffloth's consideration of branch-level hypotheses.

In contrast, the South Bahnaric reconstruction of Efimov (1990) and the Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996) both offered highly defective results. Their analyses were conducted in isolation from the broader Mon-Khmer context: borrowings were not reliably distinguished from inherited forms because there was no reference to the distribution of etyma across the family, and proposed sound laws were formulated without consideration of how they might be reconciled with the deeper historical foundations of Mon-Khmer languages.

In this light, the failure of Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* to have been published was a terrible loss for the field. As we shall discuss below, it is inevitable that some of Shorto's analysis must be extended or discarded; but no amount of re-evaluation is likely to obscure the tremendous amount of scholarship that forms the body of the *MKCD*.

Assessing Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary*

We can categorize Shorto's results as follows:

- Phonological reconstruction: PMK vowels and consonants, and the sound laws that relate these to daughter forms.
- Lexical reconstruction: identification of lexical cognates, specification of appropriate levels for reconstruction, and (after relating these to the proposed sound laws) the construction of proto-lexemes.
- Specification of internal branching and classification.
- External comparison: identification of Munda and Austronesian parallels, and documentation of forms influencing (or influenced by) Thai, Lao, Chinese, Burmese and others.

An exhaustive critique of the *MKCD* would be a major project in itself; it would significantly delay publication, yet probably be less useful than the collection of specialized articles that publication is likely to inspire. I offer instead a brief summary review, touching upon those issues which I consider most important, and which are most likely to require reconsideration.

In doing so, I note that our greatest difficulty with the *MKCD* is the incomplete textual justification for its results, due to the unfortunate demise of the author before he was able to complete, present and defend his work. Nevertheless, while we gladly adopt a generous attitude in assessing the work of a man who is no longer able to defend and explain his magnum opus, we must, still, cast a heartlessly impartial light in raising questions that must be answered.

Phonological reconstruction: vocalism

We are at an advantage insofar as Shorto (1976c) had already begun to explain his reconstruction of the proto-vocalism, with only a very minor modification admitted sometime after that. The proto-vowel inventory applied in the *MKCD* is tabulated as follows:

* /	i		u	aa		uu
	e	ə	o	ee	əə	oo
		a	ɔ		aa	ɔɔ
				iə	[uə]	uə
				ai		/

The principal justification for this reconstruction (excepting the bracketed item) is provided in Table 1 of Part 1. The system is strictly Mon-Khmer in the sense that it is derived exclusively by comparison of those two languages. The resulting reconstruction is then generalised to the family as a whole.

This is an interesting approach for Shorto to have taken. It contrasts utterly with his treatment of the proto-consonantism, where correspondences were compiled for criterion languages that were (within the available data) broadly representative of the whole family.

For the vocalism, Shorto restricted the criterion languages to just two, arguing that this produced an entirely expected result consisting of a substantial core of regular correspondences, and a residue of more-or-less chaotic correspondences. The former securely reflect the proto-system with minimal changes, while the latter are interpreted in two ways: some result from numerous isolated factors that are difficult to identify within the limits of the dataset, while others may reflect a system of vowel grades or alternations within the proto-language, evoking something akin to Indo-European ablaut.

This idea is not well developed and may well turn out to be an artifact of Shorto's particular methodological bent. My view is that narrowly basing the vocalism on Mon and Khmer is not entirely desirable. Ideally one would work through the various branches of the family, reconstructing the proto-vocalism for each, and then using those results as the input for the ultimate reconstruction.

But Shorto was working without branch level reconstructions. In those circumstances, any attempt to assemble a comprehensive tabulation of correspondences between modern languages belonging to different branches would definitely have produced an unmanageable chaos of data.

Instead, he not unreasonably assumed that the Old Mon and Old Khmer vowel systems—which are very similar to each other, and which are both recorded in vernacular script—are archaic. If this assumption is correct, the binary comparison of Mon and Khmer should produce a reconstruction that is reliable at least insofar as these two languages had not undergone parallel independent developments. The latter should become apparent when a sufficient number of other languages are considered.

Does the reconstructed vocalism have any characteristics that are typologically odd, or that otherwise give us cause for question? Certainly. Indeed, Shorto himself remarks briefly in Part 1 on the lack of a distinction between open and half-open front vowels, speculating that his *e and *ee may actually subsume *ɛ and *ɛɛ. Given that such

a distinction is typologically common among Mon-Khmer languages, I am almost certain that it is the case. We can also note the absence of a close central vowel, such as long or short **i** or **u**. Shorto is probably correct here, as these frequently develop as conditioned variants of front and/or back vowels, and by (typically) unconditioned raising of the other central vowels.

What will be the consequences of re-evaluating Shorto's results? Consider the reconstruction of the etymon underlying #1070 ***priit**; ***priət** 'banana.' Shorto offers this on the basis of forms such as Bahnar **priit**. However, more recent data reveals reflexes such as Jru' (West Bahnaric) **priət**, and point to a merger of ***iə** and ***ii** in Central Bahnaric. Further afield the Old Mon cognate **brāt** (compared in Shorto 1971 but absent from the *MKCD*!) clearly indicates that Proto-Bahnaric ***iə** derives from a raising of PMK ***aa**. The same correspondence can be found elsewhere, e.g. 'bone,' compare: Bahnar **ktiŋ**, Jru' **ktiəŋ**, and Palaung **kəʔaŋ** (at #553 and #488 respectively, and arguably the same correspondence for 'rain' at #127 and #141 and 'dry hill-field' at #1651).

These examples reflect two different but related problems. In the case of 'banana,' admitting new comparisons will indicate a revision of the reconstruction, although not a revision of the proto-system. In the case of 'bone,' the Bahnaric and Palaungic reflexes have been assigned to quite separate reconstructions that, arguably, should be collapsed into one. Therefore the recognition of new sound laws, a very likely eventuality, is going to indicate revisions to the proto-lexicon. Here I expect that substantial improvements to the reconstruction will emerge.

Various issues concern the diphthongs ***iə**, ***uə**, ***ai** and [***uə**]. The first two of these are reconstructed on the principle that they are reflected largely unchanged in Khmer. However, it is very often the case that reflexes in other languages are not diphthonged, appearing rather as ***ɛɛ** and ***ɔɔ**, respectively. It is known that low, long monophthongs have a strong tendency to diphthongise in Mon-Khmer languages (e.g. see the discussion and diagram in Huffman 1985), perhaps more often than the reverse change is apt to occur. Thus, it is entirely likely that PMK ***ɛɛ** and ***ɔɔ** underlie various examples of Khmer **iə**, **uə** that Shorto uses to reconstruct ***iə** and ***uə**.

One will note numerous examples of ***iə** and ***uə** reconstructed in the *MKCD* where there is no Khmer reflex, or in fact no diphthonged reflex at all. Consider #467 'hair,' for which the four alternates ***suk**, ***suuk**, ***suək**, ***sək** are reconstructed. In this case, ***suək** is posited on the basis of reflexes that in isolation would only suggest ***ɔɔ**. However, influenced by his theory of vowel alternations, Shorto reconstructs the **uu** ~ **uə** alternance to link the **ɔɔ** forms in Bahnaric with **u** in Palaungic. I am sure that integrating the results of comprehensive branch level reconstructions will eliminate many of these alternate reconstructions, and reassign many proto-diphthongs to monophthongs.

The diphthong ***ai** is also problematic, a fact acknowledged by Shorto. It is posited to explain the rather infrequent correspondence of Mon **a** to Khmer **ɛ**. I doubt whether it reflects anything other than **a** fronting in Khmer (and it is likely that similarly fronted reflexes in Kuy are Khmer loans), although a detailed analysis of reflexes in other languages is required to solve this.

In his second draft of the *MKCD* Shorto introduced a doubtful proto-diphthong [***uə**] in some eight reconstructions. It is not indicated by the Mon : Khmer correspondences, but rather is based on four examples of a correspondence of Palaung **u** to Kammu Yuan **ua** in closed syllables (#410, #503, #1179, #1328). This is then

invoked to explain three cases of open syllable **ɔw** in Bahnar (and similar reflexes elsewhere in Bahnaric) corresponding to Palaung **u** (#6, #45, #264).

It is very doubtful that these two groups of correspondences can be linked. The first group has many parallels with etyma for which ***iə** is indicated, so we need to find cognates beyond Northern Mon-Khmer for those four cases. The other group is perhaps sufficiently explained by contextual changes to PMK ***uu**. An additional reconstruction of [***uə**] at #573 lacks Bahnaric or Palaungic reflexes that follow either pattern, and is instead based upon a correspondence of Mon **u** to Vietnamese **ư** and Stieng **o**, and requires further investigation.

These considerations would lead us to revise Short's proto-vocalic inventory to the following:

*/	i		u	aa		uu	
	e	ə	o	ee	əə	oo	
	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɛɛ	aa	ɔɔ	
				iə		uə	/

The revised inventory is only provisional, and may be subject to further changes in the light of new data and analyses. For example, there are strong indications of Proto-Katuic high central vowels ***u**, ***uuu**, ***uə** (see Diffloth 1982, Sidwell 2005). If these are found to have cognates with similar values in other branches, this will indicate reconstruction to PMK. On the other hand, if these are isolated within Katuic, the more likely explanation will be raising from PMK ***ə**, ***əə** etc. Such issues can only be addressed by comprehensive branch-level reconstructions.

Phonological reconstruction: consonantism

The table of proto-consonants presented by Shorto in his first draft, below, matches exactly that offered by Diffloth in his 1974 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article (and passim). It effectively reflects a consensus view that can be traced back to the foundation laid by Schmidt, and it is not anticipated that further research will be likely to significantly alter this model.

*/	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	b	d	j	g	
	ɸ	ɗ			
	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	w	r l	y		
			s	h	/

Additional segments ***t₂**, ***d₂**, ***n₂** were added by Shorto in the course of his second draft (already discussed to some extent above). They were posited to account for certain correspondences among Northern Mon-Khmer and other Mon-Khmer languages: between dental sibilants and dental stops (e.g. #31 ***t₂ɲiiʔ** 'sun, day' on the basis of such forms as Palaung **səŋi** and Khmer **thŋay**), and between laterals and dental nasals (e.g. #1906 ***bn₂iəs** 'spear' on the basis of such forms as Riang-Lang **ples** and Old Mon **bnəs**).

However, it is important to note that the tabulated proto-consonants are posited as the initial segments in sequences CVC, whereas the ***t₂** and ***d₂** were specifically

motivated by correspondences of preconsonantal segments. In the rare cases where the second series were reconstructed for prevocalic stops (e.g. #553 ***kt₂iŋ** ‘bone’), the reconstruction is in all but three cases specifically intended to explain the sibilant reflexes within North Bahnaric, and thus is likely to reflect a quite different phenomenon.

The exceptions are readily explained by other processes: #534 ***kt₂aŋ** ‘bitter’ and #1621 ***kt₂uur** ‘ear’ suggest fusion of ***kt** > **c** > **s** in Northern languages; #543a ***t₂aŋ** ‘knee’ also has evidence of preconsonantal **k**. Similarly, #1343 ***t₂əm** ‘plant’ is infixed in Northern languages, relegating the reflex of ***t₂** to the preconsonantal position, so that it actually patterns regularly after ***t₂ŋii?** ‘sun, day.’

Therefore, the table above still holds, leaving us with the separate problem of explaining a correspondence pattern that is restricted to preconsonantal dental stops. Typologically it would be very strange if the set of preconsonantal segments included forms not also occurring as CVC initials, in which case some other explanation must be offered. Shorto himself suggested that it may be explained by the assimilation of a vowel which has since been eliminated by changes to syllabic structure. Given the CVCVC typology of Munda roots, this vocalic explanation is surely more likely than the ***t₂** and ***d₂** modeled after the more speculative Austric parallels.

The **n₂** reconstructions are more problematic. There are only seven cases: #344, #593, #1367, #1369, #1476, #1631, and #1906. All involve **n₂** as the second member of various clusters, so there is in fact no underlying structural parallel to the ***t₂**/***d₂** issue. In at least two cases (#1476, #1631) it is likely that Austronesian loans are confusing the issue, and in three (#593, #1367, #1369) we cannot rule out dissimilation from the final nasal (cf. #1401 ***liəm** ‘good’: Bahnar **liəm** and Sre **niam**). This leaves the identification of **n₂** unlikely to withstand close investigation.

The reconstruction of initial clusters is based upon the following relation between the registers of Mon and Khmer:

PMK	Mon	Khmer
voiceless + voiceless	head register	head register
voiceless + voiced	chest register	head register
voiced + voiceless	head register	chest register
voiced + voiced	chest register	chest register

The underlying principle is that Mon registers reflect only the voice quality of the prevocalic consonant, but Khmer registers regularly reflect the voice quality of the initial.

The formulation appears (so far as I can tell) to hold up fairly robustly, although the same caveat applies in respect of the proto-vocalism: reconstruction on the basis of this formula will not recover any features that have been lost due to parallel developments in the criterion languages. In this respect I anticipate that the integration of new data from (in particular) Aslian, Khmuic, Vietic and Katuic has the potential to indicate at least a fine-tuning, if not a thorough overhaul, of Shorto’s PMK clusters.

Lexical reconstruction

Shorto’s reconstruction of 2,246 groups of proto-lexemes rests on two pillars: 1) the identification of cognates that indicate etyma were present at the PMK level, and 2) the application of sound laws to these cognates in order to generate proto-forms.

The generation of proto-forms is, inevitably, an ongoing process even for the most well-studied language families. As we have just seen, specific aspects of Shorto's phonological analysis may require revision on the basis of existing data, or even reanalysis as new information becomes available. We can expect that such reanalysis will have the beneficial effect of simplifying Shorto's reconstructions, reducing the number and complexity of the variant forms.

Shorto's methodology for identifying etyma at the PMK level must be reviewed more critically. Lacking a coherent model of inter-branch relations between Mon-Khmer languages—a situation that arguably still persists—Shorto was in a sense forced to work without a safety net in order to achieve the heights he wished to attain.

Shorto does not provide any formula to specify the precise mix of languages or sub-groups an etymon would have to be attested for in order to justify a triangulation back to PMK. Despite this, we can readily discern several principles he consistently invoked to justify Mon-Khmer heritage:

- attestation in both Mon and Khmer where borrowing from a non-Mon-Khmer source is considered unlikely,
- attestation in Munda and in at least one Mon-Khmer language,
- attestation in Austronesian and in at least one Mon-Khmer language where borrowing into the Mon-Khmer language is considered unlikely.

The great majority of Shorto's cognate groups are based on evidence from multiple branches of Mon-Khmer, and will be strengthened as more data becomes available. The 354 items supported by Munda attestation are particularly likely to be legitimate, regardless of how many MK branches they occur in (although Munda forms have radically complex morphologies that present special difficulties to comparativists). This issue is discussed below in *Relation to Munda*.

In a few cases Shorto relied on a single MK branch without citing external comparisons. In a regular pattern of error whose root cause I will return to below, he appears to have consistently treated South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric as separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purpose of lexical reconstruction. This led to entries such as #1401 *liəm 'good,' for which only Bahnaric forms are cited.

Shorto's Austronesian connections are obviously the least justifiable. Assuming an Indo-Chinese origin, before Shutler and Marck's results supporting a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, the Austric hypothesis was of crucial importance, spurred on by the increasing availability of extensive and reliable Austronesian reconstructions. But Shorto's use of Austronesian data as evidence in his phonological and lexical reconstruction of Mon-Khmer will certainly be the most controversial aspect of his work.

Even if one accepts the Austric hypothesis, the discrimination of borrowings from genetic inheritance at great time depths is extremely problematic. Normally one would expect to see strong additional evidence (such as distributional factors) taken into account before borrowing is discarded as the null hypothesis.

Shorto does not explain his reasoning in 30 *MKCD* entries of etyma that appear to be isolated within single branches of Mon-Khmer, yet have been accepted as archaic on the basis of questionable Austronesian parallels. A good example is #1476 'dove,' for which Proto-Austronesian *pun₁ai is invoked to justify projecting Palaung [ə]ploy and Riang-Lang ˀploe to PMK *pn₂[uu]y. This can only be accepted on the basis of the

questionable **l : n** correspondence, or the phonetic equation evaporates and the etymon is better relegated to the Palaungic level until wider Mon-Khmer cognates can be found.

Regardless of one's view of the Austric hypothesis, a great number of Mon-Khmer-Austronesian lexical comparisons compiled by Shorto extensively catalog a long history of poorly understood language contact. They provide a detailed and well-documented overview not generally accessed by specialists working strictly within either the Austroasiatic or Austronesian traditions, and create the opportunity to address some of the larger issues of Southeast Asian linguistic history.

Aside from the readily identified deviations discussed above, Shorto's approach to lexical reconstruction is fundamentally sound. Some of his comparisons will ultimately be rejected as not justifying lexical reconstructions, but it would be a mistake to rule out, *a priori*, all cases that raise questions because of the limited data presented at this time.

Internal branching and classification

The problem of determining the structure of the Mon-Khmer family has vexed linguists since the time of Schmidt, and it is fair to say that it remains unsolved. A confusing muddle of tree diagrams have been offered over the past century, although none, to my knowledge, have been determined on the basis of explicit formulae of shared innovations.

Since the 1960s two consistent (albeit irreconcilable) schemes have emerged. Each is based on essentially lexical methods, reflecting the longstanding absence of a well-developed phonological reconstruction. One approach is championed by Diffloth, who has consistently grouped Mon-Khmer branches into three large divisions. This implies that the languages must have diverged gradually over thousands of years, with speakers undertaking multiple migrations (see Diffloth 2005 for his most recent view).

An alternative view derives from lexicostatistical studies (e.g. Thomas 1966; Thomas and Headley 1970; Huffman 1976, 1978; Smith 1981) that have generally found that Mon-Khmer languages branch into at least 10 more-or-less equidistant groupings. These results suggest a simple "rake"-shaped tree, and imply that at some point in time Proto-Mon-Khmer expanded rapidly over a vast area.

Shorto's method effectively assumed the rake model, as he compiled etymologies on the assumption that attestation in any two branches was a reasonable minimum criterion for identifying Mon-Khmer heritage. Given the state of the art in the mid-1970s, we hardly fault Shorto for adopting the rake model, inasmuch as it is founded on empirical studies. However, issues regarding understanding and treatment of Bahnaric and Katuic led Shorto to inconsistencies and mistakes in his analysis.

Shorto cites examples from Bahnaric—a single branch in the rake model—extensively in the *MKCD*. It is second only to Mon and Khmer in importance, echoing the approach of Schmidt (1905). When he began working, the Bahnaric languages were classified into two groups: Stiengan and Bahnaran (reflecting the fact that Stieng and Bahnar were the first Bahnaric languages to be extensively documented). This two-way division was subsequently renamed South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric respectively by Thomas and Headley (1970). Shorto nominally subscribed to an analysis that held Bahnaric to be a single branch, noting comparisons as "Bahnaric" in the *MKCD* when they had both Stiengan and Bahnaran reflexes.

Yet despite the above, it is apparent that Shorto treated Stiengan and Bahnaran as reflecting two separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purposes of lexical reconstruction.

He posits some 146 PMK reconstructions on the basis of Bahnaric forms alone, as if attestation in these two “branches” justifies triangulation of the etymon back to PMK, rather than merely to Proto-Bahnaric. In addition, in Appendix A of *Stiengan/South Bahnaric etymologies* Shorto constructs putative PMK antecedents without recourse to other Bahnaric comparisons or intermediate Bahnaric level reconstructions.

Shorto’s error is compounded by his choice of representative languages for these putative branches. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly recognised that Bahnar does not belong in the North Bahnaric branch, and is probably more closely related to South Bahnaric (see Sidwell 2002). Moreover, the language Rōngao, which was treated as a dialect of Bahnar in the dictionary of Guilleminet (1959-63) that Shorto relied upon, is most certainly a distinct North Bahnaric language.

The consequence of Shorto’s handling of *Stiengan* and *Bahnaran* is that 146 etymologies technically do not justify PMK reconstructions; a large proportion of these do not even justify Proto-Bahnaric reconstructions. It can be expected that although wider MK etymologies will be found for many, others—particularly those attested only in Bahnar and South Bahnaric—will turn out to be Austronesian borrowings. While this in no way undermines the rest of Shorto’s achievement, all of the 146 reconstructions in question must be treated as provisional until more data is considered.

Another issue involves the Katuic branch, which was very poorly understood until recently. The Kuy language, which has hundreds of thousands of speakers in the lowland areas of Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos, was the principal representative of Katuic in the *MKCD*. Unfortunately, Kuy is not a very good exemplar for the Katuic branch. Besides borrowing numerous Cambodian words, Kuy has highly innovative phonology, having undergone a vowel split parallel to that of Middle Khmer.

Shorto initially assumed that Kuy was closely related to Khmer, rather than being an aberrant member of a separate and more conservative Mon-Khmer branch, as has been subsequently shown (see Diffloth 1982). However, after completing the second draft of Part 3, Shorto realized and began to correct his error as data on the various Katuic languages spoken by small and diverse communities in the upper Sekong valley of Laos and the adjacent Vietnamese hills came to his attention.

Katu, the most linguistically archaic of these, was just beginning to be known to outsiders, and a published lexicon only came into Shorto’s possession in the 1980s. In piecing together notes retained by Anna Shorto, it is apparent that he also obtained lexicons for several other Katuic languages, including Bru, Ngeq, and Pakoh.

Using this information, Shorto developed two preliminary reconstructions: one for Proto-Bruan (designating the Bru-Kuy subgroup), and one for Proto-Katuic, based on data from Ngeq, Pakoh, and Katu sources. Consequently he made many marginal annotations of Bru forms in Part 3, the comparative dictionary proper, and had begun to add Pakoh forms when circumstances intervened and the work was abandoned. Shorto’s unpublished notes on Katuic reconstruction are archived at <http://archives.sealang.net/shorto>.

Relation to Munda

Shorto’s conviction in the Austric hypothesis made it nearly inevitable that consideration of Munda, a large and deeply complex language family of India, would be somewhat marginalized. It has been recognised since Mason (1854) that Munda languages are related to Mon-Khmer, but the structure of that relationship is still unclear. While the

received view is that Mon-Khmer and Munda are sister branches of the Austroasiatic macrophylum, there is no real consensus.

The recent classification by Diffloth (2005) treats Munda as a branch on a par with Northern Mon-Khmer, such that there is no meaningful distinction between Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic. In contrast, the noted Munda specialist David Stampe (pers. com.) considers it more likely that Mon-Khmer is an offshoot of Munda, and in a sense is the reverse of Diffloth's formulation.

Although he does not raise the issue explicitly, Shorto's analysis agrees with Diffloth. Shorto reproduces Austroasiatic etymologies from Pinnow (1959), and in some cases relies upon Munda comparisons to justify reconstructions where Mon-Khmer reflexes are restricted in their distribution (e.g. #182 ***bruu?** 'hill').

Elsewhere, in his discussion of the **t₂**, **d₂** problem (quoted above), Shorto notes that the sibilant reflexes of Northern Mon-Khmer are also found in Munda, not the phonological contrast (e.g. #31 ***t₂ŋii?** 'sun, day': Khmer **thŋay**, Palaung **səŋi**, Mundari **səŋgi**). This would suggest that Munda and Northern Mon-Khmer descend from a common branch, reducing Munda to a much less important place in the phylogenetic tree.

This position is consistent with the greater emphasis Shorto places on comparing Mon-Khmer to Austronesian, without attempting to posit intermediate Proto-Austroasiatic forms. After all, if Munda is merely a sister to Northern Mon-Khmer, then the PMK reconstructions will in principle be equivalent to Proto-Austroasiatic.

A present-day perspective would undoubtedly hold that despite uncertainties concerning the phylogenetic relation of Munda to Mon-Khmer, they share a closer relation to each other than either might share with Austronesian. The comparative reconstruction of Proto-Munda must take priority, fully informing the Proto-Mon-Khmer/Austroasiatic reconstruction before we attempt to analyse the phonological and lexical implications of any putative Austric comparisons.

Conclusion

It is fair to say that the transformative role of the *MKCD* in Mon-Khmer studies will, in time, be comparable to other works of similar scope and quality, such as: Otto Dempwolff's (1938) *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes* or Emeneau and Burrow's (1961) *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*.

No scholar would claim that either of these provided wholly definitive results or reached entirely error-free conclusions. Yet both crystallised decades of scholarship in their respective fields, and each stimulated tremendous improvements in the quality of subsequent research. Their meticulously organised and analysed data were immediately useful for reference; indeed, careers were established on the basis of ideas gleaned while fishing through their pages.

More importantly, they established neutral playing fields for future generations, making it possible to unambiguously cite an etymology or theoretical model in a context whose forms and issues were recognized and accepted by the entire profession. Shorto's citation of Dempwolff's forms in his Austric comparisons amply demonstrates the point. Although they are now outdated now by almost 70 years, any comparative Austronesianist will immediately recognise them, and can easily relate them to modern forms.

This is the unique contribution of canonical texts to research: defective and incomplete as they may be, they are essential to the progress of any field. Their value is based not on the absence of error, but on the honesty and scholarship with which they attempt to account for the field's current state of knowledge. And by this standard, Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* richly deserves its pride of place at the head of 20th Century Mon-Khmer linguistics.

Paul Sidwell
Canberra, June 2006

Some Background Notes

Christian Bauer

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Any posthumous publication warrants some remarks about the historical context in which it was created; information privy to those who had the privilege of working closely with its author, and which may shed light on aspects of its compilation. This is all the more true in this particular case as the *Comparative Dictionary* has its origin in Mon lexicography and a lineage going back to as early as 1928.

Harry Shorto graduated in Modern and Medieval Languages from Cambridge University. He spent the war years as a commissioned officer in the Fourteenth Army in Burma. From anecdotes he told me during classes I know that, at some stage, he was involved in reconnaissance missions in the Shan states.

Following an initial posting as an assistant lecturer in linguistics in 1948, Shorto was appointed to a lectureship in Mon at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1952. His ties to SOAS were extensive; officers involved in reconnaissance missions and intelligence work received language training in Japanese and Burmese in the linguistics department, headed by J. R. Firth, and all newly employed language lecturers at SOAS were instructed in general linguistics and phonetics under the supervision of Eugénie Henderson (1914-1989).

The availability of a Mon lectureship is not as incongruous as it may seem today. The British assumed that Burma would join the Commonwealth after gaining independence, and that the major ethnic groups would be accorded a measure of autonomy. The need for intensive regional language study in the wake of decolonization was, therefore, a given.

The Scarbrough Report of 1947 had reviewed the state of Asian language instruction at British universities, and recommended the creation of a number of lectureships in Southeast Asian languages. At the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was even planned to create positions for Shan and Karen at a later stage. Although these never materialized, Mon had already been established at SOAS in all but name for several decades.

Mon was first introduced by J. A. Stewart (1882-1948), Professor of Burmese, who as a colonial administrator in lower Burma had collected Mon texts, and who later initiated a certificate in Mon at the School. He was followed by Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), first Lecturer (1917) and then Reader in Malay, who succeeded in deciphering the Old Mon inscriptions of Pagán, Prome, Thaton and Lamphun. It is actually Blagden's materials from which *A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* ultimately derives, as we shall see below.

Shorto began to study modern Mon in 1949 when the Mon monk U Wāyama, originally from Kawbein, was resident in London for about a year. U Wāyama was no mere language assistant. An educator and modernizer, he conceived and co-wrote the seven-part series of Mon Readers for language instruction in the schools of lower Burma, and also authored an introduction to Mon for Burmese speakers. U Wāyama came from a long line of distinguished Mon Sayadaws that include Silawantathera (Shwe Ngwè) and U Kosalla, in whose monastery Shorto was to reside as a layman.

After a year of typical armchair preparatory work in London, Shorto left for Burma and took up residence in U Kosalla's monastery in Mudun on Bilu Island. To students of my generation this had always appeared to be a period of unrestricted travel and carefree research opportunities. However, his fieldwork was actually severely hampered by travel restrictions, which limited his access to detailed information on Mon dialects in Burma.

Shorto never traveled south of the mainland township Mudon, and his occasional sorties from Bilugyun were limited to Moulmein, Martaban and Kyaikmaraw. Shorto was, however, able to do fieldwork on Mon dialects in Thailand, where he met William Gedney. And it was Gedney who provided him with a Mon contact, Mahā Phuan, who acted as informant for his 'Lopburi' dialect.

Shorto remained in Southeast Asia until 1952.

The first draft of the *Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* was written during the steamer journey back to England. In addition to Shorto's field work, his lexicographic description of Mon was based on Robert Halliday's Mon-English Dictionary of 1922, and on material Stewart had bequeathed to the School and now lost: mainly songs, folktales and pieces of traditional literature. This material was complemented by wordlists written by U Wāyama.

However, the dictionary was not published for a full decade. The delay was due, among other factors, to Firth; the "Philological Society" was willing to defray the cost of printing but Firth insisted that the dictionary be revised to include a concordance of written forms as well.

Shorto began his study of Old Mon under Gordon Luce (1889-1979), who had been appointed visiting professor at the School for three years until 1953. Luce was by then Professor of Far Eastern History at the University of Rangoon and had studied Old Mon, Chinese and Sanskrit in Europe since 1918 during his annual leaves of absence. After a decade of study and correspondence with Blagden, Luce had secured funds from University College Rangoon in 1929 to publish Blagden's *Dictionary of Old Mon with cognate forms in Khmer, etc.*—as its title was intended to be—to be followed by an Old Mon grammar. The dictionary was meant to include cognates from other Mon-Khmer languages; no surprise, considering that Blagden, after years of colonial service in Malaya, had co-written *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* with W. W. Skeat, and had corresponded, in German, with Pater Wilhelm Schmidt.

Blagden had continued his editorial work on Old and Middle Mon inscriptions through the war years, carefully noting etymologies in a 5,000-card index. After Blagden's death in 1948, his daughter sent his papers to the School. These papers consisted, among others, of the 5,000-card index, on which the projected epigraphic Mon dictionary was to have been based, and a notebook with transcriptions of unpublished texts and a concordance. The fate of the collection of rubbings was never established.

When Luce returned to Burma it was agreed that Shorto would update and edit Blagden's index and notes, rework them into a dictionary, and arrange for publication. Shorto completed a first draft of the Old Mon dictionary by 1956. Throughout 1956-57, the draft was checked against epigraphic data in Burma wherever possible. Mainly, this was confined to stone inscriptions and ink glosses from Pagán as well as the Middle Mon bell inscriptions.

Further etymological material was incorporated through Shorto's own fieldwork on the Northern Mon-Khmer languages Palaung and Praok (a Wa dialect). Pinnow's *Habilitation* of 1959 provided new comparative Munda material. No further epigraphic data were added beyond findings of the early 1960s, thus excluding significant early data from Northeastern Thailand.

The dictionary was eventually published in 1971, as *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the 6th to the 16th centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden* (henceforth *DMI*). Shorto, since 1964 Reader in Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures, was then promoted to a personal chair in Mon-Khmer Studies.

Although still immensely useful to epigraphic research to this day, *DMI* is not without its deficiencies. Paradoxically, these have a direct bearing upon—and more importantly, a direct benefit for—the execution of this *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary*. To Shorto, the phonological reference form was of key importance. The notation of special glyphs, so dear to the epigrapher, would only distract and could hence be ignored as being of no phonological impact. Thus, the transliterated forms found in *DMI* are, in fact, *transcriptions*, with a few exceptions a practice inherited from Blagden. In *DMI*, features of the writing system, including special ligatures, abbreviated rhyme notations and superscripts, were all normalized; which is to say they were not noted at all.

Shorto's compilation of the *DMI* (and later the *Comparative Dictionary*) was also greatly influenced by Sir Ralph Turner (1888-1983), who published the first and main volume of his *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* in 1966. Sir Ralph, director of the School from 1938 to 1957, had taken an avid interest in the progress of *DMI*, and it is hardly surprising that Shorto found inspiration, both in form and method, in the magnum opus of his senior colleague.

The main Old Mon entries in *DMI* served as building blocks against which a series of cognates could be set, in the same manner that Turner used Vedic and Sanskrit citations (rather than reconstructions) to head the entries. It is telling that Middle Mon forms in *DMI* do not appear as separate main entries whenever an Old Mon form is attested: convenient for the etymologist, but frustrating indeed for the epigrapher in the field.

In a sense, then, *DMI* was from its inception a prototype or blueprint for an etymological Mon-Khmer dictionary to come, in which Mon was intended as one of three *Testsprachen* or criterion languages, along with Khmer and Vietnamese. Shorto recognised the importance of including more representative criterion languages in the analysis, hence his interest in adding to the knowledge of Northern Mon-Khmer; his work on Palaung was actually a check on Mrs. Milne's data of the 1920s.

Acquiring a working knowledge of Khmer, probably in the early 1960s, lead him to reject all previous reconstructions of the early Mon vocalism he had envisaged. Shorto

arrived at his definitive reconstruction of the Old Mon vocalism with his 1965 London paper.¹

For the *Comparative Dictionary* Shorto carried on the notation and symbols of Turner's *CDIAL*, although his layout and method of reconstruction are more reminiscent of Dempwolff's comparative Austronesian, particularly in basing the reconstructions on a small set of criterion languages chosen to represent a large and under-documented language family.

In January 1973 Shorto debuted a preliminary version of the proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system to the First Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics in Hawai'i. In September of the same year he presented his view of Southeast Asian linguistic proto-history, which was meant to be part of the introduction of the *Comparative Dictionary*, to the London Colloquy on Early Southeast Asia. And, by 1976 he was able to propose a reconstruction of Austric, based on 200 roots, at a Toronto conference dedicated to Benedict's Austro-Thai hypothesis.

When I arrived at SOAS in September 1977 to learn Mon and write my doctoral dissertation under Shorto's supervision, the second draft of the *Comparative Dictionary* was ready in typewritten draft form, although some issues in Vietic and other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages remained to be solved. This was essentially the same state of affairs when I took the final examination in the autumn of 1982. On one of my subsequent annual visits from Mahidol to London—Shorto had retired in 1984—he confided that he had changed the reconstruction of the vowels again. And that he was still occupied with writing the introduction.

Christian Bauer
Berlin, August 2006

¹ The interpretation of archaic writing systems, *Lingua*, 1965, 14:88-97.

The Future of the MKCD

Doug Cooper

Center for Research in Computational Linguistics

Paul Sidwell and Christian Bauer have described the present and past of Shorto's *MKCD*. We now turn to a preview of its future as an electronic resource.

As Sidwell notes in his *Preface*, we originally began working together to make the few available Mon-Khmer branch reconstructions and their supporting lexical data more accessible for research and reference. These included Diffloth's analyses of Monic and Waic, Ferlus's forthcoming presentation of Vietic, and Sidwell's own comparative dictionaries of Katuic and Bahnaric.

Tying these works into a single, unified resource, with branch reconstructions pointing to Mon-Khmer roots, was an obvious goal, but it was an objective that was by no means trivial. An underlying skeleton of Mon-Khmer etyma that could ease the task of organizing data—far less a systematic attempt at reconstructing the proto-language—simply did not exist.

We became more frustrated as we began to find extensive, unpublished documentation for little-known, highly endangered Mon-Khmer languages, both in manuscript form (as in the Australian National Library's Gordon Luce collection), and buried in the appendices of theses and lexicons. While we could readily scan and archive these texts, we had no desire to manage a museum of fossils. Again, we needed a way to incorporate the data into the larger body of Mon-Khmer research.

The appearance of Shorto's manuscript changed everything. Its coverage is broad and deep enough to provide a rational framework for most Mon-Khmer language resources, including both reconstructions and lexical data. As a result, our efforts to prepare the *MKCD* for publication have also focused on deconstructing Shorto's text in preparation for a much broader project.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project

This effort, scheduled to commence formally in 2007, will carry on where Shorto leaves off. Initially, the complete content of Part 3's Comparative Dictionary will be extracted, XML-tagged, and made freely available on line. All of the text's constituent parts, including etyma, reconstructions, and lexical citations, will be accessible both in accordance with Shorto's analysis and layout, and as a collection of independent datasets.

Shorto's data will form the core of a new resource: the *Mon-Khmer Etymological Database*. A companion *Mon-Khmer Languages Database* will be dedicated to purely lexicographic data, obtained from as wide a variety of both published and unpublished sources as possible, including original manuscripts from Luce and others. Shorto will

continue to be identified with all of the elements and relations defined in *MKCD*, but new language data, etyma, reconstructions, and citations can be added to both databases.

The MKL Project presents the opportunity to make a clean break with an outdated tradition: to challenge the view of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics as an essentially solitary task, based solely on traditionally published work.

Both Sidwell and Bauer have described the patrimony of file cards handed down from generation to generation. Although some scholars have begun to rely on electronic databases for recordkeeping in recent decades, use of the Internet as a means for active collaboration has barely penetrated the field's consciousness. Data has been computerized, but its management has not been modernized, and some of the social and academic practices that restrict access to data are unchanged since Blagden's day.

This would not be a problem for comparative work if branch-level issues were well-resolved, with authoritative, published proto-language reconstructions that had stood the test of time. And, indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s there was every reason to believe that this happy state of affairs lay just around the corner.

But it has not come to be. Nor is the situation improving; as lack of funding reduces the number of practitioners in the field, the gridlock of academic publication has worsened apace. Publishers are famously hesitant to print large, specialized monographs whose sales will not cover typesetting costs, and qualified editors able to make the substantial time commitments that highly technical works require are an endangered species. Worse, every missing publication has a ripple effect: unpublished field notes cannot help to build dictionaries; unpublished dictionaries cannot support branch-level analysis; and the missing branch-level analyses have led to deadlock in the field.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project will enable a new alternative, founded on Shorto's data and analysis, and open to ongoing development. The Mon-Khmer Etymological Database will focus on etyma, reconstructions, and relations. It will initially consist of data mined from Shorto's *MKCD*; however, a new numbering system will be applied to make the database easier to extend.

The companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will also initially contain lexicons derived from the *MKCD*. We anticipate that it will grow rapidly; we have a substantial amount of language-specific data, and have received offers of additional contributions for nearly every branch of the Mon-Khmer family from colleagues around the world.

Both databases will be open for inspection and addition. Any suitably tagged dataset can easily be harvested via the Internet and incorporated into the system. Because every single item is identified by its contributor, the obvious issue of quality control is dealt with in a transparent, elegant manner: source-filtering lets the databases be customized on the fly. Only sources the user trusts, or items that been vetted by scholars the user trusts, will actually figure in responding to any of the user's queries.

Thus, the project will not screen data. Rather, we provide simple tools necessary to let the scholarly community collaborate in certifying data and relations: not by majority vote, but by the same process of consideration, occasional rejection, and eventual consensus that traditional publishing has always provided. It is likely to be a painful process at first, but absent a new Golden Age of funding for Southeast Asian scholarship, editors, and publication it cannot be avoided.

Technical Notes on this Edition

Shorto's text incorporates a dizzying array of symbols used in a half-dozen different traditions for linguistic transcription and transliteration. To ensure the most accurate data entry possible we relied on *Keyster*, a software tool developed at CRCL for digitizing dictionaries as part of the *SEalang Library* project. Keyster supports independent double-key text entry, followed by a third pass that reconciles any differences between the two operators.

To catch the small number of misreadings that passed the two independent typists (an inevitability, given the large number of scripts Shorto used, and his many handwritten corrections), Sidwell and I spent weeks painstakingly proofreading the work, again using custom software that let us make a heads-up comparison between the typed output and the source image, one line at a time. The result was a Unicode-encoded plaintext file that (once several dozen Chinese characters supplied by Geoff Wade were added) matched Shorto's manuscript exactly, and was ready for Sidwell to copy edit.

A small suite of Perl programs then analyzed the plaintext, making thousands of small changes in layout, labeling, and expansion of abbreviations, and inserting some 100,000 tags to individually mark each feature, including citations, reconstructions, transcriptions, transliterations, glosses, references, and notes.

This feature-tagging was simply a means to an end. After transforming the text into MS Word format, macros relied on the tags to create an important visual aid for copy editing: an extensive palette of fonts and colors uniquely distinguished every element type. A final laborious proofing pass by Sidwell ensured that the text would be properly formatted for this print edition, and could be accurately XML-tagged for service as a Web-based resource in the future.

We take full responsibility for any errors made in transcribing the text, and in the interests of accountability for content (per Bird and Simons 2003), scans of Shorto's original manuscripts are available for inspection at <http://archives.sealang.net/shorto>. These will be linked to the electronic edition of *MKCD*, which can of course be immediately corrected if and as errors are reported.

Doug Cooper
Bangkok, August 2006

References

[Editorial note: the following is a consolidated list of references covering both the *MKCD* and the front matter. The manuscript that Shorto had left was so incomplete that we were unable to construct the bibliography as he had intended.]

- Azémar, H. 1886. Dictionnaire Stieng. Recueil de 2500 mots fait à Brolâm en 1865. *Excursions et Reconnaissances* 12:99-146, 251-344.
- Barker, Milton E. and Muriel A. Barker 1970. Proto-Vietnamuong (Annamuong) final consonants and vowels. *Lingua* 24.3:268-285.
- Barker, Milton E. and Muriel A. Barker 1976. *Mường-Vietnamese-English Dictionary*. Dallas, Summer Institute of Linguistics (microfiche) (facimile of 1962 manuscript).
- Barker, Milton E. 1963. Proto-Vietnamuong initial labial consonants. *Văn-hoa Nguyễn-san* 12.3:491-500.
- . 1966. Vietnamese and Mường tone correspondences. In Norman Zide (ed.) *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. The Hague, Mouton. pp.9-25.
- Bauer, Christian. 1991. Notes on Mon epigraphy. *Journal of the Siam Society* 79.1:31-83. [addenda to Shorto 1971]
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- . 1975. *Austro-Thai Language and Culture, with a glossary of roots*. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey. 1976a. Austroasiatic Subgroupings and Prehistory in the Malay Peninsula. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu. pp. 37-128.
- . 1976b. An outline of Temiar grammar. In Jenner et al. (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu. 129-188.
- Biggs, Bruce, D.S. Walsh and Jocelyn Woqa, 1966. Proto-Polynesian Reconstructions with English to Proto-Polynesian finder list. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. Auckland, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- Bird, Steven and Gary Simons. 2003. Seven dimensions of portability for language documentation and description. *Language* 79.3:557–582.
- Blood, Henry F. 1966. *A Reconstruction of Proto-Mnong (Including Tentative Reconstruction of Proto-South-Bahnaric)*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Linguistics Indiana University.

- Blust, Robert A., 1969. Some new Proto-Austronesian trisyllables. *Oceanic Linguistics* 8:85–104.
- . 1970. Proto-Austronesian addenda. *Oceanic Linguistics* 9:104–162.
- . 1972. Additions to “Proto-Austronesian addenda”. *University of Hawai‘i Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.8:1–17.
- . 1973. Additions to “Proto-Austronesian addenda” II. *University of Hawai‘i Working Papers in Linguistics* 5.3:33–61.
- Buddhist Institute. 1938-1943. [*wacanānukram khmaer*] *Dictionnaire cambodgien*. Phnom Penh, Editions de l’Institut Bouddhique [⁵1967-68].
- Burrow, T. and M. B. Emeneau. 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Charles, Matthew. 1974. Problems in the reconstruction of Proto-Philippine phonology and the subgrouping of the Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:457–509.
- Cœdès, George. 1935. L’origine du cycle des douze animaux au cambodge. *T’oung Pao*, 31:315-29.
- Dahl, Otto Christian. 1973. *Proto-Austronesian*. Lund, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Monograph Series No. 15.
- Delcros, Henri and Jean Subra. 1966. *Petit dictionnaire du langage des Khmu’ de la région de Xieng-Khouang*. Vientiane, Mission Catholique (mimeograph).
- Dempwolff, Otto. 1938. *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesisches Wortschatzes. Bd. III: Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Berlin and Hamburg, Dietrich Reimer.
- Diffloth, Gérard. 1976. Jah-Hut, an Austroasiatic language of Malaysia. in Nguyễn Đăng Liêm (ed.) *Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies* Vol.2. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics Series C-No.42. pp. 73-118.
- . 1977. Towards a History of Mon-Khmer: Proto-Semai Vowels. *Tônán Ajia Kenkyû (Southeast Asian Studies)* 14.4:463-95.
- . 1980. The Wa Languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. Vol. 5.2:1-182.
- . 1982. Registres, dévoisement, timbres vocaliques: leur histoire en Katouïque. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 11:47-82.
- . 1984. *The Dvāravatī-Old Mon Language and Nyah Kur (Monic Language Studies 1)*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House.
- Dourisbourne, Le Père P.-X. 1889. *Dictionnaire bahnar-français*. Hongkong, Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères 45.
- Dournes, Jacques. 1950. *Dictionnaire Srê (Köhö)-Français*. Saigon, des Missions Etrangères de Paris.
- Dyen, Isidore. 1951. Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *Z. *Language* 27.4:534-40.
- . 1953. *Proto-Malayo-Polynesian laryngeals*. Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America.
- . 1953b. Dempwolff’s *R. *Language*, 29.3:359-366.
- . 1965. Formosan evidence for some new proto-Austronesian phonemes. *Lingua* 14: 285-305.
- . 1975. A reconstructional confirmation: The Proto-Austronesian word for ‘two’. *Oceanic Linguistics* 14:1–11.

- Efimov, A. Ju. 1990. *Istoricheskaja Fonologija Juzhnobaxnaricheskix Jazykov*. Moskva, Nauka.
- Egerod, S. 1961. Studies in Thai dialectology. *Acta Orientalia*. 26:43-91.
- Elkins, Richard E. 1974. A Proto-Manobo word-list. *Oceanic Linguistics*. 13:601-641.
- Ferlus, Michel. 1982. Spirantisation des obstruantes médiales et formation du système consonantique du vietnamien. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* 11.1:83-106.
- . 1983. Essai de phonétique historique de môn. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 12:1-90.
- . 1992a. Histoire abrégée de l'évolution des consonnes initiales du vietnamien. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 20:111-27.
- . 1992b. "Essai de phonétique historique du khmer (du milieu du premier millénaire de notre ère à l'époque actuelle)", *Mon-Khmer Studies* 21:57-89.
- . 1997. Problèmes de la formation du système vocalique du vietnamien. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale*, 26.1:37-51.
- . 2001. *The origin of tones in Viet-Muong*. Paper presented at the ninth meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistics Society, Mahidol University, Bangkok, May 16-18 2001.
- Gradin, Dwight and Patrick Gradin. 1979. *Jeh Dictionary*. Huntington Beach, CA, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Grierson, G.A. 1903. *Linguistic Survey of India*. [Reprinted 1967, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass]
- Guesdon, Joseph. 1930. *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*. Paris, Plon et Nourrit.
- Guilleminet, Paul et R.P. Jules Alberty. 1959-63. *Dictionnaire bahnar-français*. Hanoi, Paris, Publications de Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.
- Halliday, Robert. 1922. *A Mon-English Dictionary*. Bangkok, Siam Society. [reprinted in 1955 by the Mon Cultural Section, Ministry of Union Culture, Government of the Union of Burma, Rangoon]
- Haudricourt, André-Georges. 1952. L'origine môn-khmère des tons en vietnamien. *Journal Asiatique* 240:264-265.
- . 1953. La place du vietnamien dans les langues austroasiatiques. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 49:122-128.
- . 1954. De l'origine des tons en vietnamien. *Journal Asiatique* 242:69-82.
- . 1965. Mutation consonantique en Mon-Khmer. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 60:160-72.
- Headley, Robert K. Jr., K. Chhor, L. K. Lim, L. H. Kheang and C. Chun. 1977. *Cambodian-English Dictionary*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press.
- Henderson, Eugénie J.A. 1952. The main features of Cambodian pronunciation. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14:149-174.
- Huffman, Franklin E. 1976. The relevance of lexicostatistics to Mon-Khmer languages. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.). *Austroasiatic Studies*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i (Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication, No. 13). Part 1, pp.539-74.

- . 1978. On the centrality of Katuic-Bahnaric to Austroasiatic. Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics, Mysore. In *Proceedings of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, 10.2:78-79.
- Jacob, Judith M. 1974. *A concise Cambodian-English Dictionary*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Jacq, Pascale and Paul Sidwell. 2000. *A Comparative West Bahnaric Dictionary*. München, Lincom Europa.
- Johnston, Richard. 1969. Kuy basic word list. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 3:1-4.
- Kuiper, F. B. J. 1948. *Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit*. Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
- Lewitz, Saveros. 1967. Recherches sur le vocabulaire cambodgien. (I) Mots khmers considérés à tort comme d'origine savante, *Journal Asiatique*, 1:117-31.
- Lindell, Kristina 1974. A vocabulary of the Yuan dialect of the Kammu language. *Acta Orientalia* 36:191-207.
- Luce, Gordon H. 1965. Danaw, a dying Austroasiatic language. *Lingua* 14:98-129.
- . 1969-70. *Old Burma—early Pagán*. Vols. I-III. New York, J. J. Augustin.
- . 1985. *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma: Languages and History*. 2 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Man, Edward Horace. 1889. *Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese language (English-Nicobarese and Nicobarese-English), with appendices containing a comparison of synonymous words in the remaining Nicobarese forms and other matters, preceded by notes on the grammar of the Central form*. London, W. H. Allen and Co. [Reprinted in 1975 by Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi]
- Mason, Francis. 1854. The Talaing Language. *Journal of American Oriental Society* 4:277-288.
- Maspero, Henri. 1912. Etude sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 12.1-27.
- . 1955. Matériaux pour l'étude de la langue t'èng. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 47:457-507.
- Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the 'organic' approach to linguistic comparison*. Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics, Volume VI. Publication of the Institute for the Study of Human Issues (ISHI), Philadelphia.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1953-1980. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg, Winter.
- Milke, Wilhelm. 1965. Comparative Notes on the Austronesian Languages of New Guinea. *Lingua* 14: 330-348.
- Milne, Leslie. 1931. *A dictionary of English-Palaung and Palaung-English*. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationary.
- Mohring, Hans. 1972. Einige Gedanken zum Ursprung der Töne im Vietnamesischen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 25.3:232-44.

- Nothofer, Bernd. 1975. *The Reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 73. Den Haag, Nijhoff.
- Paulsen, Debbie Lynn. 1989. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Plang*. M.A. Thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Peiros, Ilia. 1996. *Katuic Comparative Dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics Series C-132. Canberra, Australian National University.
- Pinnow, Heinz-Jürgen. 1959. *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- . 1965. Personal pronouns in the Austroasiatic languages: a historical study. *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies* 1:3-42.
- Pou, Saveros and Philip N. Jenner. 1973. Some Chinese loanwords in Khmer. *Journal of Oriental Studies* 11.1:1-90.
- . 1975. Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer. *Asian Perspectives* 17.2:112-124.
- Radhakrishnan, R. 1981. *The Nancowry word: phonology, affixal morphology and roots of a Nicobarese language*. Current inquiry into language and linguistics 37, Edmonton, Linguistic Research Inc.
- Ramamurti, G.V. 1938. *Sora-English Dictionary*. Madras [reprinted Delhi, Mittal, 1983]
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1996. The current state of linguistic research on the relatedness of the language families of East and Southeast Asia. In Ian C. Glover and Peter Bellwood (eds.), *Indo-Pacific Prehistory: The Chiang Mai Papers, Volume 2, Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 15. Canberra, Australian National University. pp. 87-91.
- . 1999. New linguistic evidence for the Austric hypothesis. In Elizabeth Zeitoun and Paul Jen-kuei Li (eds.) *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Taipei, Academia Sinica. pp. 5-30
- . 2005. The current status of Austric: A review and evaluation of the lexical and morphosyntactic evidence. In Laurent Sagart, Roger Blench and Alicia Sanchez-Mazas (eds.), *The peopling of East Asia: putting together archaeology, linguistics and genetics*. London, Routledge Curzon. pp. 81-106.
- Schmidt, Wilhelm. 1901. Die Sprachen der Sakai und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 52:399-583.
- . 1903. The Sakai and Semang languages in the Malay Peninsula and their relation to the Mon-Khmer languages. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 39:38-45.
- . 1904. Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache in ihren Beziehungen zu derjenigen der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. Mit einem Anhang: die Palaung-Wa-, und Riang-Sprachen des mittleren Salwin. *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 22.3:677-810.
- . 1905. Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 51.3:1-233. Wien, Holder.

- . 1906. Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens. *Archiv für Anthropologie* 5:59-109. [also printed separately as a monograph by Vieweg, Braunschweig]
- Scott, James George and J. P. Hardiman. 1900. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part 1, Vol. 1. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing. [Reprinted 1983 by AMS Press, New York]
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 1942. An examination of the Austro-Asiatic language family. *Language*, 18:206-217.
- Shafer, Robert. 1952. Études sur l'austroasien. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 48:111-158.
- . 1965. Studies in Austroasian II. *Studia Orientalia* [Helsinki] 30.5:3-69.
- . 1960. Word and syllable patterns in Palaung. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23:544-57.
- Shorto, Harry L. 1962. *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1969. Moh labial clusters. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32:10-14.
- . 1971. *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions, from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden* (London Oriental Series 24). London, Oxford University Press.
- . 1972. The word for 'two' in Austroasiatic. In Jacqueline M.C. Thomas and Lucien Bernot (eds.) *Langues et techniques, nature et société*, Vol. 1, Approche linguistique. Paris, Klincksieck. pp. 233-35.
- . 1973. Three Mon-Khmer word families. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 36:374-81.
- . 1975. Achinese and mainland Austronesian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38:81-102.
- . 1976a. Gayo consonant correspondences. In Nguyễn Đăng Liêm (ed.) *South-East Asian Linguistic Studies II*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics Series C - No. 42. pp. 199-217.
- . 1976b. In defense of Austric. *Computational analyses of Asian and African languages* 6:95-104.
- . 1976c. The Vocalism of Proto-Mon-Khmer. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson, and S. Starosta (eds.). *Austroasiatic Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii (Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication, No. 13). Part II, pp. 1041-1067.
- . 1979. The linguistic protohistory of mainland South East Asia. In Smith, R. B and Watson, W. (eds.) *Early South East Asia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp. 273-278.
- . 1982. The affinities of Kuy. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45:574-576.
- Shutler, Richard, Jr. and Jeff Marck. 1975. On the dispersal of the Austronesian horticulturalists, *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, 10.2:81-113.

- Sidwell, Paul. 2000. *Proto South Bahnaric: a reconstruction of a Mon-Khmer language of Indo-China*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics 501.
- . 2005 *The Katuic Languages: classification, reconstruction and comparative lexicon*. Munich, Lincom Europa.
- Skeat, Walter William and Charles Otto Blagden. 1906. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*. London: Macmillan. [Aslian language data in volume II; reprint 1966, London, Frank Cass]
- Smith, Kenneth, D. 1972. *A phonological reconstruction of Proto-North-Bahnaric*. Dallas, Language Data Series, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- . 1981. A Lexico-statistical study of 45 Mon-Khmer languages. In Andre Gonzalez and David Thomas (eds), *Linguistics across Continents*. Manila SIL, pp 180-205.
- Sriwises, Prasert. 1978. *Kui (Suai)-Thai-English dictionary*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University.
- Stresemann, Erwin. 1927. *Die Lauterscheinungen in den Ambonischen Sprachen*. Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) and Hamburg, C. Boysen.
- Tandart, Syndulphe. 1935. *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, Phnom Penh, Imprimerie Albert Portail.
- Tauern, O. D. 1914. Versuch einer Sakai Grammatik mit Vocabularium. *Anthropos* 9:529-538.
- Thomas, David and Robert Headley. 1970. More on Mon-Khmer subgroupings. *Lingua* 25:398-418.
- Thomas, David and Thô Sang Lùc. 1966. *Chrau vocabulary*. Trilingual Vocabularies, No1. Manila, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Thomas David, and Marilyn Smith. 1967. Proto-Jeh-Halang. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 20:157–175.
- Thomas David. 1964. A survey of Austro-asiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 1:49-163.
- . 1966. Mon-Khmer subgroupings in Vietnam. In Norman Zide (ed.) *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. London, The Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1966, pp. 194-202.
- Thomas, Dorothy M. 1967. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-East-Katuic*. MA thesis, University of North Dakota.
- Thompson, Laurence C. 1967. The history of Vietnamese finals. *Language*, 43.1:362-371.
- Thongkum, Theraphan L. 1984. *Nyah Kur (Chao Bon)-Thai-English Dictionary (Monic Language Studies 2)*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House.
- . 2000. *Languages of the Tribes in Xekong Province Southern Laos*. Bangkok, Thailand Research Fund.
- . and See Puengpa. 1980. *A Bruu-Thai-English dictionary*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1977. Some plant names in Formosan languages, *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages*, 7:79-119.

- Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1962-1966. *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, Ruth. 1966. A comparison of Muong with some Mon-Khmer languages. In Norman Zide (ed.), *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*, The Hague, Mouton. pp. 203-13.
- Zide, Arlene and Norman Zide. 1976. Proto-Munda cultural vocabulary: evidence for early agriculture. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, pp.1295-1334.
- Zorc, David and Matthew Charles. 1971. *Proto-Philippines finder list*. Ithaca, typescript/xerox.

Notes on the Dictionary Entries

Entries in Part 3 are constructed of up to seven parts:

- Numbered etyma, with a semicolon-separated list of PMK reconstructions, and italicized English glosses
- Supporting etymologies (labels A, B etc. correspond to the semicolon-separated list, and are followed by branch names in parentheses)
- Remarks on the reconstructions/etymologies
- Comparative works used as sources, in parentheses
- Munda comparisons and sources, if any
- Austronesian comparisons and sources, if any
- Other remarks or comparisons (more often Sino-Tibetan)

Each entry comprises at least the first two parts.

Some 156 extended etyma numbers (e.g. #6a, #798a) indicate Shorto's intention to insert new items and renumber the complete system. We have preserved all original numbering for fear of introducing any errors among the numerous cross-references.

References to the sources of lexical citations are often more implicit than explicit, reflecting the author's approach to economy of text. Although Shorto's draft bibliography is sketchy, we have made every possible effort both to identify sources, and to confirm the accuracy of citations.

The dictionary is based initially upon a synthesis of published comparative works. The texts drawn on for each etymology are listed in parentheses accordingly. This leads to some underspecification, as there are overlaps between these works, and items taken directly from the primary sources, e.g. Stieng items drawn directly from Azémar (1886) are not distinguished from Schmidt's citations from the same source.

Where particular forms are not drawn from published comparative works, their source may (although not always) be indicated immediately after their citation within the etymology, e.g.: in #2 *ʔiiʔ *person*, Stieng ʔap is marked as being from Blood (1966), as it was not taken from Azémar (1886). The author also introduced various new comparisons; some of their sources are marked, but others are not. As Shorto had not finished redrafting the full text before his passing, it is a fact that not all sources have been identified, and we beg the reader's understanding.

Symbols & Abbreviations

*	hypothetical, reconstructed, unattested
†	Munda cognate cited
‡	Austronesian cognate cited
>	becoming, developing into
<	deriving from
→	loanword into
←	loanword from
~	morphologically related to
=	the same (etymon) as
≠	differs from
°	except for letters following or preceding symbol the same as form last cited

cf.	compare
ib.	in the same work
intr.	intransitive
n.	noun
tr.	transitive
v.	verb
v.i.	verb intransitive
v.t.	verb transitive

Part 1 Vocalism

Introduction¹

More than sixty years have passed since Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, in a celebrated series of monographs, laid the foundations for modern comparative study of the Mon-Khmer languages as a group and within the Austric family to which they ultimately belong (Schmidt 1904, 1905, 1906). Few scholars now, in spite of intervening controversies, would seriously dispute his main findings; but there have been marked differences in the rate of progress in the various branches of the field which he opened up. Austronesian studies have proliferated, following on the classic work of Otto Dempwolff (1934-38); more recently H.-J. Pinnow (1959) has provided a comparable, if in some respects more modest, systematization of Munda. In Mon-Khmer² itself, the kernel of Schmidt's inquiries, the equivalent synthesis has yet to be achieved. A good deal of additional cognate material has been assembled, notably by Skeat and Blagden (1906) and Shafer (1952, 1965); but attempts at a systematic reconstruction have run into difficulties most obviously in the face of irregularities in the correspondences of vowels.³ The pivotal character of this part of the problem is my excuse for anticipating the comprehensive account which must follow later by putting forward the data from which the Mon-Khmer vowel system may be reconstructed.

The solution I propose depends on the recognition, alongside the vocalism reflected in a set of "regular" correspondences, of a number of types of vowel variation or gradation in Proto-Mon-Khmer with the variants distributed more or less randomly in modern dialects. It will readily be seen that, if such an interpretation of the data is correct, then the wider the extension of a cognate set the greater the chance of its including one or more vowel-variant forms. It follows that a comparison which, as most recent ones have, embraces the largest possible number of languages will elicit a very large number of partially similar correspondences. If, on the other hand, comparison is

¹ [Editorial note: for spoken Mon and modern Khmer Shorto uses the symbols **b** and **d** for IPA **ḃ** and **ḍ** respectively; spoken Mon **hw** corresponds to IPA **ḥ**.]

² The term "Mon-Khmer" has been used in two senses: of Mon, Khmer, and the languages of the Annamite Chain as in the titles of Schmidt's three monographs; and of the whole of the eastern branch of Austroasiatic, i.e. AA excluding Munda. Pinnow has proposed "Khmer-Nicobar" for the latter grouping. Until the position of Nicobarese is clarified I adhere to the older term; but my use of "Mon-Khmer" in the wide sense will be unambiguous, since I prefer to divide Mon with Nyahkur as "Western MK" from the remainder of the languages in Schmidt's narrower group, which designates "Eastern MK".

³ Cf. David D. Thomas (1964), "A survey of Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies", p. 161: "So in general Schmidt's work on initial consonants can be considered sound, the final consonants can be considered valid at most points, and the vowels are as he left them—chaotic."

restricted to two languages—and given that the incidence of vowel variation is limited—we should expect a relatively high number of regularly related cognates and a smaller number of “irregular” ones attributable to variation. These again will be likely to show the following features: doublets will occur at least occasionally in each language; variations being randomly distributed will generate multiple correspondences, e.g. *i in Language A versus *ii in Language B, and *ii in A versus *i in B; the correspondences so generated will be relatively infrequent as well as numerous. These expectations are borne out in the material presented below.

The two languages to be thus compared are Mon and Khmer. I choose them in the first place because the amount of lexical material available guarantees a maximum number of cognate pairs. In addition, their relationship is distant enough to provide a useful baseline when the comparison is extended to other dialects; and with Mon at any rate it is possible to trace the evolution of the language and so to go behind more recent perturbations of its phonological system.

For Mon, Old Mon is taken as the standard of reference and forms from the inscriptions are cited wherever possible, their counterparts in modern spoken Mon, if any, being also noted. Old and Middle Mon are cited from my *Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions* (1971); spoken Mon from my *Dictionary of modern spoken Mon* (1962); most of the literary forms cited will be found in P. Halliday, *A Mon-English dictionary* (Bangkok, 1922; repr. Rangoon, 1955), but some are taken from unpublished lexical collections.⁴

In the case of Khmer my knowledge regrettably does not allow me to base the comparison on epigraphic material in the same way. For many of the Old Khmer forms cited I am indebted to the kindness of [ms. blank here].⁵ Most of the modern Khmer forms are taken from Syndulphe Tandart [1877-1931], *Dictionnaire-cambodgien-français* (1935); those bearing the rubric “(Guesdon 1930)” are from Joseph Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*. In addition, my colleague Mrs J. M. Jacob has kindly supplied a number of references to the 1969 edition of *Vacananukram Khmer*. All modern forms are transcribed according to the system set out in Eugénie J. A. Henderson, “The main features of Cambodian pronunciation”, *BSOAS*, XIV, 1952, pp. 149-74. This differs in certain minor respects from that used in Judith M. Jacob, *Introduction to Cambodian* (1968), to which reference is made at appropriate places below.⁶ Where it is necessary to refer to the Cambodian orthography, the transliteration used is of the conventional Sanskrit type with the following modifications: the long inherent vowel is represented by *ī*, the inherent vowel plus short mark (*bōntōk*) or in a non-final syllable by *ṛ*; *ā* plus short mark, and *ā* plus *anusvāra* before *ṇ*, is represented by *a*; the vowel signs which are

⁴ [Editorial note: Bauer confirms that Shorto is referring to lexicographical material compiled by J. A. Stewart, C. O. Blagden and U Wāyama which used to be kept in metal file-card boxes at Shorto's office and in the form of notebooks. The material is presumed to be lost. He kept a handwritten copy of Stewart's collection of Mon folktales, of which lexical and syntactical samples were entered into the Mon dictionary of 1962. Bauer possesses a photocopy of it as well as of interleaved notes of Blagden's annotations to various Mon texts.].

⁵ [Editorial note: It is likely that Shorto meant to thank Saverous Pou and his colleague J. M. Jacob, but hesitated due to concerns over various sensitivities. Mrs. Jacob had compiled a glossary of pre-Angkorian Khmer and may have supplied a number of samples.]

⁶ There are marginal advantages in citing Khmer forms in a transcription which represents the modern pronunciation. The relation of the latter to the orthography is indicated in the discussion of each correspondence.

respectively the fifth, sixth, ninth to twelfth, and fourteenth in the Cambodian syllabary are represented by *u*, *ū*, *uə*, *ɣ*, *uə*, *iə*, *ɛ*.⁷

The proposed reconstruction was developed from a comparison of these two languages in the first instance, and is presented in terms of them here for clarity of demonstration. However, its extension to other Mon-Khmer dialects has necessitated some modifications of the scheme first derived from comparison of Mon and Khmer. Since I do not posit an immediate relationship between the two within the larger group, there would be little point in establishing the first version of the system only to reformulate it later, and I do not so. At those points, therefore, where Mon and Khmer are insufficient to establish distinctions attributed to the Proto-Mon-Khmer system, forms from other dialects are quoted in order to justify the reconstructions made. The vowel system to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer comprises seven simple vowels, in all of which length is distinctive, and three diphthongs: *i*, *ii*, *e*, *ee*, *ə*, *a*, *aa*, *ə*, *əə*, *ɔ*, *ɔɔ*, *o*, *oo*, *u*, *uu*, *iə*, *uə*, *ai*.

The principal types of variation postulated are (i) between short and long vowel: *i/ii*, etc.; (ii) between simple vowel and diphthong: *ii/iə*, *uu/uə*, occasionally *aa/ai*; (iii) between diphthong and *ə* : *iə/ə*, *uə/ə*. They may occur in combination, e.g. *i/ii/iə/ə*. Some other, minor types, may be noted.

Before proceeding further we shall consider the vowel systems of Mon and Khmer. The Old Mon system, in its maximal extension before velars, may be phonologically interpreted as /*i*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, *o*, *u*, *u*, *ai*/. Its graphic representation, which is not fully systematic, is noted at the appropriate places below and summarized in Table 1. Of the nine terms listed, /*ai*/ occurs only before velars and /*u*/ only before velars and laryngeals; /*i*, *e*/ do not occur before /*y*/; /*o*, *u*/ do not occur before /*w*/.

The subsequent evolution of this system is summarized in Table 2. The main steps were as follows. (i) In Middle Mon /*ə*/ lost its rounding, and /*u*/ became rounded (/*ə*/ > /*i*/; /*u*/ > /*u*/), following a nasal and following medial /*ʔ*/ < /*nʔ*/. The disappearance through merger of final /*c*, *ɲ*/ added a further diphthong to the system before velars, which was and is not distinguished in writing from /*e*/, but survives in spoken Mon as *ɔi*. (ii) At a later stage /*ɔ*/ > /*o*/ before most finals following /*n*, *m*/ (the position is complicated, however, by interdialectal borrowing); then /*o*/ disappeared before laryngeals as a result of /*oʔ*/ > /*u*/, /*oh*/ > /*uh*/; /*u*/ and /*ə*/ merged as a central vowel. (iii) The emergence of a register distinction, probably towards the end of the sixteenth century, set in train the complex series of splits, shifts, and mergers which produced the modern system. These changes were conditioned partly by register, partly by the nature of the preceding consonant, and partly by that of the final one. They are reflected in the orthography only to the extent that rhyme mergers have led to historically misleading “phonetic” spellings of particular words.

The Khmer system is most conveniently set out in terms of its orthography, which like the Mon one antedates the splits which have followed the development of register. In its maximal extension, in closed syllables before most finals, the written system is (not in syllabary order) *i/u*⁸, *ī*, *iə*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ā*, *ɔ*, *ṛ*, *o*, *u*, *ū*, *uə*, *ɣ*, *ū*, *uə*. In the contexts in question these symbols are pronounced, according to register, *ɣ/ū*, *ī*, *iə/īə*, *e/è*, *æ/è*, *a/èa/ṛə*,

⁷ I am grateful to Mrs Jacob for looking over the Khmer material in this paper. Any errors which remain, however, are mine.

⁸ In complementary distribution.

a:/îə, ɔ/wə/û, ɔ:/ɔ̄, ao/ò:, o/ù, o:/ù:, uə/ûə, aɣ/ɣ̄:, ɣ:/ù:, uə/ùə. Before palatals, before *h*, and in open syllables restricted systems operate.

The sixteen terms of the maximal system include four pairs which are functionally distinguished by length, or appear to have been so at the time when the orthography was established: *i, î* (or *u, û*; but these symbols are of relatively recent introduction), *a, ā, ɔ, ɔ̄, u, ū*. Further simplifications are suggested by a study of distribution after known loanwords have been eliminated, as by inspection of the correspondences set out below. *uə* seems to occur only in loans from Thai, while *u:* has a very restricted distribution in native words and is then probably environmentally conditioned. *î* does not occur in head-register words; oppositions of *e* and *ɛ* are relatively infrequent and show at least a partial correlation with register.

I shall now set out the Mon : Khmer correspondences in their relation to the reconstructed Proto-Mon-Khmer system, dealing at first with the regular correspondences. The order to be followed is dictated by simplicity of exposition and is, ***a, *aa, *i, *ii, *iə, *u, *uu, *uə, *ɔ, *ɔ̄, *ə, *əə, *e, *ee, *o, *oo, *ai.**

Table 1: Mon : Khmer correspondences

PMK	Old Mon orthography	Old Mon phonology	Khmer orthography
*i	<i>i, u, a, ī, ū, e, ui, ei</i>	ø	<i>i, u</i>
*-i?	<i>-i(?)</i>	-i?	<i>-ī</i>
*ii	<i>ī, i</i>	i	<i>i, u⁽¹⁾, ī⁽¹⁾, e⁽²⁾</i>
*-ii?	<i>-ey</i>	ɔy	<i>-ai</i>
*e	<i>e</i>	e	<i>ɛ⁽³⁾, e⁽⁴⁾</i>
*ee	<i>ī, i</i>	i	<i>ɛ⁽⁵⁾, e⁽⁶⁾</i>
*a	<i>a; e⁽⁷⁾</i>	a ⁽⁸⁾	<i>a, ā⁽⁹⁾, ai⁽¹⁰⁾, e⁽¹¹⁾, -⁽¹²⁾</i>
*aa	<i>ā; e⁽¹³⁾</i>	ai ⁽⁸⁾ , a	<i>ā</i>
*ə	<i>i etc.; a⁽¹⁴⁾, o⁽¹²⁾</i>	ø; ɔ ^(12,14)	<i>ɔ; ɔ̃⁽⁹⁾; a⁽²⁾</i>
*əə	<i>i etc.; u, ū⁽¹⁰⁾</i>	ø; u ⁽¹⁰⁾	<i>ɣ</i>
*ɔ	<i>o⁽⁸⁾, a</i>	ɔ	<i>ɔ; ɔ̃⁽⁹⁾; a⁽²⁾</i>
*ɔɔ	<i>o⁽⁸⁾, a</i>	ɔ	<i>ɔ̃; ūv⁽¹⁵⁾</i>
*o	<i>u, ū, o⁽⁸⁾; i etc.</i>	u ⁽⁸⁾ , ø	<i>o</i>
*oo	<i>o; u⁽¹⁵⁾</i>	o; u ⁽¹⁵⁾	<i>o</i>
*u	<i>u, ū, o⁽⁸⁾; i etc.; ū, u⁽¹⁰⁾</i>	u ⁽⁸⁾ , ø; u ⁽¹⁰⁾	<i>u; ūv⁽¹⁵⁾, ū⁽¹⁶⁾</i>
*uu	<i>ū, u</i>	u	<i>ū, u⁽¹²⁾; o⁽²⁾</i>
*-uu?	<i>-ow</i>	ɔw	<i>-au</i>
*iə	<i>e; a⁽¹⁷⁾</i>	ei; ɔ ⁽¹⁷⁾ (?); iə ⁽¹⁸⁾	<i>iə</i>
*uə	<i>o</i>	o	<i>uə</i>
*ai	<i>a; e⁽¹³⁾</i>	ai ⁽⁸⁾ , a	<i>ɛ</i>

Table 2: Mon historical developments
(Spoken Mon open syllables, and Literary Mon -ā, -ī, -ū, au, reflect Old Mon final /r, l, w/; Literary Mon -a, -i, -u reflect Old Mon final /ʔ/.)

Old Mon phonology	Literary Mon	Spoken Mon
i	<i>i, ī</i>	ɕe i ɿ⁽¹⁹⁾; oi òi⁽²⁰⁾; ɛ i ɿ
e	<i>e</i>	ea èa⁽²⁰⁾; e è
a	<i>-a, -ā; -au⁽²¹⁾; -a⁽²³⁾; -ā-</i>	a(ɛ) è(a)⁽¹⁹⁾; ɛ èa⁽²⁰⁾; a à⁽²²⁾; a è⁽²⁴⁾; -ai -ài⁽²⁵⁾; -ao -èa⁽²¹⁾
ø	<i>ui; e⁽²⁶⁾; i, ī</i>	a à⁽²⁰⁾; ɕi òi⁽²⁶⁾; -oi⁽²⁵⁾; ɒ (ɜ) ʔ; or as < Old Mon /i/⁽²⁷⁾
ɔ	<i>ā⁽²⁰⁾; -au⁽²¹⁾; a</i>	ɔ ò; -o -o- -uh⁽²⁸⁾; -oa -òa⁽²⁵⁾; -ao -èa
o	<i>o</i>	-ɒʔ -ʔʔ; -uh -ùh; -oa -òa⁽²⁵⁾; o ò
u	<i>u, ū</i>	ao u ù⁽¹⁹⁾; ɜ ʔ⁽²⁰⁾; -ɕe -ui -ùi⁽²⁵⁾; ɔ u ù
u	<i>o⁽²⁹⁾, ui; u⁽²⁷⁾</i>	ɒ ʔ⁽³⁰⁾; a à⁽²⁰⁾; or as < Old Mon /u/⁽²⁷⁾
ai	<i>ā</i>	ai ài

1. Chest register.
2. “Post-dental” shift. The incidence varies according to the vowel.
3. Head register.
4. Chest register; head register ***h**, (?) ***w**.
5. Head register; chest register before ***ʔ**.
6. Chest register; (?) head register before *s*.
7. Before *y*, optionally before *c*, *ñ*.
8. Before laryngeals and velars.
9. Before ***ʔ**, *m*, *r*.
10. Before ***y**.
11. Chest register before *ñ* (?).
12. Before ***h**.
13. Optionally before velars.
14. Before *s*.
15. Before ***ʔ**.
16. Before *r*.
17. Before *s* following consonant cluster.
18. Before *r*, *l*, *w*.
19. In open syllables and before laryngeals.
20. Before velars.
21. Old Mon -*w*.
22. Before dentals.
23. Before velars, *h*.
24. Before *p*, *m*.
25. Old Mon -*y*.
26. Before velar < Old Mon palatal.
27. By post-nasal split.
28. Following *n*, *m*.
29. Rare except before ’ /**ʔ**/.
30. Before laryngeals.

Vowels before Stops, Nasals and Liquids⁹

***a, *aa, *ai.**

***a.** Before final ***k, *ŋ, *t, *n, *p, *m** the reconstruction of ***a** presents little difficulty. It follows from correspondences of **a** in Eastern Mon-Khmer languages other than Khmer (Bahnaric, Khmuic) and in Temiar, **ă** in Vietnamese and Mường, and orthographic *a* in Khmer and in Old and Middle Mon.

Mon: Old Mon **a** is interpreted as phonological /**a**/ before velars (and laryngeals) and /**ɔ**/ before other finals. Modern Mon has correspondingly **ɛ**, chest-register **ɛa** before velars; **ɔ** (and following nasal **o**), chest-register **ò** otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic *a* is realized as **a** in head-register words, and in chest-register words as **ɛə** before velars, **ɔə** before other finals.

Palaungic: the Riang-Lang correspondences are **a** before velars and **ə** before other consonants. Palaung has **aʔ** < ***-ak** and **ə** before other consonants, so that PMK ***a** can generally be reconstructed from Palaung **-aʔ** : Riang-Lang **-ak**; Palaung **-əŋ** : Riang-Lang **-aŋ**; Palaung **-ət** : Riang-Lang **-ət**, etc. Praok, which shows indications of having been a register language at an earlier stage, has **o** before velars following an originally voiceless initial complex, **u** following an originally voiced one; before the other consonants in question it has **u** irrespective of the initial.

Khasi most often has **a**; but in a significant minority of cases—about a quarter, before all finals—it has **e**. This is too frequent to account for by assuming PMK variants in ***ə**, nor can it readily be explained by environmental conditioning. I make no special reconstruction in these cases.

Most of these reflexes are illustrated in the following examples.

1. Middle Mon *jak*, Modern Mon *cək* ‘to march, set out’; Sre *ja* ‘to tread on, trample’, Bahnar *jak* ‘to go away’; Riang-Lang *cak* ‘to put on, wear [shoes]’ (and by extension ‘... [headgear, rings]’); ‘Central Sakai’ *jak* ‘to tread on’ (301 **jak*).

2. Khmer *tək* ‘to trap’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) *dak* ‘to catch’, Sre *da*, Biat *dak* ‘trap’, Bahnar *dak* ‘projectile trap’, Jeh, Halang *dak* ‘spear trap’; Riang-Lang *ˈdak* ‘(to) trap’; Semai (Tauern 1914) *da:k* ‘trap’ (#330 **dak*). This root is distinct from **dak* ‘to bind’ (325) with which Schmidt (1905:38) conflated it.

3. Middle Mon *kwak* ‘to hang (v.i.t.)’, Modern Mon *kwək* v.t.; Khmu Yuan *wak*; Palaung *hvaʔ* v.i.; Khasi *wah* v.t.; Mường *quắc* (#459 **kwak*). From a nasal-infix form is Vietnamese *mắc* v.t.

4. Palaung *təŋ* ‘to roast, steam, heat’, Riang-Lang *ˈtaŋ* ‘to bake in open dish’, Praok *toŋ* ‘to broil’; Khasi *thang* ‘to burn, roast, cremate’ (#544 **t₁aŋ*).

⁹ [Editorial note: The original title for this section was “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, but Shorto changed his mind and in the typescript “Non-Laryngeal Finals” is crossed out and “Stops, Nasals and Liquids” written over it. The significance of this change in title can be inferred from Shorto 1976c, which presents a reconstruction of PMK vocalism specifically restricted to the rhymes with laryngeal finals. Structurally the reconstruction in that paper corresponds to that offered in the present chapter, which we know was prepared for the first draft of his MK comparative dictionary (Bauer confirms that Shorto was reworking his PMK vocalism for the second version, although no relevant manuscript has been found). We can thus deduce that the paper (1976c) is the missing companion to “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, reworked to appear as a stand-alone paper.]

5. Old Mon *t̃baŋ*, Modern Mon *bəŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) *baŋ* id., Biat *baŋ* ‘shoots’; Palaung *bəŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’; Vietnamese *mǎng* [*tre*] id. (#636 **t̃baŋ*). From an infixed form are Khmer *tùmpèəŋ*, *dəmpèəŋ* ‘shoot’, Sre *baŋ*, Bahnar *təbaŋ*, Jeh *tabaŋ*, Halang *dəbaŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’. Theng *tbaŋ* ‘shoot’.

6. Khmer *phlèəŋ* ‘thatching-grass’; Palaung *pləŋ*, Riang-Lang *ˀplaŋ* id.; Khasi *phlang*, *ˀlang* ‘grass’; ‘Central Sakai’ *plɔ:k* ‘roof’ (#749 *[*p*]laŋ). (Vietnamese *tranh* ‘thatching-grass’ appears to reflect a var. **plaiŋ*.)

7. Stieng (Azémar 1886) *hǎŋ* ‘piquant, biting, pungent’, Sre *haŋ* ‘over-salt’, Bunör, Central Rölöm *haŋ* ‘peppery’, Biat *haŋ* ‘spicy, piquant’, Bahnar *haŋ* ‘sharp, piquant, biting’; Vietnamese *hǎng* ‘[smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong’ (#783 **haŋ*). (Jeh has *hàŋ* ‘hot, peppery, for expected ***haŋ*. Khmer *haŋ* ‘tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling’ is perhaps a loan from the Austronesian cognate: cf. Cham *kà-a:ŋ* ‘acre et fort’.)

8. Mon *bət* ‘(cəm—) to feel, palpate, (—toa) fist’; Biat *bat* [*ti:*] ‘fist, to clench’; Riang-Lang *ˀbət* ‘to feel, palpate’; Khasi *bat* ‘to hold, catch hold of, grasp’; Bateg Deq *bət* ‘to hold, (#1042 *[*j*]bat).

9. Old Mon *mat*, Modern Mon *mòt* ‘eye’; Stieng *mat* id., Sre *mat* ‘face, eye’, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar *mat* ‘eye’, Jeh *mat* ‘eye, face’, Halang, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan *mat* ‘eye’; Khasi *ˀmat* id.; Vietnamese *mặt* ‘face’, Mường *mặt* ‘eye, face’; Temiar *mad* ‘eye’ (#1045 **mat*). Vietnamese *mắt* ‘eye’ is from a prefixed form, along with Khasi *khmat*.

10. Middle Mon *that* ‘to be powerful, severe’, Modern Mon *thət* ‘to be strong’; Khmer *thəət* ‘to be fat’; Palaung *hət* ‘to be thick’ (#111 **dhat*). Riang-Lang *ˀkhət* ‘to be thick’ shows a secondary prefix.

11. Mon *klən* ‘python’; Khmer *thlan*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) *klǎn*, Sre, Biat *klaŋ*; Khasi *thlen*, *ˀlen*; Vietnamese *trăn* id.; (?) Che’ Wong *talun* ‘snake’ (#1205 **t̃lan*).

12. Stieng, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Kuy *kap* ‘to bite’; Temiar *kab* (#1231 **kap*). From a prefixed form are Khasi *jkep* ‘to bite’, *jkap* ‘snapping with teeth’.

13. Old Mon *kam* ‘arrow, projectile’, Modern Mon *kəm* ‘bullet, cartridge’; Khmer *kam* ‘projectile’, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Khmu Yuan *kam* ‘arrow’ (#1308 **kam*). Khasi has *khnam* id., from an infixed form. See also the forms with variant, nos. 62-3, 66-9, 72-3, 77 below.

Before final **c*, **ɲ* fronted and raised vowels are found in the Stieng dialect described by Azémar; Bahnar, Jeh, and Halang; Khmuic; Palaung; and Temiar, corresponding to the reflexes specified for *-*k* etc. in other languages. This is accompanied by a shift of the final nasal to a velar one in the North Bahnaric languages and Palaung. We find *ɛ* in Bahnar, so frequently accompanied by lengthening that this should probably not be treated as irregular; *ê* in Azémar’s Stieng; *e* in Jeh, Halang, and Temiar; and *i* in Khmu’, while Khmu Yuan has *-ec* (see no. 27 below), *-iɲ*. Palaung has *-iɲ* < *-*aɲ* following a voiceless initial complex, *-eɲ* following a voiced one, but the reflexes before stop have not been determined.

In one instance also (no. 19) Khmer has *è*, and this is taken to be the chest-register reflex before a palatal.

In Old Mon before these finals **a** or **e** may be written allographically for /ɔ/; thus *kumlac*, *kumlec* /kəɫɔc/ ‘thief’; *srañ*, *sreñ* /srəɲ/ ‘silver’.

14. Khmer **kac** ‘to break [rigid-object]’, Stieng **kac** ‘to strip [leaves, grain]’, Sre **kac** ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kac** ‘to strip [grain]’, Bahnar (**kə:c** beside) dial. **kə:c** ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’; Riag-Lang **kac** ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’; Khasi *kheit* ‘to pluck, gather’; Vietnamese *cắt*, Mường *cách* ‘to cut up’; Bateg Deq **kəc** ‘to cut’ (#800 ***kac**). Note further Bahnar **kəɲ:c** ‘to break [ear, twig, etc.] with nail’, from an infixed form.

15. Mon **wòt** ‘to wring out’; Sre **wac**, Biat [**da:k**] **wac** [**we:l**] ‘eddy’; ‘Central Sakai’ **wêt**, **uêt** ‘to twist, wring’ (#863 ***wac**). Khasi *khyrwait* ‘id., to strangle’, from a prefixed form, is to be compared with Biat **rwac** ‘to twist [hair] into knot’.

16. Old Mon **sac**, Modern Mon **sət** ‘fruit’; Khmer **sac** ‘flesh, meat’, Kuy **sac** ‘meat’, Bahnar **tsəc** ‘lean meat’; Temiar **sej** ‘meat’ (#871 ***sac**). The senses ‘meat’ and ‘fruit’ are both found in Aslian: Skeat and Blagden 1906, F 170(a).

17. Old Mon *pañ*, Modern Mon **pən** ‘to shoot’; Khmer **baɲ**, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **paɲ** id., Bahnar **pəɲ** ‘to beat cotton with a bow’, Jeh, Halang **pəɲ**, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **pɪɲ** ‘to shoot’; Palaung **piɲ**, Riag-Lang **puɲ** id.; Vietnamese *bắn*, Mường *pảnh* (#905 ***paɲ?**). Riag-Lang **u** is otherwise attested only in Shan loans; its occurrence here may conceivably reflect the complex final, but the point cannot be proved.

18. Literary Mon. *saman* ‘star’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau **səmaɲ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **maɲ**, Khmu Yuan **sərmɪɲ**; Palaung **səmiɲ**, Riag-Lang **səkməɲ**, Praok **simuɲ** (#888 ***sm?əɲ**).

19 Late Middle Mon *mran*, Modern Mon **pəròn** ‘smallpox’; Khmer **mrəɲ** ‘ulcer, cancer, chancre, gangrene’, Biat **mrəɲ** ‘chancre’; Palaung **brəɲ** ‘smallpox’ (#923 ***mrəɲ**).

20. Kuy **kasəɲ** ‘snake’; Palaung **hiɲ**, Riag-Lang **həɲ**; Khs *bseĩñ*, *seiñ* (#937 ***[b]səɲ?**). From a form with r-infix are Praok **si?uɲ**; Vietnamese [*con*] *rắn*. (Khmer **msəɲ** ‘year of the snake’ is reportedly a loanword from a Mường dialect.)

See also 64-5 below.

Final semivowels and liquids: in most languages the reflexes are those already listed; I note here exceptions.

From *-**ar** Praok has -**o** (following originally voiceless initial; the post-voicing reflex has not been determined). Vietnamese has -*ay* (i.e. with short /a/), -*ây*, variation between these finals being common in the language. Thus:

21. Mon **pə** ‘to fly’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Bahnar **par**, Jeh **pal**, Halang **par**; Palaung **pər**, Riag-Lang **pər**, Praok **po**; Vietnamese *bay*, Mường *pă l* (#1633 ***par**; note also Kuy **paal**). Khasi *ner* ‘feather’—beside *sner*, with secondary prefix—from an infixed form, is to be compared with Sre **ddar**, Chrau, Bahnar **pənar** ‘wing’ inter alia. (Note here Biat **na:r** ‘wing, feather’, with unexplained long vowel; Khmu Yuan **pəniir** ‘wing’ shows contamination by **tiir** ‘to fly’.)

See also 70 below.

From *-**al** Praok has -**ɔ**, following originally voiceless initial; Vietnamese has -*ay*. In the one available example Riag-Lang has **a**, not **ə**. Thus:

22. Khmer **tbal** ‘rice-mortar’ (Tandart gives **tba:l**, with possibly secondary lengthening; so Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pa:l** ?; Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **ˈpal**, Praok **pɔ** (#1757 ***tpal**). Sre, Biat **mpal**, Bahnar **təpal** are from an infixed form.

See also 71 below.

Other correspondences. In three items Khmuic exhibits an unexplained high back unrounded vowel.

23. Khmu Yuan **lik** ‘to be blind’. Cf. Mon **klek** ‘to be filled in, closed, blind’; Khasi [mat]lah ‘blind’ (#433 ***klak**).

24. Theng **drũŋ**, from prefixed form **cəndrũŋ**, Khmu Yuan **centriiŋ** ‘horn’. Cf. Old Mon **drai** ‘elephant’s tusk’, Modern Mon **krəŋ** ‘horn, tusk’; Praok **ruŋ** ‘horn’; Khasi **reng**; Vietnamese **sũng** (#699 ***d₂raŋ**); and from prefixed form Riang-Lang **kəmrəŋ**.

25. Khmu Yuan (obsolescent) **nim**, Theng **nũm** ‘year’. Cf. Khmer **chnam**, Stieng **sənam**, Sre **nam**, **sənam**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **nam**, Jeh **hnam**, Halang **hənam**; Palaung **sənəm**, Praok **num**; Khasi **snem**, *’nem*; Vietnamese, Mường *nă m* (#1368 ***cnam**). Old Mon **cnām**, Modern Mon **hnam**, and perhaps Bahnar dialects **hana:m**, **sana:m**, **səna:m** reflect a long-vowel variant. Some of the above may reflect an infixed form.

It is doubtful whether these cases are environmentally conditioned. (Contrast here with (#707) ***mraŋ** ‘horse’ > Palaung **brəŋ**, Riang-Lang **məraŋ**, Praok **bruŋ**; (***kuən mraŋ** >) ***k-mraŋ** > Khmu’ **hmraŋ**, Khmu Yuan **həmprəŋ**, **kəmprəŋ**.)

In four items Vietnamese exhibits a similar vowel; apart from no. 24 above all involve final *-c.

26. Vietnamese **đứt** ‘to be broken, snapped, to be cut’. Cf. Khmer **dac** ‘(to) break’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **têc** ‘to break’, Sre **tac** ‘broken, cut’, Biat **tac** ‘[rope] to break’; Khasi **thait** ‘to cut asunder, to snap’ (#812 ***tac**).

27. Vietnamese **bán đứt** ‘to sell’. Cf. Khmer **dac** ‘saleable’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **têc**, Sre, Biat **tac**, Bahnar **tɛ:c**, Jeh, Halang **tek**, Khmu Yuan **tec** ‘to sell’ (#813 ***t₁ac**).

28. Vietnamese **nứt** ‘to crack open, split open’. Cf. Mon **đọt** ‘to hatch out (v.i.)’ (#821 ***[r]đac**; Sora **ra’daj’-**).

In none of these cases do I make a special construction.

***aa.** The normal correspondences from which ***aa** is reconstructed before the same finals are of orthographic **ā** in Old and Middle Mon and in Khmer; long /**a:**/ in other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages (noted as **aa** in Kuy, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan), Temiar (noted as **ā**), and Khasi (written **a**); Vietnamese and Mường **a**; Palaung **a**, Riang-Lang **ɑ**. Praok has **a** following an originally voiceless initial complex and usually **ɛ** following an originally voiced one.

Mon: Old Mon **ā** is interpreted as /**ai**/ before velars and /**a**/ before other finals. In the first context **e** may be written allographically, e.g. **kyāk**, **kyek** /**kyaik**/ ‘sacred being...’. Modern Mon has correspondingly **ai**, chest register **ài** before velars; before other finals **a**; chest-register **è** before labials, **-èa** from Old Mon **-ār**, **-āl**, **à** otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic **ā** is realized as **a:** in head-register words, **ɪə** in chest-register ones.

Thus:

29. Mon **kətaik** ‘tongue’; Kuy **ntaa?**, Khmu Yuan **həntaak**; Riang-Lang **ˈtak**, Praok **dak**; Temiar **lentāg** (#320 ***nt₁aak**, ***l(n)t₁aak**). Palaung has **kərta?**, with a

secondary prefix seen also in Nicobarese **kəletak**; note also Khmer **ənda:t**, with assimilated final.

30. Old Mon *kyāk*, *kyek*, Modern Mon **caik** ‘sacred being or thing’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **cia:k** ‘bloodsucking male witch’, Sre **caa** ‘evil spirit’, Biat **cia:k** ‘ghost’, West Bahnar **kiak** (and **kiek**; with secondary shortening following semivowel?), ‘corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts’, Jeh **kaya:k** ‘to die’, Halang **kəya:k** ‘corpse’ (#388 ***kyaak**).

31. Sre **kaaŋ** ‘jaw’, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ka:ŋ** ‘chin’, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:ŋ** ‘chin, jaw’; Mường *cáng* ‘chin’ (#497 ***kaaŋ?**).

32. East Bahnar **rà:ŋ** ‘light (n.)’; Palaung **raŋ** ‘lamp’, Praok **reŋ** ‘to be light’; Khasi rang ‘[weather] to be fine’; Vietnamese *rạng* ‘to dawn’ (#660 ***raaŋ?**). From a prefixed form are Khmer **sra:ŋ** ‘first light, to glimmer’, Biat **cra:ŋ** ‘reflection, to reflect’; Vietnamese *sáng* ‘light’; Sakai **chěrang** ‘daylight’.

33. Mon **thaiŋ** ‘junction, fork, division of stem’; Khmer **thi:əŋ** ‘palm-frond’, Kontum Bahnar **tha:ŋ** ‘branch’ (#789 ***dhaaŋ**).

34. Mon **sat** ‘to bale’; Khmer **sa:c** ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre **saac** ‘to empty with a bucket’; Riang-Lang **ṭhac** ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’; Vietnamese *tát* ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 ***saac**). Khasi *snaid* ‘strainer’, from an infixed form, formally parallels Biat **nhac** ‘drizzle’ (and Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **nhac**, with perhaps contextual shortening).

35. Old Mon *smāñ*, Modern Mon **hman** ‘to ask, inquire’; Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **maap** ‘to ask’; Palaung **hman** ‘to request’, Riang-Lang **ṁaŋ** ‘to inquire, request’, Praok **maŋ** ‘to request’; Temiar **səməŋ** ‘to inquire, (#912 ***smaap**).

36. Mon **hwat** ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’; Khmer **pa:t** ‘to trim down, file down’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pa:t** ‘to cut oneself on something sharp’, Bahnar **pāt** ‘to whet’; Vietnamese, Mường *phát* ‘to cut, trim’ (#1026 ***cpaat**).

37. Mon **dan** ‘path’; Khmer **da:n** ‘path, trail, scent’ (and **l?a:n**, by levelling on the infixed form **lùm?a:n** id.; #1123 ***l?aan**).

38. Sre **caan** ‘to borrow, hire, buy on credit’, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ca:n** ‘to borrow’, Bahnar **ca:n** ‘[to buy] on credit’ (#1141 ***.caan**). From an infixed form is Praok **san** ‘debt’.

39. Bahnar **haa:p**, **həa:p**, Jeh **kaqa:p**, Halang **kəqa:p** ‘to yawn’; Riang-Lang **ṭhap** (#1229 ***s?aap**). From an infixed ***sn?aap** are Mon **həap** id.; Khmer **sŋa:p**, Biat **ŋga:p** [bic], Bahnar **h(°)ŋa:p**, Theng **hŋap**; Vietnamese *ngáp* id.; Khasi *sngab* ‘gills’ (and Sre **ŋgap** ‘to yawn’, with contextual shortening?).

40. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ta:p**, Sre **taap** ‘to clap, slap’, Biat, Jeh **ta:p** ‘to slap’, Bahnar, Halang **ta:p** ‘to slap, hit’; Praok **tap** ‘to strike, beat’; Khasi *thab* ‘to hit with hand, slap’ (#1251 ***t₁aap**).

41. Khmer **kda:m**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ta:m**, Sre **taam** ‘crab’; Riang-Lang **kətam**; Khasi *tham* (#1348 ***kt₁aam**). From a nasal-infix form are Mon **hətam** id.; Bahnar, Halang **kəta:m**, Jeh **kata:m**, Khmu Yuan **kətaam**; ‘Central Sakai’ **kantom**.

42. Khmer **chì:əm** ‘blood’ (#1430 ***jhaam**); and with n-infix Kuy **hjaam** id.; Palaung **hnam**, Riang-Lang **ṁnam**, Praok **nam**; Khasi *’nam*, *snam*; with m-infix, Sre **mhaam**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **mha:m**, Bahnar, Jeh **pha:m**, Halang **məha:m**, Khmu Yuan **màam**; Kensiu **məhəm**. (Old Mon *chīm*, Modern Mon **chīm** represent an isolated front-vowel variant.)

43. Mon **həpa** ‘flat surface, back [of hand etc.]’; Khmer **təm̥baː** ‘flat surface’ (#1639 ***tnpaar**).

44. Old Mon **’bār**, Modern Mon **mèa** ‘to kneel with bowed head’; Khasi **par** ‘to kneel’; Vietnamese **bái** ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 ***?baar**; the Vietnamese tone may be attributable to the initial sequence).

45. Old Mon **kyāl**, Modern Mon **ca** ‘air, wind’; Kuy **kayaal**, Stieng **caːl**, **chaːl**, Sre **caal**, Chrau **chaːl**, Bunör **syāːl**, Central Rölöm **caːl**, Biat **chiaːl**, Bahnar **kiaːl** ‘wind’ (#1782 ***kyaal**). Khmer **khyəl** shows a special contextual development (Pre-Khmer ***kyəl** ?) following **y**, seen also in **yùm** ‘to weep’ : Old Mon **yām**, Modern Mon **yèm**, &c. (1381 ***yaam**)

46. Mon **wèa** ‘open ground, pasture’; Khmer **vìːəl** ‘plain’ (#1797 ***waal**).

47. Middle Mon **kṣā**, Modern Mon **cha** ‘split bamboo fibre’; Riang-Lang **ṭkhal** [ro?] (#1802 ***ksaal**).

See also 62, 64-71, 74-7.

Other correspondences. Praok **a** following an originally voiced initial may be regular before certain finals. For ***-aac** we have **lac** ‘to sleep late’ : Riang-Lang **_lac** ‘to be lazy’ (***laac**), and **vac** ‘sword’ : Riang-Lang **_vac**, **_wac** (#864 ***waac**). **nam** ‘blood’ < ***jnhaam** (no. 42) probably reflects Proto-Palaungic ***hnām**, with loss of ***j-**. But there is a discrepancy between e.g. **ke** 3rd pers. dual pronoun : Palaung **gar**, Riang-Lang **_kar** (***gaar**) and **ma** ‘dry hill field’ : Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang **_mar** (#1651 ***[]maar**). The point must remain undetermined for the present.

In four items Vietnamese exhibits **-uôt**, **-uā** /**uə**/, a development to be compared with **u** < ***a** (nos. 24, 26-8 above).

48. Vietnamese **uôt** ‘to be wet’; Temiar **kəʔāj** (#795 ***kʔaac**); and from an infix form Vietnamese **múôt** ‘to trickle’; Kintaq Bong **məʔaj** ‘to be wet’ (contrast **tát** < #872 ***saac**, no. 34).

49. Biat **maːn** ‘to borrow’; Vietnamese **mượn**, Mường **manh** (***maən?**; contrast **lan** ‘[water, fire, vegetation] to spread’ < ***s-laən**, ad Bahnar **laːn**, and ***sn-laən** > Mon **hənan**, see #926).

50. Vietnamese **ngiã**, Mường **ngá** ‘to lie on one’s back’ (#1590 ***[l]ñaarh**); so from infix forms Mon **təŋɛa** ‘id., to be the right way up’; **təŋɛa** ‘to turn [something] the right way up’; Khmer **phnəː** ‘on one’s back, the right way up, looking back’ (contrast **bái** < ***?baar**, no. 44).

51. Old Mon **kintāl**, Modern Mon **həta** ‘under-surface, bottom’; Vietnamese **dưới** ‘(to be) below, under’ (#1735 ***kt₁aal**, ad Theng **tāl** ‘(space) under, underneath’).

See also 63 below.

I make no special construction in these cases.

In the following example Bahnar fronting following a palatal+liquid cluster probably requires no special explanation.

52. Bahnar **hlit** ‘to flee in terror’; Praok **lat** ‘to be afraid’ (#1086 ***[c]laat**); cf. with the causative **pəlit**, **pəhlit** ‘to frighten’ Khmer **cùmlìət**, which is perhaps not formally parallel.

Contrast, however, Bahnar **hlaːk** ‘numeral classifier for pieces of thatch...’ if : Old Mon **clāk** ‘shingle’.

***ai.** The reconstruction of a diphthong ***ai** is proposed in the first place to account for correspondences of Khmer orthographic *ε*—realized as **ae/ê**—with reflexes in most other languages identical with those assigned to ***aa**. The majority of items involve final velars, though ***-ail** and **-ais** are also reconstructed.

Distinctive reflexes are not limited to Khmer. (i) Stieng usually has **e**: following voiced initial (and two instances of **a**: may be attributable to borrowing). (ii) From ***-aik** Sre has **-a**, distinct both from **-aa** < ***-aak** and **-a'** < ***-ak**. (iii) Khasi has *ie* /**e**:/ or less frequently *ia*; the latter perhaps < ***iə** by metathesis. (iv) Vietnamese has *-ach*, *-anh*, implying palatalization of the final velar.

It may be assumed that an original ***ai** was merged with ***aa** before other finals early in the history of Mon-Khmer. This choice of reconstruction, consonant with the development of a mid front vowel in Khmer and Khasi and the final palatalization in Vietnamese, has the further merit of perhaps explaining the merger of ***aa** and ***ai** before velars as /**ai**/ in Mon. We may also note that variants in ***ai** and ***iə** are found in a significant number of cases; not improbably exhibiting metathesis.

Examples:

53. Khmer **khʔaek**, Theng **kǎʔak** ‘crow’, Bahnar **āk** ‘to croak, (*se:m*—) crow’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **aʔ** ‘to caw’; ‘Central Sakai’ **ök-ak** ‘crow’ (#270 ***kʔaik**). From an infixed ***klʔaik** are Old Mon *kil’āk* etc., Modern Mon **hədaik** ‘crow’; Sre **kənda**, Biat **nʔa:k**; Palaung **kəʔaʔ**, Praok **lak** (and by metathesis Riang-Lang **luk ʔak**).

54. Old Mon *tbek* ‘to slash’, Modern Mon **pàik** ‘to slash, cut, cut down, fell’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **be:k** ‘to break, split, burst (v.i.)’, Biat **ba:k** ‘to notch’; Khasi **piəh** ‘to cut in two’; Sakai **bak** ‘to split’ (#364 ***tbaik**).

55. Old Mon *mrek*, Modern Mon **pəràik** ‘peacock’; Stieng **bra:k** (loanword?), Sre **bra**, Chrau **bra:ʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **bra:k**; Palaung dialects **phraʔ**, **braʔ** (whence Riang-Lang **prak**) (#416 ***mraik**).

56. M **lāik** ‘to split [bamboo] into fibres’; Khmer **rəlè:k** ‘to divide up, share out’, Biat **rla:k** ‘to divide up’; (or from prefixed form?) Khasi *thlieh* ‘to split’ (#451 ***rlaik**).

57. Sre **aaŋ** ‘light’, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔa:ŋ** ‘light, bright’, Biat **a:ŋ** ‘light, to shine’, Bahnar **à:ŋ** ‘light’; Vietnamese *ánh* ‘beam, ray, (—*sáng*) light’ (#489 ***cʔaiŋ**; Vietnamese tone perhaps from initial sequence). Chrau **səla:ŋ** ‘light, bright’ is from an infixed form.

58. Khmer **pə:ŋ** ‘beaker, cup’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **be:ŋ** ‘small copper cup for rice-spirit’ (#620 ***baiŋ**). Mon **həpàŋ** ‘offering-vessel of plantain stalk’ is from an infixed ***brbaiŋ**.

59. Old Mon *kur̥mbān* etc. ‘city etc. wall’, Modern Mon **kəmaiŋ** ‘brick or stone wall’; Khmer **kəmpè:ŋ** ‘(city) wall’ (beside **kəmpheaŋ**, by back-borrowing from Thai **kəmpheəŋ**; #626 ***kbaŋ**).

60. Khmer **vè:ŋ** ‘long’, Khmu Yuan **wàaŋ** ‘long (space, time)’ (#768 ***waiŋ**).

61. Mon [kaʔ] **həpa** ‘skate’; Khmer **pəbael** ‘skate, shark’ (#1760 ***p[r]pail**).

See also 72-7 below

Variation. Here we shall note, first, the occurrence of length variation (i) between ***a** and ***aa**, and (ii, which I treat on the same footing for convenience) between ***a** and ***ai**; secondly, the few cases of apparent variation between ***aa** and ***ai**.

Isolated divergences from a reasonably widely attested form may be due to innovation in one language, or otherwise explicable (e.g. nos. 6, 7, 11 above), and are excluded from this head. But doublets in any language may constitute evidence of variation if neither form is readily attributable to borrowing.

***a ~ *aa**

62. (#374) ***[d]ɓak**: Khmer **pèək** ‘to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride’, Stieng, Chrau **ba?** ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’, Sre **ba** ‘to carry in a shawl on one’s back’, Biat **ba?** ‘to carry [person] on one’s back’, Bahnar **bak** ‘to wear round neck’, Khmu’ **bak** ‘to mount, ride, be astride’; (***[d]rɓak**) Mon **həbək** ‘to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck’; Bahnar dialects **habak**, **təbak** ‘to hang over sth.’; (***[d]nɓak**) (Sre **ma** = **ba** ← ?) Bunör **m?mak**, Central Rölöm **ɓak** ‘to hang up’, Biat **mbak** ‘to carry on a yoke’.

[d]ɓaak**: Bunör, Central Rölöm **ba?** ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’; ([d]nɓaak**) Stieng (Azémar 1886) **nba:k** ‘to carry over one’s shoulder’; Vietnamese *vác* id. (or ***[d]r-?**; with unexplained loss of glottalization).

Either variant may underlie Palaung **ba?** ‘to ride, drive’; Khasi *bah* ‘to carry on back or shoulders’, **tabah** ‘to throw, hang, across shoulder’.

63. (#487) ***cʔaŋ**: Khmer **aŋ** ‘to roast, to warm oneself’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **aŋ** ‘to grill’; Khasi *s’ang*, *syang* ‘to roast, toast’; (***c[n]ʔaŋ**) Mon **həeŋ** ‘to warm, dry, at fire, to toast’.

***cnʔaŋ**: Vietnamese **nướng**, Mường **náng** ‘to roast, toast’ (with tone from the initial sequence?).

64. (#874) ***ksac**: Khmer **khsac** ‘sand’; (***kmsac**) Riang-Lang **mac** id. (and by metathesis ***krcas** > ***kcras** > Khmu Yuan **cres** id., with contextually conditioned fronting).

***skaac** by metathesis: Kuy **sakaac** id.; Vietnamese *cát*, Mường *cách*; ***kmsaac**: Praok **mac** id.

65. (#906) ***paŋ**: Praok **pup** ‘to fight’; (***pnpaŋ**) Bahnar **pəpɛ:ŋ** (and **pəpɛ:ŋ**) ‘to struggle, thrash about’; ‘Semang’ **pin-pen** ‘to fight’; (***pnpaŋ**) Palaung (Milne 1931) **nɛŋ** ‘soldiers’.

***pnaaŋ**: Old Mon *pnāñ* ‘army’, Modern Mon **nan** ‘army, war’; Palaung **nan** = **nɛŋ**, Praok **naŋ** ‘war, army’.

66. ***[t]rkat**: Riang-Lang **sərkət** ‘thorn’.

***[t]kaat**: Praok **kat** id.

67. (#1119) ***ʔan**: Bahnar **an**, Khmu’ **ʔan** ‘to give’.

***ʔaan**: Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat **a:n** id.

68. (#1225) ***ʔap**: Khmer **ap** ‘dull, dim’; Palaung **əp** ‘to be dark’, Riang-Lang **əp** ‘shadow, to overshadow’.

***ʔaap**: Palaung **ap** = **əp**; with probably secondary prefixation West Bahnar **aa:p** ‘shady retreat’; Palaung **iʔap** ‘darkness’.

69. (#1399) ***smram**: Bahnar **[bru:ih] mram**, **bram** ‘dirt, sweepings’.

***smraam**: Mon **həram** ‘dust, powder’; Khmer **səmra:m** ‘rubbish, straws, sweepings, dirt’.

70. (#1630) ***[]nar**: Stieng **nar** ‘sun, day’.

***[]naar**: Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **na:r**; (by secondary prefixation?) Bahnar **kəna:r** id.

71. (#1762) ***cbal**: Biat **bal** ‘companion’.

cbaal: Mon **hwèa** ‘close male friend’; Praok [paw] **pə** friend’.

*a ~ ai

72. (#352) ***lpak**: Khmer **bak** ‘to be broken’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pak** ‘to break (v.i.t.)’, Sre **pa**’ id., Biat [tə:m] **pa?** ‘to share out’, Rongao **pak** ‘[cord &c.] to be broken’, Theng **pāk** ‘to break’; (***tlpak**) Rongao **təpak** ‘to break, be broken’, Khmu Yuan **təlpak**, Theng **tlpāk** ‘to break’.

lpaik**: Old Mon **pāk** ‘to be shattered’, Modern Mon **paik** ‘to split’; Khmer **baek** ‘to break (v.i.)’, (Sre [tam] **paa** ← ?) Bunör, Central Rölöm **pa:?** ‘to share out’; (or from affixed form) Praok **pak** ‘half, part’; (lmpaik**) Old Mon **lumpek** ‘either of two sides’, Modern Mon **kəpaik** ‘id., half, part’.

73. (#714) (***laŋlaŋ** >) ***lnlaŋ**: Mon **kənèaŋ** ‘kite’; ***klaŋ**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **klaŋ** ‘hawk, owl, (—tə:p etc.) kite’, Sre **klaŋ** ‘hawk, large raptor’, Chrau **khlaŋ** (with unexplained -h-) ‘eagle’.

lain**: Semai (Tauern 1914) **la:ŋ** ‘buzzard’ (but perhaps from Malay **lang** ‘hawk, kite, eagle’, which is ultimately cognate); (klain**) Khmer **khlaeŋ** ‘kite’, Bunör (and Sre, B.) **kla:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **tlai:ŋ** ‘eagle’, Biat **kla:ŋ** ‘hawk, large raptor’, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:ŋ** ‘hawk etc.’, Khmu Yuan **klaaŋ** ‘eagle’; Palaung, Praok **klaŋ**, Riang-Lang **klaiŋ** ‘kite, hawk’; Khasi **khlieng**, **’lieng** ‘kite, eagle’.

‘Central Sakai’ **kla^k** ‘hawk’ may reflect the prefixed form of either variant.

*aa ~ *ai

Few instances of this variation have been noted, and it is possible that some of them result from interdialectal borrowing (as was suggested of Sre **paa**—otherwise < ***lpaa**—in connexion with ***lpai**(i)k, no. 76 above). All are listed below.

74. (#291) ***caak**: Khmer **ca:k** ‘to leave’ (G. ‘to be separated from’).

***caik**: Khmer **caek** ‘to divide up’; Khasi **siah** ‘to cut, pare, shave off’ (or from an associated variant ***ciək**, in Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic).

Other reflexes are not phonologically distinctive, but an assignment might be attempted on semantic grounds. Cf. (***ca[a]k**) Old Mon **cāk** ‘to be parted’; Chrau **sà:?**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sa:k** (also Central Rölöm **sak**, < ***cak**) ‘to go, return’; (***ca[i]k**) Mon **caik** ‘to tear, be torn’; ‘Central Sakai’ **chāk** ‘to chop’; (***pca[i]k**) Mon **phyaik** ‘to split up, punctuate [text]’. Perhaps two distinct roots should be postulated.

75. (#404) ***craak**: Khmer **cra:k** ‘to divide up’.

***[c]raik**: Khmer **crè:k** ‘to part [e.g. curtains], (—pùh) cut way through’; Vietnamese **rách**, Mường **réch** ‘torn’.

Mon **saik srāk** ‘to tear (in two, up), (—thoŋ) to be torn’ may be assigned to either form, while Sre **ceree** ‘to tear’ appears to reflect a variant ***criik**. But Khmer **cra:k** may perhaps be a borrowing from the ultimately cognate Malay **sarak** or another Austronesian form.

76. (#476) ***khaak**: Khmer **kha:k** ‘to hawk, clear the throat’, (***kmhaak**) **kəmha:k** ‘phlegm’; and with secondary prefixation Khasi **kyrkha** ‘phlegm, to clear the throat’.

khaik**: Khmer **khaek** = **kha:k** (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer), (kmhaik**) **kəmhaek** = **kəmha:k**.

Assignable to either form are Mon **khaik** ‘to hawk...’; Biat **runha:k** ‘phlegm’. But since the term is onomatopoeic, ***khaik** may well be a Khmer innovation.

77. (#496) ***kaŋ**: Khmer **kaŋ** ‘to spread [wings, arms, clothes] apart’, (***ckaŋ**) **chkaŋ** ‘to skewer with wings open’; (***knaŋ**) Vietnamese, Mường **ngang** ‘to be horizontal, level, to be wide; across’.

kaŋ(?)**: Vietnamese **canh**, **cánh**, Mường **kenh** ‘wing’ (and Vietnamese **cành**, Mường **kênh** ‘branch’ by secondary variation); (knaŋ?**) Khmer **khnaeŋ** ‘cross-shaped; side-shoot on branch of tree’; Vietnamese **ngánh** (and **ngành**) ‘branch of river etc.’ On semantic grounds we might assign to this variant Middle Mon **knān** ‘branch’, Modern Mon **naŋ** (merging Middle Mon **tnān** id., of separate origin).

A third variant ***kaŋ** underlies Old Mon **knān** [ko] ‘collar-bone’, Modern Mon **neŋ** ‘crosspiece’; and Biat **rkaŋ** ‘transverse, across’. This is perhaps the most telling of the ***aa** ~ ***ai** variants, though as in 78 a consistent semantic distinction can be made.

Structurally the relationship of the diphthong ***ai** to ***aa** might be thought analogous to that of the diphthongs ***iə**, ***uə** to ***ii**, ***uu** (for which see the next two sections). The parallel does not hold good for distributional frequency. ***iə**, ***uə** are both more frequently attested than either the long or the short simple vowels, whereas ***ai** is relatively infrequent so far as our material allows us to distinguish it from ***aa**. Moreover the other two diphthongs alternate rather more often with the corresponding long vowels than with the short, whereas with ***ai** the opposite is the case.

***i, *ii, *iə**

Since problems arise in deciding when to reconstruct a high front and when a central vowel before a final palatal, discussion of these occurrences will be deferred until Section (d).¹⁰

We shall consider first the long vowel ***ii**, and proceed then to the reconstruction of its short counterpart ***i**.

***ii**. I reconstruct ***ii** from correspondences of a high front vowel in languages which do not show a vowel-length distinction (or show only a fragmentary one), in most of them qualitatively different from the reflex of ***i**; and in part of a long vowel of similar quality in languages which have the length distinction. Many of the latter, however, have undergone contextually conditioned splits—of broadly similar incidence and perhaps of a single origin—which complicate the reconstruction. They will be dealt with in turn below.

We have, then, regularly Old Mon /i/ (written *ī*, *i*); **i** in Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok, Khasi, and Vietnamese; long **ii** in Khmuic and, usually, Sre (but short **i** is noted by Dournes with such frequency that it is unlikely that it represents a short-vowel variant in all cases). In many comparisons we find Khmer head-register **ɿ**, chest-register **ɿ̃**; and **ĩ** in other South Bahnaric languages and in Bahnar. A diphthongization to **ia** appears to be regular before stop final in Jeh and Halang.

Mon: Old Mon /i/, written *ī* for preference in the ‘high literary’ inscriptions but usually *i* in less formal ones, before stops and nasals yields Middle Mon *i*; modern **oi**, **òì** before velars, before dentals and labials **ɛ**, **i**, **ì** (head-register **ɛ**, **i** by a split originally

¹⁰ [Editorial note: the alluded to Section (d) was not found.]

contextually conditioned, now contrastive but of low functional load). Old Mon /ir, il/ > Middle Mon → modern -ɛe, -i, -ɪ.

Khmer: in chest-register words *ɪ* is the realization of orthographic *i*. In closed syllables in head-register words this symbol is not found; the distribution suggests merger of earlier short and long *i* in such contexts. *ɾ* is the realization of the (now) complementarily distributed symbols *i* (before *k, ŋ, m*), *i* (before *t, n, p*).

Examples of these ‘straightforward’ reflexes follow.

78. East Bahnar **tsi:k** ‘disagreeable in taste’; Palaung **sik**, **swi-**, Riang-Lang **-cik** ‘to be astringent in taste’ (#294 ***ɕiik**).

79. Old Mon **jik**, Modern Mon **còik** ‘to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate’; Old Khmer **gyak**, Modern Khmer **cik**, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **jik**, Chrau **ji:ʔ** ‘to dig’, Sre **jii**, Biat **ji:k** ‘to grub up weeds’, Jeh, Halang **jiak** ‘rice-field’ (#300 ***jiik**; Rongao has **je:k** ‘to plough, prepare for cultivation; cultivated field’). From an infix ***jniik** is Bahnar **ni:k** ‘hoe, mattock’.

80. Mon **toij** ‘to pluck [stringed instrument]’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **tiŋ** ‘guitar’; Praok **tiŋ** ‘harp’ (#896 ***t₁iŋ**). Infix forms yield Old Khmer **tmīn** and Old Mon **tinmīn** ‘player of stringed instrument’, and a prefixed form Khasi [**ma**]rynting ‘Khasi harp’.

81. Sre **ntiij**, Stieng, Central Rölöm **ti:ŋ**, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **nti:ŋ**, Bahnar **kəti:ŋ** ‘bone’ (# 553 ***knt₂iij**).

82. Khmu Yuan **kəntiij** ‘navel’; Riang-Lang **kəndiŋ** (# 582 ***kdiij**); and with r-infix Palaung **kərdiŋ** id.

83. Khmer **kdət** ‘anus’; Riang-Lang **ˀtit** ‘anus; to break wind’; Vietnamese **đít** ‘anus’ (#1007 ***kt₁iit**).

84. Sre **priit**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **pri:t**, Jeh, Halang **priat** ‘banana’ (#1070 ***priit**). (Bahnar **priit** is an isolated short-vowel form.)

85. Khmer **hət** ‘to sniff at’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **hi:t** ‘to sniff; cold in the nose’; Vietnamese **hít** ‘to inhale’, Mường **hít** ‘to smell, (#1104 ***hiit**).

86. (#1288 Palaung **lip** ‘to enter’, Praok **lip** [**lu**] ‘to enter [trance]’; Khasi **lip** ‘to be extinguished, to extinguish’ (***liip**; Khmer has **lùp** ‘to withdraw, [sun] to go in’, from a short-vowel variant). From a prefixed form are Jeh **kliap**, Halang **gliap** ‘[sun] to set’; Praok **kliip** id.

87. Khmer **hɔp**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **hi:p** ‘trunk, box’ (***hiip**). Jeh **hi:p** may be a back-borrowing, cf. Jar., Rade **hi:p**; so, with secondary prefixation, Halang **gəhi:p** ‘cabinet?’)

88. pal. **tim**, Riang-Lang **ˀtim** ‘nine’ (*[**c**]**t₁iim**). Praok **sidim** id. reflects a nasal-infix form.

89. Literary Mon **s’i** ‘to be numerous, plentiful’; Sre **ir** (Blood 1966 **Ɂir**), Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **Ɂir**, Biat **ir** ‘too much’ (#1557 ***[c]Ɂiir**).

90. Theng **pɿr** ‘pumpkin’; Vietnamese **bí** (#1637 ***[c]piir**). An infix form underlies Mon **həpɛ** id. and probably Riang-Lang **ˀsəpɿr**. (Maspero (1955) often notes short vowel before Theng **-r**, **-l** where Khmu’ and/or Khmu Yuan have a long one. The two-plosive sequence attested by Riang-Lang may account for the Vietnamese tone.)

91. Old Mon **kumsir** ‘parents-in-law’ (and Modern Mon **kamsəe**, for ****kəsəe**, originally as learned form); Semai **gənsir** ‘husband’ (#1679 ***kmsiir**).

92. Khmu' **sriil** [gold] (and Theng **sril**; #1789 *[c]riil). From a prefixed form are Palaung **khrrir**, Praok **khri** id.

See also 136-40.

Splits. Khmer has orthographic *e*, head-register **e**: following **t**, **l**, and in some cases **d**, **r**. Chest-register **è**: is attested in one case (and doublets in another: 101 below) following **l** where the register and antecedent voicing are thought to be secondary (though voicing is already present in Old Khmer in 101).

93. Khmer **de:k** 'to lie down, sleep'; Kensiu **tik** (#305 ***tiik**). Old Mon **stik**, whence Modern Mon **toik**, is probably a normalized hypothetical form, 'intending to sleep'; so English 'going to sleep'. (Khasi *thiah* reflects a variant ***tiək**.)

94. Literary Mon *latin* 'kind of flowering plant'; Old Khmer *ramtyan*, Modern Khmer **rùmdə:ŋ** 'galanga' (#564 ***rmtiŋ**)

95. Khmer **pre:ŋ**, Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat **pri:ŋ** 'oil, fat' (#702 ***priŋ**).

96. Khmer **te:t** (and Sre **dit**, with secondary shortening?) 'small'; Vietnamese *nít* (#1016 ***kdiit**). Khasi *khyndit* 'a little, few', from an infix form, establishes the initial.—See also 195.

(Chest register) see 100-1.

Contrast with 93-4 ***kdiit** > Khmer **kdɔt** 'anus', 87; ***tiik** > **ɔrk** 'to lead...', 98; and with 95 ***t-riip** > **trɔp** 'floating mat of vegetation', 104; ****cnriit** > **cɔŋrɔt** 'cricket', 207. It would be possible to account for these exceptions by postulating isolated short-vowel variants (***ktit**, etc.; as in 86). But in view of the doublets in 101 dialectal divergence followed by interdialectal borrowing cannot be ruled out in all cases.

The South Bahnaric split is wider in its incidence, and is almost certainly complicated by dialect borrowing. The 'shifted' reflexes are Chrau, Bunör, Biat **e**, Central Rölöm **u**: (Blood reconstructs Proto-Mnong ***e**: in these cases, opposed to ***i**: in the set exemplified above). Stieng shows **i**: in some instances and **e**: in others; either the incidence of the split is different in Stieng (which is not improbable), or some items—but which?—are loans. The examples below are representative.

97. Stieng **chik** (!; Azémar 1886 **ci:k**), Sre **sii**, Chrau **se:c**, Bunör **se:k**, Central Rölöm **sɔ:k**, Biat **che:k** 'tooth' (#289 ***ciik**).

98. Old Khmer *tik*, Modern Khmer **ɔrk** 'to lead [animal], to cart' Stieng **te:k** (Azémar 1886 **ti:k**), Sre **tii**, Chrau **te:c**, Bunör **te:k**, Central Rölöm **tɔ:k** 'to lead by a rope' (#304 ***tiik**).

99. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **jri:ŋ**, Biat **jre:ŋ**, Kontum Bahnar **jri:ŋ** (and Sre **jiriŋ**; with secondary shortening?) 'wax' (#919a ***jriiŋ**; Bahnar has **jreŋ**, from a variant ***jriəŋ**).

100. Khmer **thli:ŋ** 'to hobble [animal]', Stieng (Azémar 1886) **gli:ŋ** 'elephant hobbles', Bahnar **kle:ŋ**, **gle:ŋ** (and Sre **kliŋ**; with secondary shortening?) 'to hobble' (#745 ***Tliiŋ**); and with nasal infix Khmer **tùənlɔ:ŋ** = Stieng, Biat **ŋle:ŋ** 'hobbles'. (For the initial cf. further, from a variant ***Tliəŋ**, Mon **kleaŋ** 'to bind', **kəneaŋ** 'bonds'.)

101. Mon **kəloŋ** 'myna'; Old Khmer *graliŋ*-[*graloŋ*], Modern Khmer **krəlɔ:ŋ**-[**krələ:ŋ**] (and **krələ:ŋ**-, Tandart) 'black-collared starling' (#757 ***k-rliiŋ**); (and Sre **bərliŋ** 'magpie-robin', with secondary shortening?) Bahnar **pəli:ŋ** 'grey dove' (***p-rliiŋ**). (For the connection cf. Mal. *chěmpərliŋ* 'starling', a loan from ***ciim prliiŋ**.)

102. Biat **et** ‘to confine, pack close together’ (#949 **cʔiit*); **cnʔiit* yields Kuy **ŋʔiit** ‘narrow’, Bahnar **jəŋi:t** ‘packed together’ (cf. further for the initial, with variant vocalism, Khmer **cəŋʔiət** ‘narrow, confined, cramped’).

103. Stieng (Azémar 1886) [**peʔ**] **tre:t** ‘cricket’, (?) Sre **triit** ‘to whistle’ (#1068 **t₁riit*); Palaung **əkrit** ‘cricket’ reflects a prefixed form. If **t-* is to be reconstructed it is secondary here, cf. (with infix) Mon **kəret** *caŋrit* ‘cricket’; Khmer **cəŋrət** id. (**cnrit*, or by back-borrowing from Thai **cin** *riit*?); ‘Central Sakai’ **jarét** ‘variety of mole-cricket’.

104. Biat **re:p** ‘grass’; Praok **rip** (#1269 **riip*). From prefixed forms are Khmer **trəp** ‘floating mat of vegetation’, perhaps < **t-rip*) and Sre **səmprip** (Dournes_1950; correct to **-iip**?) ‘tall grass’.

105. Sre **tiil**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **te:l**, Central Rölöm **tul**, Bahnar **dəl** ‘footprint(s), tracks’; ‘Semang’ **tīl**, Sak. **dil** (#1733a **tiil*).

106. Stieng **bi:l**, Sre **biil**, Chrau, Bunör **be:l**, Central Rölöm **bul** ‘mat’, ‘Semang’ **pil**; and Biat **mbe:l** id.; Praok **bi** (Editor’s note: Shorto subsequently altered his analysis and in the light of Munda data reconstructed **[e]* (& **ee* ?) instead of **ii* for this etymon, see #1761.)

107. Stieng **ui:l** ‘to surround animal in order to capture it’, Biat [**da:k wac**] **we:l** ‘eddy’, Bahnar **wi:l** ‘round’; Palaung **vir** ‘to return’ (#1794 **wiil*); and with prefix inter alia Old Mon *tirwil* ‘to attend on’, Modern Mon **kəwi** [**kawaŋ**] ‘to be attended by’; (**p-wiil*?) Biat [**təl pac**] **pe:l** ‘spiral’. (Cf. 131 below for a short-vowel variant.)

In the following example the reflexes are mixed, and vowel lowering does not extend to the second infixed form except in Biat, which has doublets (by borrowing?):

108.¹¹ Bunör **per**, Central Rölöm **pur** ‘fence, wall’ (**piir*); Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pəni:r** ‘bamboo partition’ (and Sre **pəni:r** id. with secondary shortening?; **p[m]niir*); Bunör **mpir** ‘wall’, Central Rölöm **pir** id. (whence Chrau **pir** ‘fence, wall’ ?), Biat **mper** ‘fence, stockade’ (and **mpir** ‘wall, partition’, from Bunör?; **pmpiir*).

In the following the Biat lowering is perhaps a function of the nasal affix:

109. Sre **səkiŋ** ‘on one’s side, to one side’, Biat **ŋke:ŋ** ‘to lean over; on one’s side’ (#504 **jkii[ŋ]*); the simplex underlies Sre **kiŋ** ‘edge, direction’, Jeh **ki:ŋ** ‘edge’.

110. Sre **səmpit**, Biat **mpe:t** ‘stopper, cork’ (< #1098 **siit* by infixation).

111. Biat **nche:r** ‘to blow [nose]’; the simplex (#1680) **ksiir* in Sre **chir** ‘to blow nose’.

Cf. also 112-13.

Leaving aside 109-11, the South Bahnaric lowering has thus been noted following **t**, **r**, and **l**, as in Khmer; **p**, and **b** < **bp-*; **w**; **ø** (< **cʔ-*); and the correspondence from which **[]c-* was constructed in 97. There are some counter-examples.

(1) Following **t**: with 98, 105 contrast 81, 136. But the Mnong and Chrau vocalism in 81 parallels that from **pmpiir*, 108; Biat **nti:ŋ** may be borrowed from Bunör or Chrau. We do not know the Mnong or Chrau reflexes of 136. At worst, lowering is markedly more frequent in this context than the converse.

(2) Following **r**: with 99, 104 (and **kriiŋ* > Biat **kre:ŋ** ‘kind of bamboo’; **criit* > Biat **chre:t** ‘close together’), contrast 84, 95. Again, there is lowering in a majority of cases.

(3) Following (**)p*: with 106, 108, 110 contrast **pmpiik* > Biat **mpi:k** ‘class of small mammals’. So following **w**: with 107 compare **wiik* > Bunör, Central Rölöm **wi:k**

¹¹ [Editorial note: Shorto assigned this etymology to item 147 of the South Bahnaric Index.]

‘owl’. (Note that this last case may not be discrepant, since we have not Mnong reflexes of **wiil*—we have of the variant **wil*—or Biat of **wiik*.)

(4) Following **cʔ-* with 102 contrast 89. In the latter case we might reconstruct **sʔ-*, but a differential development would be a little surprising. If conceivably Biat *e:t* reflects **cɲiit* rather than **cʔiit*, 102 would be brought under the rubric of 109-11.

Bahnar also, as the reader will have noted, shows at least sporadic lowering. It is difficult to systematize and may be of dialectal origin in many cases. I have already cited *kle:ŋ*, *gle:ŋ*, 100 (though this may be borrowed from Khmer via Cham *klen*); *dəl*, 105; Rongao *je:k*, 79. *kətēt* ‘clitoris’ might tentatively be referred to **ktiit* ‘anus’, 83. In addition we have the following:

112. Bahnar *plēn* ‘fat’ (#1196 **[]liin*); cf. Sre *kəniin* ‘fat, robust’, Biat *ŋle:n* ‘fat’.

113. Sre *pəliin* ‘miracle, magic act’, West Bahnar *pəle:n* ‘to be wide-eyed, look startled’ (#1206 **pliin*).

114. West Bahnar *te:m* ‘to beat, hammer, forge’ (#1340 **t₁iim*); other languages reflect variant vocalism, e.g. (Palaungic **tiəm*) Palaung *teəm* ‘to hammer’, Praok *təm* ‘to hammer, beat out’.

115. Old Mon *wir* ‘husbandry’, Modern Mon *wi* ‘to raise, tendy; Bahnar *we:r* ‘to look after, tend’ (#1670 **wiir*).

See also 157 (**riiŋ > re:ŋ*)

To account for these phenomena Blood (1966) reconstructed distinct vowels **i:* and **e:* in both Proto-Mnong and Proto-South Bahnaric, reasonably enough on his limited canvas. I prefer to postulate splits of a Proto-Mon-Khmer **i:* in spite of the overlapping distribution of the reflexes. First, the multiplication of protophonemes would entail an improbably complex proto-system; the one we shall arrive at is complex enough. Secondly, the overlaps are not so extensive as to defy explanation given an average incidence of dialect borrowing in the languages concerned, which share a relatively high degree of contiguity and differentiation. The lowering is found predominantly in post-dental contexts. The case is thus parallel to that of the Palaung reflexes of **iə*, discussed below; where *eə* and *iə* are distinctive but have a low functional load, *eə* occurring mostly following dentals and *iə* mostly in other environments.

**i*. In reconstructing **i* we may consider, first, the reflexes in ‘vowel-length’ languages. Of these Sre, Bunör, Bahnar and Khmuic neatly enough have short *i* regularly. (But we have seen that Sre *i* by itself is not convincing testimony against **ii*.) Khmer has orthographic *i*, *i* in complementary distribution, realized as *ɿ*, *u̯*; it thus merges **i* and **ii* in head-register words. This backing of the vowel reappears in Central Rōlōm, which has regularly *u̯*; and Biat, which has *u̯* except following *ch*, when it has *i*.

The remaining vowel-length languages also have reflexes which differ according to context, so far as the rather limited material goes. (1) Stieng has *i* before *n*, *c* < **k*; *e* before *l*; *u̯* before *t*, *r*. (In Azémar 1887 we find *i:*, *e:*, *ə(:)*; but with slight differences of distribution—cf. e.g. 126, 130, below—which suggest that Azémar’s and Blood’s Stieng differ dialectally as well as historically.) (2) Chrau has *i* before **k*, *u̯* before *t*, *n*, *l*. (3) We find Jeh *è*, Halang *i* in 126, 130, but Jeh, Halang *e* in 125 and *i* (following *c*) in 135;

the differences being apparently conditioned by the initial (voicing?) rather than the final.

In non-vowel-length languages we find, first, Old Mon /**ø**/ (written usually *i*, *u*, *a*), whence usually Literary Mon *ui*, modern **a**, **à** before velars, **ɔ** **ə** before dentals and labials, **-ɔ -ə -ə** < /**ør øl**/; or as a result of the Middle Mon post-nasal split the same reflexes as for ***ii** following nasals other than **ŋ** < Old Mon /**ng**/, **m** < Old Mon /**mb**/.

Palaung and Riāng-Lāng have **e**. Praok has **-e** < PMK ***-il** in three instances, but firm evidence of the reflex before other finals is lacking; it must be left open whether Praok **i** represents short ***i** in some items. Khasi has *i* as from ***ii**. Vietnamese and Mưōng have **ê**, with the same lowering to a high mid vowel as Palaung and Riāng-Lāng

Examples follow.

116. Stieng **ti**, Sre **ti**, Chrau **ti**? (← Sre? cf. 117), Bunör **tik**, Central Rölöm **tu**k ‘deaf’ (# 303 ***tik**; Vietnamese *điếc* and Biat **tək** [tɔ:r] reflect variants ***tiək** and ***tək** respectively).

117. Sre **di** ‘slavery’, Stieng **dic** (whence Chrau **dic**? cf. 116), Bunör **dik**, Central Rölöm, Biat **du**k ‘slave’ (#329 ***dik**; Mon and Bahnar reflect a long-vowel variant), see 132.

118. Palaung **le**?, Riāng-Lāng **lek**, (?) Praok **lik** ‘pig’; Sak. **lū**: (#417 ***lik** []; Old Mon *clik* etc., Modern Mon **kloik** is to be connected with a long-vowel variant).

119. Mon **kàŋ** ‘to row’; Khasi *king* (#507 ***giŋ**).

120. Mon **paŋ** ‘reservoir fish-trap of permanent type’; Old Khmer *piñ*, Modern Khmer **bɔŋ** ‘lake, pool, marsh’ (#602 ***piŋ**).

121. Sre **riŋ** ‘to be level, equal’ (#655 ***riŋ**). Various affixed forms underlie Biat **ndruŋ** ‘to make equal’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **kərpren** ‘to be equal’; Riāng-Lāng **tərkren** ‘equal amount’. (East Bahnar **ri:ŋ rə:ŋ** ‘equal’ is likely to reflect a long-vowel variant.)

122. Mon **dɔt** ‘to be powdered, composed of small particles’; Khmer **lɔʔt** (#952 ***lɔʔit**; Khmer **lɔʔ-**, for ****d-**, by levelling on caus. **lùmʔt** ‘to pulverize’). Khasi *lwit* ‘very finely broken or pounded’ is probably connected.

123. Khmer **kùt** ‘to think, consider’, Sre, Bunör **git**, Stieng, Chrau, CP, Biat **gu**t ‘to know, understand’ (***git**).¹²

124. Mon [dɔŋ] **bɔt** ‘to be tired’; Vietnamese *mệt* (***lɔit**). (Editor’s note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.)

125. Khmer **chʔn**, Stieng, Sre, Bunör **sin**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **tsin**, Jeh, Halang **cen** ‘to be cooked’; Temiar **cet** (#1137 ***cin**; for final, and the long-vowel variants, see 134).

126. Stieng **sin** (Azémar 1886 **se:n**), Sre, Bunör **sin**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **təsin**, Jeh **tacən**, Halang **cəcin** ‘nine’ (#1144 ***dcin**; cf. Vietnamese *chín*, from a long-vowel variant; Old Mon Lph. *dincit*, Modern Mon **həcit** suggests a construction ***dciit**).

127. Old Mon **tin**, Modern Mon **tɔn** ‘to go up, come up’; Vietnamese **đến**, Mưōng **tənh** ‘to arrive (at), come (to), reach’ (#1153 ***tin**[?]).

128. Sre (B.), Bunör **lip**, Central Rölöm **lu**p ‘to spread on, spread out’ (#1285 ***lip**).

¹² [Editorial note: this etymology is missing from the etymological dictionary, and it is possible that Shorto abandoned it on the basis that it may be a borrowing of Sanskrit *gita*.]

129. Sre, Bunör **gir**, Stieng, Central Rölöm **guur** ‘to fish with fish-basket’ (***gir**).¹³

130. Stieng **jel** (A. **ji:l**), Sre **il**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **ju:l**, Bunör, Biat **jil**, Jeh **jəl** ‘barking deer’, Halang **jil** ‘small kind of deer’ (#1780 *[y]il; Bahnar has **ji:l** ‘kinds of deer’, with isolated long vowel).

131. Khmer **vùl** ‘to turn round, return’, Sre **will** ‘circle’, Bunör **wil**, Central Rölöm **wul** ‘round’; Praok **ve** ‘coil’; Temiar **wel** ‘to turn; again’ (#1794 ***wil**; short-vowel variant of 107). Bahnar **kəwil** ‘large and bent’ reflects a prefixed form.

See also 133, 135-6.

Length variation. Variation between ***i** and ***ii** may conveniently be dealt with at this point. We have already noted ***wi** ~ ***wiil** ‘to go round, turn round’ (131/107). Other examples follow.

132. ***ɗik** ‘slave’, see 117. (#329)

***ɗiik**: Old Mon **ɗik** etc., Modern Mon **doik** id.; Bahnar **ɗi:k**.

133. ***ɕiŋ**: from prefixed form Palaung **əbeŋ** ‘spider’. (#630)

***ɕiŋ**: Khmer **pì:ŋ**[pì:əŋ] id.; and from prefixed form **rəpì:ŋ**, **ləpì:ŋ** ‘edible spider’.

134. ***cin** ‘to be cooked’, see 125. (#1137)

***ciin?**: Middle Mon, Modern Mon **cin** id.; Khmu’ **siin** ‘to cook’, Theng **sin** ‘to be cooked’; Palaung **sin**, Riang-Lang **ˀsin** ‘to be cooked, to be ripe’; Vietnamese, Mường **chín** ‘cooked’.

Khmer **chʔɿn**, cited at 125, might in fact reflect either variant.

135. ***cim**: Bunör **sim**, Central Rölöm **sum**, Jeh, Halang **cim** ‘bird’; Temiar **cɛp**. (#1324)

***ciim**: Mnong Chil **se:m**, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **siim** id.; Palaung, Praok **sim**, Riang-Lang **ˀsim**; Vietnamese, Mường **chim**.

Khasi **sim** may reflect either variant.

136. ***til**: Old Mon **til**, Modern Mon **tɔ** ‘to plant (a seed of)’. (#1733¹⁴)

***[s]n-tiil**: Sre **səntiil**, Biat **ntiil** ‘seed, seed-grain’.

***iə**. The correspondences from which ***iə** is reconstructed are of diphthongs, with a high (or rarely high mid) front starting-point moving to a relatively low, usually central position in at least some cases in almost all languages other than Mon and Bahnar (the Aslian reflexes await determination). Thus we have regularly Khmer orthographic **iə**, realized as **iə**, **iə**; Sre **ia**; Stieng, Central Rölöm **iə**, Chrau **iə**, following ***ʔ** or ***h** realized as **yɛ**. In many comparisons we find Bunör **ya** (and **nia-** < **niə-**, a special case); **ia** in Biat, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan, Khasi; Riang-Lang **ie** (and **ˀyɛ-** < ***ʔiə-**); and Vietnamese **iê** etc. /**iə**/. Palaung and Praok show secondary split. Palaung has, in a proportion of cases, **iə**, **ɛə**: **ɛə** chiefly following dental, **iə** chiefly in other environments (the overlap presumably resulting from interdialectal borrowing: Shorto 1960). Praok has similarly short and long diphthongs **ia**, **iia**, but the origin of the distinction is obscure.

Mon: Old Mon has regularly /**e**/, written **e**, whence modern **ea**, **èa** before velars, **e**, **è** elsewhere. (It cannot be shown that Old Mon /**e**/ was not diphthongized at least in

¹³ [Editorial note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.]

¹⁴ [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction from ***i** to ***ə**.]

some environments, as the modern reflexes before velars suggest; cf. further the reflex of **-iəl*, below.)

Bahnar: *ɛ*, less frequently *ɛ*, can probably be taken as the normal reflex in Bahnar. Most of the cases in which we find *ie*; *ie* can be attributed to secondary palatalization resulting from the initial. *ɛ*, *ie* are likely to result from secondary shortening, sometimes clearly due to remodelling on variants which reflect **i* to fit words into a sound-symbolic system of word-play.

In some languages the reflexes before **-1* differ slightly from those specified above as a result of the vocalization of the final; they are indicated in their place below.

Contextually conditioned splits are to be inferred in Bunör, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Khmuic, Northern Mon-Khmer, Khasi, and Vietnamese. Except for Jeh-Halang the ‘shifted’ reflex is a low mid front vowel similar to the normal Bahnar one; i.e. Bunör, Biat *ɛ*, Khmu’ *ɛɛ*, Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok *ɛ*, Vietnamese and Mường, Khasi *e* (and in one instance *ie*, probably by secondary lengthening). But since Khasi *e* also reflects **ə*, we cannot certainly exclude a variation **iə* ~ **ə* as the explanation of such cases; the partial assignment of *e* to **iə* rests on a balance of probabilities.

For Jeh-Halang we find variously Jeh *ɛ*, Halang *ea*; Jeh, Halang *ia*; and (**-iər* >) Jeh *-i:l*, Halang *-iar*.

**iə* as reconstructed shows a high frequency of occurrence, the instances being roughly equal in amount to those of **i* and **ii* combined.

I give examples first of the ‘straightforward’ reflexes.

137. Stieng **chiək**, Sre **bəsia**, Bunör **syak**, Central Rölöm **siək**, Biat **chiak** ‘to cough’; ‘Semang’ **yik** ‘slight cough’ (#298 **[p]ciək*). Chrau **nsiə?** ‘to cough’ reflects a form with nasal infix.

138. Mon **kəreak** ‘to split, slit open’; Khmer **cəŋriək** ‘to split (into slats etc.)’ (#402 **cnriək*).

139. Palaung (Milne 1931) **hleə?**, Riang-Lang **riək** ‘to be hoarse’ (B 39 **[s][l]iək*).

140. Khmer **iəŋ** ‘out of the vertical’; (?) Vietnamese **hiếng** ‘to have a squint’ (#494 **lʔiəŋ(?)*) From a nasal-infix form are Mon **həeəŋ** ‘to be out of the vertical’; Vietnamese **nghiêng** id.

141. Khmer **sbiəŋ** ‘supplies, provisions, food for journey’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pieŋ**, Sre, Biat **piəŋ**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **piəŋ**, Bunör **pyəŋ** ‘cooked rice’ (#617 **[s]piəŋ*).

142. Old Mon **wəi** ‘to avoid, to turn aside’, Modern Mon **wəəŋ** ‘to avoid’; Khmer **vəiəŋ** ‘way round, bend’, Bahnar **wəŋ** ‘to surround, to hold in crook of arm; curving round, winding round’ (x **wiəŋ** ‘curve, eddy’, from a variant); Palaung (Milne 1931) **viəŋ** ‘to move aimlessly’ (#765 **wiəŋ*). From a prefixed form are Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** ‘curving, winding’; Palaung **kərveəŋ** ‘coil; to be coiled, to coil’; Khasi **khyrwiang** ‘to go round’.

143. Stieng **rəhiəŋ**, Sre **rəhiəŋ**, Chrau **riyəŋ**, Bunör **rəhyəŋ**, Central Rölöm **hiəŋ**, Biat **rhiaŋ**, Bahnar dialects **hʔrè:ŋ** (etc.), Jeh **re:ŋ**, Halang **reəŋ** ‘hundred’ (#792 **rhiəŋ*).

144. Mon **təŋet** ‘to crush in mill etc.’; Sre **səŋiat** ‘to crush, compress’ (#977 **c[n]ŋiət*).

145. Mon **[pòk] pèn** ‘to be fat, plump’; Khasi **pian** ‘short and stout’ (#1169 **biən*).

146. Mon **krep** ‘to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped’; Khmer **triəp** ‘packed close together’, (?) West Bahnar **jəre:p** ‘to wedge between two props’ (#1279 ***triəp**). Bahnar **kəmre:p** ‘to be crushed’ reflects an infixed form.

147. Sre **iam** ‘onion’ (#1300 ***[k]ʔiəm**). ***[k]ʔiəm** underlies Jeh **kadiam**, Halang **gədiām** id.

148. Jeh, Halang **liām** ‘good’ (#1401 ***liəm**). Sre **niam** ‘good, well’ reflects ***[l]nliəm**.

149. Stieng, Central Rölöm **ʔiər**, Sre, Biat **iar**, Chrau **ʔyer**, Bunör **ʔyar**, Bahnar **yər**, **iər**, Jeh **ɪl**, Halang **iar**, Khmu Yuan **[hə]yiar** ‘fowl’; Palaung **iər**, Riang-Lang **yer**, Praok **ia**; Khasi **iar** (#1552 ***[]ʔiər**).

150. Theng **pier** ‘to blow’; Riang-Lang **piər** ‘winnowing-tray’ (#1638 ***cpier**). Vietnamese **nia** ‘winnowing-basket’ reflects a nasal-infix form.

Bahnar **ie:** etc. in the following items can be ascribed to a preceding palatal or secondarily palatalized consonant (including one subsequently lost):

151. Sre **tiaŋ**, Stieng, Chrau, Central Rölöm **tiəŋ**, Bunör **cyəŋ**, Biat **ciaŋ**, Bahnar **kieŋ** (most dialects; also **tiəŋ**, **təŋ**, etc.), Jeh **teŋ**, Halang **teaŋ** ‘tail’ (#542 ***t̪iəŋ**).

152. Bahnar **miət** ‘to stop up’ (#1039 ***[c]ʔiət**; cf. with variant vocalism Palaung **kənbit** ‘to block’, and from the simplex e.g. Khmer **bət** ‘to cover, close’, Riang-Lang **bit** ‘id., to stop up’).

Note also Bahnar dialects **təkie:n**, **tətie:n** etc. ‘ring’, with Old Khmer *cancyan*, Modern Mon **cəŋciən**, **cùəŋciən** probably a loan from Austronesian (cf. Malay *chinchin*); otherwise ***cnciən** [] (#1145) and cf. 181.

The effect extends to the context following **h**, where we may assume the laryngeal to have been accompanied by constriction in the palatal region.

153. Sre **hian** ‘asthma, tuberculosis’, Biat **hian** ‘asthma’, Bahnar **hien** (and dialects **sien** inter alia) ‘to cough’; Vietnamese **[bɪnh] hen** ‘asthma’ (#1215 ***hiən**).—Cf. also, dialects **hrieŋ** beside **hərè:ŋ** < ***rhiəŋ**, 143.

The last two instances are perhaps dialectal in origin:

154. Sre (Blood 1966) **klyəŋ**, Bunör **kleŋ**, Central Rölöm **tlieŋ**, Biat **[ndra:ŋ] kleŋ**, Bahnar dialects **klieŋ**, **kleŋ**, Jeh **kleŋ**, Halang **kleaŋ** ‘forehead’ (#731 ***[k]liəŋ**). Sre **biŋlian** id. is connected, but obscurely.

155. Stieng **ləpiət** (Azémar 1886; Blood 1966 has **pəlpiaət**), Sre, Biat **mpiat**, Chrau **ləpiət**, Bunör **mpyat**, Central Rölöm **piət**, Bahnar dialects **rəpiət**, **ləpiət**, **hapiət**, Jeh **lapiat**, Halang **rəpiat** ‘tongue’ (#1075 ***l-mp-iət**; the simplex in Palaung (Milne 1931) **leət**, Riang-Lang **liət**, Praok **lēt** ‘to lick’).

The monophthongized reflexes in Bunör and Biat appear to be coincident, so far as our evidence goes. They have been noted in a variety of contexts, broadly similar to those associated with the South Bahnaric lowering of ***ii:** following nasals; liquids and **w**; **nt-**; **r(ə)d-** < ***rd-**; **p**; **kh-**. The items are listed below.

156. Stieng, Bunör, Biat **nə:t**, Central Rölöm **niət** ‘comb’ (#1097 ***s-n-iət**; cf. with variant vocalism Khmer **snət**, Chrau **səni:t**; and Khmer **sət** ‘to comb’). Stieng **nə:t** may be a loanword, as **wər** is assumed to be in 162. Azémar (1886) has **cər** ‘to blow [nose]’, presumably < ***[k][s]iər** ~ ***[k][s]iir**, 111; but this may be a special development following **c-**.

157. Biat **mɛ:ŋ** ‘edge, margin’ (#656 ***r-m-iəŋ**; cf. the simplex in Old Mon *reñ* ‘to arrange’, Modern Mon **rɛaŋ** ‘to form a row, to place in a row’; Khmer **rɪəŋ** ‘continuously, in succession’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **riəŋ** ‘perpetually’; Khasi **riang** ‘in order, in a row’; and for this sense, with variant vocalism, Sre **reŋ**, Bahnar **re:ŋ** ‘to skirt’).

158. Khmer **mɪən** ‘ring, circle’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **mien**, Biat **mɛ:n** (whence Sre **meen**?) ‘ring round haft of dah etc.’ (#1182 ***m[]iən**, perhaps ***m-wiən**, ad ***wiən** 178; Sre then perhaps from a variant ***m-wiin**).

159. Central Rölöm **riək**, Bunör, Biat **rɛ:k** ‘to reap’; Khasi **riah** ‘to pluck [e.g. herbs]’ (#390 ***riək**) .

160. Sre [**daa**] **liəŋ**, Biat **le:ŋ** ‘waterfall’ (#710 ***liəŋ**).

161. Biat **lɛ:r** ‘to jut out, project’; Palaung **liər** ‘to protrude (v.i.t.)’; Vietnamese **lè** ‘to stick [tongue] out’ (#1663 ***liər**; Sre has **liu** ‘to stick out’, from an assimilatory ***liəl**). Riang-Lang **ṭliər** ‘to protrude’ reflects a prefixed form.

Cf. also Bunör, Biat **klɛ:ŋ** < ***[k]liəŋ**), 154.

162. Khmer **vɪə** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Bunör **wɛ:r**, Central Rölöm **wiər** ‘taboo’, Biat **wɛ:r** ‘unlucky’ (whence, or from Bunör, Stieng **wɛ:r**, Sre **wer** ‘taboo’), Bahnar **wɛ:r** ‘to go aside, avoid’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **viər**, Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **viia** id. (#1669 ***wiər**). From prefixed forms are Biat **kwɛ:r** ‘bend’; and Khasi **tawiar** ‘to go round and round’.

163. Mon **həte** ‘to lament’; Biat **ntɛ:r** ‘to cry out, (#1622 ***[g]ntiər**); and from a homophonous nominal formation Middle Mon *gater* ‘long-drawn-out intonation’; Biat **ntɛ:r** ‘cry’. The simplex ***[g]tiər** perhaps in Bahnar **tɛ:r** ‘[lightning] to strike; thunderclap’.

164. Bunör **rədə:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **diəŋ**, Biat **rde:ŋ** ‘to cart’ (#590 ***rdiəŋ**; Palaungic has a variant ***rdiŋ**, for which cf. e.g. Palaung **deŋ** ‘road’).

165. Khmer **biət** ‘to press against, be close to’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **piet** ‘to get one's fingers pinched’, Biat **pɛ:t** ‘to press, squeeze’, West Bahnar **pɛ:t** ‘to squeeze with fingers’; Riang-Lang **ṭpiet** ‘to squeeze, massage’ (#1020 ***piət**). ***[p]mpiət** underlies Biat **mpɛ:t** ‘to press with hands’; Praok **biat** ‘to extract by pressing’.

166. Biat **khɛ:r** ‘burnt [food]’ (#1688 ***khɪər**; cf. Vietnamese *khê*, < ***khɪr**).¹⁵

The Bunör-Biat monophthongization is regular following liquids and **w**, and following nasals if Bunör **ɲiar** ‘top layer of bamboo floor’ is borrowed from Central Rölöm **niər** (#1632 ***tniər**) also following **d**, 164, on the evidence of that single case. Monophthongization following **nt-** (163) does not extend to ***t** in the absence of a nasal affix, which is palatalized in both languages; cf. e.g. 151 ***tiəŋ**, 181 ***tiər**. 165 is anomalous in the light of 141 ***[s]piəŋ**, 155 ***lmpiət**; is Biat **pɛ:t** a loan from Bahnar, and thence by levelling **mpɛ:t**? 166 is equally isolated: contrast 143 ***rhɪəŋ**, and Biat **nchiəŋ ka:ŋ** ‘to chew the cud’ ad ***khɪəŋ**.

For Khmuic the evidence is limited; it suggests monophthongization following **k** (velars?) and **h**.

167. Mon **kep** ‘to pinch, grasp with claws’; Khmer **kiəp** ‘to nip, pinch’, Khmu’ **kɛɛp** ‘to grasp with tongs’ (***[c]kiəp**; distinguish ***giəp**, 185). From an infix form are Middle Mon *sakep*, Modern Mon **həkep** ‘tongs’; Khmu’ **srkɛɛp**; while Bahnar **nɛp** id. shows secondary infixation.

¹⁵ [Editorial note: Shorto revised the reconstruction to derive both Biat and Vietnamese from ***kh[ee]r**.]

168. Khmu' **hɛɛm** 'younger sibling of same sex', Khmu Yuan **hɛɛm** 'younger sibling' (Khmuic ***hiəm**; ~ ***ʔiəm**, > Stieng (Azémar 1886) **iem** 'elder sibling'; Vietnamese *em* 'younger sibling').

Khmu Yuan **ɛt** 'few' is likely to be borrowed from Mường *ét* 'a little' (183) in view of **həyiar** 'fowl' < ***kuən ʔiər** (cf. 149).

Monophthongal reflexes in the Northern Mon-Khmer languages are not necessarily coincident. In particular Praok is apt to show a monophthong where the other two do not, though in some of these cases we ought perhaps to assign Praok to a variant in ***ə**.

For Palaung we have one, seemingly discrepant, instance.

169. Khmu' **hriən**, Khmu Yuan **riən** 'intestines'; Palaung **rɛŋ** (#708 ***[s]riə[ŋ]**). Contrast Palaung **hreən**, Riang-Lang **riən** 'straw', < ***.riən** (Editor's note: ***.riən** appears to related to #693, although it appears that the analysis had changed).

For Riang-Lang we have two.

170. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **siet** 'to cut up [meat]', Sre **siat** 'to cut, sever', Biat **chiat** 'to cut up', West Bahnar **cēt** 'to chop [edibles etc.] obliquely'; Riang-Lang **sət** 'to cut, gash' (#981 ***ciət**). This might be attributed to absorption of **i** following the palatal, ***ciət** > ***c'iet** > **sət**; there are no counter-examples.

171. Palaung **miəm**, Riang-Lang **məm** 'tea' (prima facie ***miəm**; but Riang-Lang may conceivably reflect a variant ***məəm**).

Praok disagrees with other languages in two instances: **let** 'to lick' < ***liət** (Palaung **leət**, Riang-Lang **liət**; see 155); and **təm** 'to hammer...' < ***tiəm** (Palaung **teəm**; see 114). Palaung or Riang-Lang comparisons are not available in two other items.

172. Praok **ŋet** 'to listen (to), obey' (#942 ***[ɲn-ʔiət**; the simplex in Stieng (Azémar 1886) **iet** 'to listen to, obey', Sre, Biat **iat** 'to listen to', Chrau **ʔyət**, Bunör **ʔyat**, Central Rölöm **ʔiət** 'to listen, hear').

173. Mon **ken**, **təken** 'finger, toe'; Praok **gən** 'finger' (#1128 ***ŋkiən[]**).

Both these involve earlier prenasalized forms. Contrast, therefore, e.g. Praok **biat** < ***[p]mpiət**, 165.

Instances in which Khasi *e* might be assigned to ***i-** are the following:

174. Old Mon **ckem** 'to grasp, pick up; handful', Modern Mon **kem** 'to grasp'; Khasi **skhem** 'firmly, securely', [*shi*]-**khem** 'handful' (*shi* 'one'); Vietnamese **kém** 'pincers, tweezers' (#1312 ***ckiəm**).

175. Khasi **syrdeng** 'fence, plank partition' (#578 ***t₂-r-diən**; cf. for the simplex Old Mon **taden** 'screen, railing', (in part) Modern Mon **hətəən** '(wall of) twilled bamboo').

176. Mon **kret** 'to creak'; Khmer **kriət** 'creakily'; Khasi **khret-khret** 'grating' (#1064 ***kriət**; a metathetic ***rkiət** underlies Sre **rəkiat**, Biat **rciat** 'to grind, creak, gnash').

177. Khmer **phliən** 'rain, to rain', Tolo Bahnar **ple:ŋ** 'sky'; Khasi **bneng** id.; Mnar **phuyən** (#930 ***[p]liən**).

178. Mon **kəmən** 'cripple'; Khasi **lymmen** 'digitless extremity' (#1208a ***lm-wiən**; the simplex in Mon **wən** 'to be crooked, deformed'; Khmer **vìən** 'to curl up tight'; other affixed forms in Bahnar, Vietnamese, Aslian). A variant ***-wənʔ** is attested by Vietnamese **quấn** 'to be rolled round, to roll round', but the closest semantic parallel is with the Mon form.

Khasi *ie* in one instance suggests secondary lengthening of *e*:

179. Mon **kəlem** ‘to taste’; Khasi *jylliem*, ‘[dog] to lick lips’, (*[c]rliəm?; the simplex in Bahnar **lə:m** ‘to lick one’s fingertips’; Vietnamese *liếm* ‘to lick’, if not from AnCh. *liam).

The conditions are obscure, and suggest shortening following certain complex initials.

Vietnamese has usually *-e* < *-iər, the only exception being *nia* ‘winnowing-basket’ < *pniər (150). Cf. besides *lè* ‘to stick tongue out’ < *liər, 161:

180. Vietnamese *che* ‘to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter’ (#1592 *ciər; ~ *cir, > Old Mon **cir** ‘to ward [off]’, Middle Mon *cuiw* ‘to screen’, Modern Mon **cɜ** ‘to cover over, to wall’).

181. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **thier** (!), Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** ‘to forge’, Bahnar **tiər**, **tər** ‘to hammer to an edge’; Vietnamese *đe* ‘anvil’ (#1610 *tiər).

182. Riang-Lang **chier** ‘to tear’; Vietnamese *xé* id. (*chiər?).

Before other finals Vietnamese *e* has been noted following laryngeals, velars, and

1. We have besides *em* ‘younger sibling’ < *ʔiəm (168), *bình hen* ‘asthma’ < *hiən (153):

183. Mường *ét* ‘a little’ (whence probably Khmu Yuan *èt* ‘few’; #939 *ʔiət; ~ *-i(i)t, > Sre **it** ‘a little’; Vietnamese *ít*).

184. Vietnamese *ghen* ‘to be jealous, envious’ (#1125 *kiən? Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kien**, Sre **kian**, Biat **cian** ‘to gnaw’).

185. Khmer **kìəp**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **giep**, Bahnar **gɛ:p** ‘to grasp with tongs’; Palaung **giəp** id.; Vietnamese *kẹp* ‘to press, squeeze’ (#1239 *giəp; distinguish *[c]kiəp, 167).

186. Vietnamese *lèn* ‘to stuff, cram in’ (#1197 *liən; *[l]nliən underlies Palaung **niən** ‘to strangle, throttle’, Mon also ‘to roll [rice] into a ball’).

187. Vietnamese *trét* ‘to smear, to caulk’ (#1076 *[k]pliət; cf. for the simplex Old Mon **let**, Modern Mon **lèt** ‘to smear on’; Khmer **liət** [bɔt] ‘to plaster’; and for *k-liət Mon **klet** ‘to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive’; Palaung **kleət** ‘to be smooth, slippery’).

The only obstacles to regarding Vietnamese *e* as regular in these environments are *hiếng* ‘to have a squint’, a slightly suspect derivation from *liəŋ(?) (140, #494); *kiết* [ly] ‘dysentery’ (#960 *[t]kiət; ~ *[t]kiit, > Mon [nɛa] **kit** ‘to have dysentery’, and with infix **həkít** ‘dysentery’); and *liếm* ‘to lick’ ad *[c]liəm? (see 179), perhaps a Chinese loan.

Jeh has **e:**, Halang **ea** in *tiəŋ, 151; *[k]liəŋ, 154; *rhiəŋ, 143. Both have **ia** in *lmpiət, 155; *[k]liəŋ, 147; *liəm, 148. Jeh has **-i:l**, Halang **-iər** in *ʔiər, 149; note further Halang **priəl** (and Jeh **pri:l**, unless from a variant) ‘ice, hail’ < *priəl, 200. It is thus possible that these alternants are conditioned by the nature of the final.

*-iəl. Sre and Biat reflexes of this rhyme presuppose a vocalization of the final similar to that attested in Vietnamese (in monophthongization contexts) *-eo*. We have already referred Sre **liu** ‘to stick out’ to a variant *liəl of *liər (165). Biat has **-i:u**, (in monophthongization context) **-ɛ:u**.

Mon has **-ea**, **-əa**, written **-ey**. Unfortunately the Old Mon reflex of this rhyme is not recorded; but by analogy with Old Mon /i:l/ > Middle Mon **-i** > modern **-ɛe**, **-i**, **-i** it seems likely that **-l** has been lost and that the modern reflexes preserve the ancient

diphthong via Old Mon. (Mon shows distinct reflexes of PMK **-iəw* and **-ew*, the latter corresponding to Old Mon /*ew*/; it is therefore possible that the Old Mon orthography masks a distinction between /*eə*/ and /*e*/ which we have failed to infer.)

Khasi has usually *-ia*, with loss of **-l*, elsewhere reflected as *-n*. In 191 it may have *-ew*, with monophthongization corresponding to that suspected in 174-8.

In the same item Vietnamese has *-êu*, apparently corresponding to *-iê-* in other contexts.

188. Mon *ea s'ey* 'to wither, become withered, dry up'; Jolong Bahnar *yəl* 'poor harvest'; Vietnamese, Mường *héo* 'to wilt, dry up, wither' (#1697**[c]ʔiəl* []).

189. Biat *rʔi:u* 'to become rancid'; Khmu Yuan *pə'ial* 'smell of fish' (#1698 **prʔiəl*).

190. Mon *rəa rey* 'to cut up'; Khasi *ria* 'small, broken' (#1786 **riəl*).

191. Mon *krea* 'sarus crane'; Khmer *kriəl*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) [*peʔ*] *kriəl*, Biat [*kla:ŋ*] *kre:u* 'crane'; Vietnamese *sếu* id. (#1788 **kriəlʔ*; conn. probably Khasi *sarew* id., with obscure initial).

Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. In addition to instances already noted in passing, some illustrative examples follow. The simple vowel may be long or short, or both.

192. **priiŋ* 'oil, fat', see 95.

**priəŋ*: Palaung *preəŋ* 'fat, to be delicious', Riang-Lang *̄priəŋ* 'to be delicious'. Khasi has *phniang* 'oil-seed', perhaps by metathesis from a nasal-infix form.

193. **pliŋ*: Rongao *pliŋ* 'sky'; Palaung *plen*, Riang-Lang *̄plen* id. (#930)

**[p]liiŋ*: Jeh, Halang *pli:ŋ* id.; Temiar *balik*.

**[p]liəŋ*, see 177.

194. *kdiit* and *kdiət* 'small', see 96. (#1016)

**kdiət*: Khmu' *liat*, Khmu Yuan *liət* 'to be short'; Palaung *diət* 'to be small'; Mường *đét* 'small'. From an infixed form are Riang-Lang *̄kəndiət* 'to be small'; Khasi *khyndiat* 'a little, few' (= *khyndit*, ad var.); and by contraction Vietnamese *nhất* 'to be small'.

195. **krit*: Bahnar *krit* 'creakily'; and **kriit*: Khmer *kre:t* id. (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer). (#1064)

**kri-t*, see 180.

196. **sliŋ*: Vietnamese *lên*, Mường *lênh* 'to go up'. (#1207)

**sliəŋ*: Khmu Yuan *lian* 'to go out; out'; and with secondary prefixation Praok *klian* 'to lift'.

197. **bciip*: Mon *cip* 'to be set edge to edge'; Bahnar *ji:p* 'joined edge to edge'. (#1245)

**bciəp*: Palaung (Milne 1931) *siəp* 'to pile neatly, to lay one thing on another in a pile'; Khasi *bsiap* 'to put between two things, to insert', *siap* 'to insert'.

198. **ci(i)m* 'bird', see 135. (#1324)

**ciəm*: Kuy *səem*, Bahnar *sə:m* id.; and by contraction from **kuən ciəm* Old Mon *kiñcem*, Modern Mon *həcem* id. (Biat has *chium*, for expected **chiam*.)

199. **wir*: Khmu Yuan *wer[kaay]* (!) 'to turn (v.i.)'; Vietnamese *về*, Mường *wêl* 'to return'. Bahnar *rəwir* 'to stir' is from a prefixed form. (#1669)

***wiir**: Bahnar **wi:r** ‘to twist’. Vietnamese *vi*, in compounds, ‘to surround; circumference’ is from a prefixed form. Praok **vi** ‘to visit’ and Khasi **wir** ‘astray’ may reflect either of these two variants.

***wiər** ‘to turn aside, avoid, go round’, see 166.

200. ***pril**: Khmer **prùl** ‘hail’ (x ***brii?** ‘rain’); Praok **pre** id. (#1791)

***priəl**: Bahnar **prəl** id., Hal **prial** (and probably Jeh **pri:l**) ‘ice, hail’; Palaung **preər** ‘hail’, Khasi **phria** ‘hailstone’.

201. ***wil** ‘to turn round...’, see 131; and ***wiil** id., see 107. (#1794)

***wiəl**: Khmer **viəl** ‘to dig round, cut round, to enlarge [hole]’; Riang-Lang **viəl** ‘to turn round’; Vietnamese *vẹo* ‘to be twisted, crooked, distorted’. Note among reflexes of prefixed forms Bahnar **kuəl** ‘enclosure’; **kəwəl** ‘small and bent’, probably cognate with Palaung **kərvilər** ‘to encircle, surround’.

Back Vowels before -h and -s

***-uh** ***-uuh** ***-uəh**. Although ***-uh** and ***-uuh** are merged in Khmer and probably North Bahnaric and Aslian, distinct reflexes have been noted for most other languages. A straightforward length distinction is found in Stieng, Chrau and Sre, and the South Bahnaric languages as a whole show characteristic reflex sets:

	* -uh	* -uuh
Stieng	-oh	-o:h
(Azémar	-uh	-u:h)
Sre	-uh (-oh)	-u:h
Chrau	-uh	-u:h
Cent. Rələm	-əh	-uh
Bunör	-uh (-oh)	-oh
Biat	-oh (-uh)	-uh

***-uh**. For South Bahnaric see above. old Mon has /**uuh**/ (merging ***oh**: below), whence modern **-əh -əh** (merging Old Mon /**əh**/ < ***əəh**; /**əs**/), by post-nasal split **-uh -ùh**. Khmer has **-oh -ùh**, written *-uh*; in the spoken language merging with *-us* < ***-us** as well as with ***-uuh**. Kuy has **-uh -ùh**.

North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-o:h, -u:h**, Jeh and Halang **-uh, -ùh**; Bahnar vowel height and Jeh/Halang register are not consistently correlated. The origin of the variation (further discussed below) is obscure. It might be attributed to length variation; from ***-uuh** we find only Bahnar **-u:h**, Jeh, Halang **-ùh**. Khmuic has **-uh**, following dental **-oh**.

The Palaungic reflexes are difficult to codify. Riang-Lang in two instances has **-o**; but more often **-u**, as < ***-uuh**. Riang-Lang **-a** < ***-ah** suggests that this may result from normal compensatory lengthening following the loss of ***-h**. Palaung has variously **-uuh, -oh, -əh, -uh**. If we assume **-uh** always to reflect (variant) ***-uuh**, and the two instances of **-əh** variant ***-uəh**, the remaining reflexes appear as contextually determined: **-oh** following dental, **-uuh** otherwise. Similarly, if Praok **-u** reflects variant ***-uuh** and **-ə** variant ***-uəh**, **-o** is left as the regular reflex of ***-uh**.

Khasi has *-ut* /**ut**/; Vietnamese *-ô* with *hỏi* or *ngã* tone. Finally, in Aslian we note variously Northern **-uh**; Southern **-oh**, **-uh**; Central **-əh**, **-uh** (and in Temiar **-əh**, with seemingly automatic lengthening).

Examples:

202. Sre **tuh**, Biat **toh**, Bahnar **tu:h** ‘to pour out’; Mường *tở*, Vietnamese *đổ* ‘id., to spill’; Temiar **təh** ‘rain’ (#2003 ***tuh**).

203. Khmer **pùh** ‘to boil, bubble’, Bahnar **bu:h** ‘welling up’ (#2038 ***buh** &c.); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer **pəpuh** ‘foam’; ‘Central Sakai’ **buboh** ‘id., froth’; (ii) Mon **həbəh** id. (< ***brbuh**; —> Cham **parapə:h**); (iii) Stieng (Azémar 1886) **səmbuh**, Biat **mbuh**, East Bahnar **kəmu:h** id. Vietnamese *mủ* ‘pus’ reflects a long-vowel variant, as Khmer, Bahnar, and Aslian may do.

204. Old Mon *moḥ* &c. /**mu:h**/, Modern Mon **mùh** ‘nose’; Kuy **mùh**, Stieng (a.), Sre, Chrau **muḥ**, Central Rölöm **məh**, Bunör (← ?), Biat **moh**, Bahnar **mu:h**, Jeh, Halang **mùh**, Khmu’ **muḥ** id.; Khasi *’mut*; Temiar **məh** (#2045 ***muḥ**); and from a prefixed form Khmer **crəmoh**, Stieng **trəmoh** (Azémar 1886 **trəmuḥ**) id. Palaung (Milne 1931) **muḥ** presumably reflects a long-vowel variant (as Khmer, Kuy, Bunör, and North Bahnaric also may do), Vietnamese *mũi* (***muus**).

205. ‘Central Sakai’ **loh** ‘perforated’ (#2069 ***luh**; add perhaps Riang-Lang **lu** ‘hole, pit’; Vietnamese *lỗ* ‘hole’); prefixed formations include (i) Mon **kləh** ‘to penetrate’ (~ Old Mon *kirloḥ* /**kərluḥ**/ id.; cf. also ii); Khmer **khloh**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kluh** ‘to pierce bullock’s nose’; (ii) Mon **kləh** ‘to be penetrated’ (if ≠ ‘to penetrate’, i); Khmer **thlùh** ‘to be pierced through’; (iii) Sre **bluh** ‘hole, perforation’, Biat **bloh** ‘having a hole in’, ~ Bahnar **bəlo:h** ‘hole, perforation; to make a hole in’; (iv) Bahnar **hlo:h** ‘perforated, open’; Temiar **səluh** ‘to shoot with blowpipe’. Cognate with (i), (ii) or (iv) is Riang-Lang **lo** ‘to pierce, penetrate’ (~ Palaung **kərləh** ‘to penetrate’, with presumed variant vocalism), and with (ii) or (iv) Khasi [*pei*] *syllut* ‘clean through’.

Variant reflexes: South Bahnaric. Sre has **-oh** following (*)nasal + glottalized consonant, in **səndoh** ‘to jump’ < ***[s]-n-ḍuh** (~ Khmer **stùh**); and probably sometimes following **r**. Biat has **-uh** only in **mbuh** < ***sn-ḍuh** (no. 203 above), i.e. in the same context as Sre **səndoh**; the Stieng cognate militates against assuming length variation here. Bunör **-oh** is attested only in **moh** (no. 204), against four instances of **-uh**, and is probably to be explained either by borrowing from Biat or by length variation.

North Bahnaric. If the divergent reflexes in North Bahnaric are to be attributed to length variation, which is formally possible, an unusually high frequency of variation must be assumed; the hypothesis seems *prima facie* unlikely. The divergence does not appear to be contextually conditioned. Bahnar **tu:h** < ***tuh** (no. 202) contrasts with **to:h** ‘to hit, beat’ < ***tuh** (: Palaung **toh**, Riang-Lang **tu** ‘to pound’), while the same root ***btuh** (#2008) yields the Bahnar doublets **do:h** ‘to explode’, **du:h** ‘pus; to suppurate’. Note also the divergence in reflexes of ***ruh** (#2051) and its prefixed formations: Bahnar **ru:h**, Jeh, Halang **ruh** ‘to fall’; Bahnar **pro:h** ‘to gush out’, beside West Bahnar **pru:h** ‘to squirt from mouth’; Jeh **kadrùh** ‘to jump down’, Halang **gədrùh** ‘to fall’. (The simplex correspondence here should be contrasted with that in no. 204 above.)

*-uuh. Khmer has *-uh; Old Mon has /uh/, whence modern -aoh -uh -ùh. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has -u:h, Jeh and Halang -ùh. Khmuic: Khmu Yuan has apparently -ɔh -òh. In Palaungic Palaung has -uh, Riang-Lang -u; Praok -u may reflect variant *-uuh (above). Khasi has -ud /u:t/; Vietnamese -u with hỏi or ngã tone.

Kuy and Aslian reflexes are unknown. Note that North Bahnaric and Riang-Lang are, probably, ambiguous as between *-uh, *-uuh.

Examples:

206. Riang-Lang ʔu ‘[dogs] to howl’; Khasi ud ‘to groan, complain, [insect] to whine. (#1959 *-uuh).

207. Khmer kəpɔ̀h kañjuh, West Bahnar rəyuh (→ Jar. rəyuh) ‘to shake’; Vietnamese giũ ‘to shake [dust, water] off’ (#1995 *[r]njuuh). *-uuh rests on Vietnamese Mon kəyòh ‘to shake off’ reflects a variant *[r]njuəh or *[r]njəh.

208. Mon taoh ‘to rub, scrub, scour’; Khmer doh ʔus: ‘to rub, polish’ (#2004 *t₁uuh); and from an affixed form Khmu Yuan həntəh ‘to rub’. Thai thúu confirms Khmer *-h in spite of the spelling.

209. Stieng to:h, Chrau tu:h, Bunör toh, Central Rölöm, Biat tuh, Jeh, Halang toh ‘bean’ (#2002 *t₁uuh). Bahnar tə:h probably reflects a variant *təh.

210. Bahnar tru:h ‘to arrive at, reach’, Jeh trùh ‘to come, arrive’, Halang trùh ‘to arrive’; Palaung hlüh id., Riang-Lang ʔtru ‘to come’ (#2079 *t₁luuh). Here *-uuh rests on Palaung

Length variation. Isolated or perhaps isolated long-vowel variants were noted in nos. 203, 204 above. Some further illustrations follow.

211. *guh: Palaung (Milne 1931) guh ‘to open, to swell’, Praok go [gluŋ] ‘to swell’; ~ *guuh: Mon kùh ‘to swell up’; Palaung (Milne 1931) guh = guh. (#1976)

212. *buh: Stieng (Azémar 1886) buh ‘ash’; from affixed forms (i) Mon həpəh ‘dust, powder, spoil’; (ii) Stieng (Azémar 1886) nbuh ‘ash’, Sre kəmbuh ‘powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy’; ~ *buuh: Sre bu:h, Biat buh, Khmu Yuan pəh ‘ash’. (#2034)

213. *khuh: Sre khuh, Biat khoh ‘to boil (v.i.)’; ~ *khuuh: Sre khuh (Blood 1966, ~ khuh), Bunör khoh, Central Rölöm khuh id.

*-uəh. Constructions of *-uəh are relatively infrequent, and are usually variants of other finals. The following are probable reflexes: Old Mon /oh/, whence modern -uh; following consonant cluster usually /ɔh/, whence modern -ɔh; Khmer -oh, written -uh; perhaps also, or in complementary distribution, (-ɔh?) -ùəh, written -oh; Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat -ɔh, Sre -oh, -uəh; Bahnar -u:ah (and dialectally -u:əh, -ɔ:ah), -ɔ:h, Jeh (and Halang?) -oh; (Palaung -ɔh, p. uh 2), Praok (-ɔ, ib.; -ua?).

Isolated variants were noted in nos. 205 and perhaps 207 above. I add here:

214. Khmer doh duh ‘to grow, germinate’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) təh-[mat] ‘germ of cereal, bud’ (# *tuəh).¹⁶

215. Stieng təh ‘to explode’, Sre toh ‘cutaneous eruption’ (#2008 *bt₁uəh); and from infixed forms (i) Chrau ntəh ‘to explode’; (ii) Sre bərtəh, Bunör rəttəh, Central

¹⁶ [Editorial note: this comparison was deleted in the author’s revision of the comparative lexicon.]

Rölöm **təh**, Biat **rtəh** id. Khmer **phtùh phduh** ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’ may rather reflect the variant ***btuh** (also in Mon, Bahnar, Palaungic).

216. Bahnar **prə:h** ‘outflow’ (***p-ruəh**); with a different prefix Sre **səkrəh** ‘to shake down’ (***[s]p-ruəh**). Praok **phrua** ‘to sprinkle’ may be cognate with Sre, or, with **khrua** ‘to shake off’, **grua** ‘to drop, fall away’, be assignable to an ***s-** suffix formation attested by e.g. Khmer **prù:əh bruəs** ‘to squirt from mouth’ (with which Mon **pruh proh** id. is probably cognate). Variant of ***ruh** &c. (#2051).

217. Khmer **soh suh**, Sre **soh** ‘empty’, East Bahnar **sə:h** ‘empty, stripped’ (#2088 ***suəh**); and from an affixed form Jeh **sasoh** ‘idle’ (and Halang **səsoh** ‘only?’). Biat **chə:i:h** reflects ***suəs** (< ***suəh-suəh**?).

***-us &c.** Even in languages in which PMK ***-s** is not preserved as such, reflexes distinct from those of ***-h** occur following back vowels in most cases. There is thus relatively little difficulty in discriminating between the two finals in reconstruction.

***-us.** The following are considered to be reflexes of ***-us**: Old Mon /**ø̄s**/, whence modern **-əh -əh**; Khmer **-oh**, written **-us**; Kuy **-ùh**; Sre **-us, -os**, Biat **-uih**; Palaung **-ur, -or**, Riang-Lang **-əs, -os**; Praok **-aw**; Khasi **-ut**; Vietnamese **-ôi** with *hỏi* or *ngã* tone. The low frequency of the rhyme compared with ***-uus** may reflect the development of the latter from earlier suffixed forms in some cases: ***-uus** < ***-uh-s**, &c. All instances of ***-us** noted are variants (except perhaps no. 223 below); it is therefore possible that some of the Bahnaric and Aslian forms reconstructed with long vowel in fact reflect ***-us**.

Variant reflexes: Sre has **-os** following **r**, **-us** elsewhere. The conditioning of the Palaungic reflexes is unclear; within the limited material Palaung **-ur** corresponds to Riang-Lang **-əs**, Palaung **-or** to Riang-Lang **-os**.

Examples will be found in the sections on variation below; I note here:

218. Palaung **kror** ‘paddy-storage basket’, Praok **kraw** ‘granary’ (***krus**). Bahnaric has an apparent variant in ***-h**: Sre **krüh** ‘small kind of carrying-basket’, Bahnar **krə:h** ‘special large kind of carrying-basket’.¹⁷

***-uus.** Old Mon has /**us**/, whence modern **-uh -ùh**. Khmer has **-ù:h**, written **-ūs**; **-aoh**, written **-os**; Kuy has **-u:h**.

South Bahnaric: Sre has **-ous**; Bunör and Central Rölöm have **-uih**; Stieng, Chrau, Biat have **-uih, -oih**. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-uih, -oih**, Jeh and Halang **-uyh**.

Palaungic: Palaung has **-ur**, Riang-Lang **-us**; Praok **-u** in one instance reflects ***-uus** or less probably ***-uuh**, **-ə** in another may reflect ***-uus** or ***-uəs**. Khasi has **-ud**. Vietnamese **-ũi** is presumed to reflect ***-uus** in no. 204 above.

In Aslian I have noted Northern **-os**; Central (Temiar) **-ōs, -ūs**.

The splits in Khmer and Biat are compatible with those found before other non-laryngeal finals. Those in Stieng and Chrau are difficult to interpret for paucity of evidence.

Again, virtually all instances involve variation; examples should be sought in the relevant sections.

¹⁷ [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction to ***[k]ruh** (#2054).]

Length variation. Examples:

219. ***pʔus**: Vietnamese *ô* ‘guava tree’; ~ ***pʔuus**: Sre **pə’ous** id. (#1876)

220. *[**r**]kus: PalMon [**i**]kur ‘porcupine’; from an infix form Riang-Lang **rəŋkəs** id.; ~ *[**r**]kuus: Temiar **kūs** id. Khasi *dyngkhied* reflects a variant in *-iəs (as Danaw **təŋkiet** suggests), or one in *-əs with secondary lengthening. (#1883)

221. ***ʃus**: Mon **bəh** ‘to boil (v.t.)’; ~ ***ʃuus**: Palaung **bur**, Riang-Lang **bus** ‘foam, froth’; Temiar **būs** ‘bubbles’. (Earlier ***ʃuh-s**; for ***ʃuh** see no. 203 above; *-s causative is assumed in Mon) (#2038)

222. ***t-p-rus**: Khmer **proh prus** ‘male’ (Danaw **pʔrəh** is a loan, probably from an unattested Riang-Lang form); and ***t-m-rus**: Old Khmer *tamrus*, Kuy **ntrùh** id.; ~ ***truus**: Old Mon *trūs* &c. /**trus**/, Modern Mon **kraoh** id.; Khmer **traoh tros** ‘male, ungelded [animal]’; and with p-infix Khmer **praoh** ‘male’. (#1940)

In the following instance it is possible that only a short-vowel form should be reconstructed, since the Stieng and North Bahnaric reflexes of *-us are not known.

223. ***mus** or ***muus**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **mu:ih**, Sre **mus**, Biat **mu:ih** ‘to clear [forest]’, Bahnar **mu:ih** ‘clearing of forest’, Jeh, Halang **mu:yh**. (#1922)

*-uəs. Old Mon has /os/, whence modern **-uh**; following consonant cluster usually /ɔs/, whence modern **-ɔh -òh**. Khmer has **-ù:əh**, written *-uas*.

South Bahnaric: the following are considered to be normal reflexes: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **-u:əh**, **-o:əh**, **-oəh**, Sre **-oas**, Biat **-ɔ:ih**. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-ɔ:ih**, Jeh and Halang **-uayh**. Khmu’ has **-ueh**, Khmu Yuan **-uas**.

us 4

Palaungic: Palaung has **-uər**, Riang-Lang **-uas**. Praok has **-ua**, **-uua**; **-ɔ** is a contextually determined reflex of either *-uus or *-uəs. Vietnamese has **-oi** with *hỏi* tone.

Aslian: I have noted Che’ Wong (Northern) **-əwas**; Semai (Central) **-ɔs** may reflect *-uəs or perhaps *-uus.

Examples:

224. ***t₁uəs**: Old Mon *tos* /**tos**/ ‘to utter, proclaim’; with nasal infix (***tntuəs**) Praok **dua** ‘to assert’. (#1899)

225. ***puəs**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **poəh** [jə:ŋ], Jeh, Halang **puayh** ‘calf of leg’; Palaung **puər** [grɔŋ]. (The Stieng short vowel is exceptional.) (#1913)

226. ***kruəs**: Khmer **kru:əh** *kruəs*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kro:əh** ‘gravel’; Vietnamese *sỏi* ‘pebble, gravel’. Mon **kreh** reflects a front-vowel variant. (#1936)

227. ***[ts]uəs**: Sre **yoas** ‘dah’; Palaung [bot] **suər**, Riang-Lang **chuas**, **tsuas** ‘knife, dagger’. (#1953)

In the following instance Bahnaric shows variants in *-uəs, *-was; the latter is probably secondary.

228. ***r[]uəs**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ru:əh**, Jeh, Halang **ruayh** ‘elephant’. ***rwas**: Stieng **rwe:ih**, Sre **rəwas**, Chrau **rəwe:ih**, Bunör, Biat **rweh**, Bahnar dialects **ruo:ih**, **rə:ih**, **roə:ih** id. Bahnar **ro:ih**, dial. **ru:ih**, reflects ***ruus**, which is less readily explained if ***rwas** is the primary form; while Vietnamese *con voi* may be evidence for a metathetic ***swuər** (from earlier ***ruw[a]s**?). (#1930)

Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. Examples:

229. ***ʔus:** Khmer **oh** *us* ‘firewood’; ~ ***ʔuus:** Kuy **ʔu:h**, Sre **ous** ‘fire’; Temiar **ʔōs** id.; ~ ***-uəs:** Middle Mon **’oh** /**ʔoh**/, Modern Mon **uh** ‘firewood’. (#1872)

230. ***ɲus:** Praok **[sin]** **ɲaw** ‘wealth’; ~ ***ɲuus:** Old Mon **nūs** &c. /**ɲus**/, Modern Mon **ɲùh** ‘price’; ~ ***ɲuəs:** Palaung **ɲuər** id. Praok **ɲɔ** id. reflects ***ɲuus** or ***ɲuəs**. (#1886)

231. ***puus:** Sre **nus** ‘heart’; ~ ***p-n-uus:** Stieng **[pi]nu:h**, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **nu:h** id.; Khasi **’nud** ‘liver, heart, mind’; ~ ***p-n-uəs:** Palaung **nuər**, Rieng-Lang **[kə]nuas** ‘heart’; and with **-m-** infix Old Mon **pumas** /**pəməs**/ id., Modern Mon **[kətaŋ]** **kəmɔh** (beside **kon kəmɔʔ**, by s.p.). Semai **nōs** ‘liver’ may reflect ***pnuus** or ***pnuəs**. (#1912)

232. ***t₂puus:** Old Khmer **pos**, Modern Khmer **baoh** *pos* ‘to sweep’ (with vocalism by levelling on **ɔmbaoh** ‘broom’), Stieng **po:h** (Azémar 1886 **pu:h**) id.; and from affixed forms (i) Bahnar dialects **hapu:h** &c. id.; (ii; ***t₂puus** > ***t₁mpuus** by metath. > ***p₁muus** >) Chrau **bo:h** id.; ~ ***tpuəs:** Middle Mon **twah**, Modern Mon **kwɔh** id. (or ***tpəs**, for which cf. e.g. Sre **pəs**); and with secondary infixation Stieng (Azémar 1886) **brənu:h** ‘broom’. (A front-vowel variant ***t₂piis** is seen in Palaungic: Palaung **pir**, &c., and in Bunör **mpih** ‘broom’.) (#1916)

***-ɔh.** No differentia have been found for ***-ɔh**, ***-ɔɔh**. I write ***-ɔh** in all cases, which should be understood as subsuming the strict formula ***-ɔ(ɔ)h**.

Differentia for ***-ɔh**, ***-oh** have been found so far only in Mon, Biat, and (inferentially and on scanty material) in Kuy. Old Mon has /**ɔh**/ < ***-ɔh**, /**uh**/ < ***-oh**; Biat respectively **-ɔh**, **-oh**. Kuy ***-ɔh** < ***-ɔh** contrasts with **-o:h**, which in no. 240 below reflects either a variant in ***-oooh** or else ***-oos** < ***-oh-s**. (Further differentia will be proposed for ***-oh** ≠ ***-oooh**.)

The reflexes of ***-ɔh** in other languages are Khmer **-ɔh** **-ùəh**, written **-oh**; Sre **-oh**, all other South Bahnaric languages **-ɔh**; Bahnar **-ɔ:h**, **-ɔh**, Jeh and Halang correspondingly **-oh**, **-uh**; Khmuic **-oh**; Palaung **-oh**, Rieng-Lang **-ɔ**; Khasi **-ot**; South Aslian **-uh**, Central **-oh**. Praok and Vietnamese reflexes have not been determined.

Examples:

233. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ɔh** ‘younger brother’, Sre **oh**, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔɔh**, Biat **ɔh**, Bahnar **ɔ:h**, Jeh, Halang **oh** ‘younger sibling’ (#1957 ***ʔɔh**).

234. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kɔh** ‘to cut, lop’, Sre **koh** ‘to cut (down, up)’, Biat **kɔh** ‘to cut (up, off)’, Bahnar **kɔ:h** ‘to cut’, Jeh **koh** ‘to chop’, Halang **koh** ‘to chop, cut’, Theng **koh** ‘to cut (up)’, Palaung **koh** ‘to cut (down, off)’, Semai **koh** ‘to cut’ (#1969 ***kɔh**); and from affixed forms Khasi **dkhot** ‘part, piece, member’; **lyngkhot**, **lyngkot** ‘piece’.

235. Old Mon **tohh** /**tɔh**/, Modern Mon **tɔh** ‘breast’; Old Khmer **toh**, Modern Khmer **dɔh** **doh**, Sre **toh**, Stieng (Azémar 1886), Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **tɔh**, Jeh, Halang **tuh** id.; Mah Meri **tuh** (#1999 ***t₁ɔh**).

236. Sre **boh**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **bɔh**, Bahnar **bɔ:h**, Jeh, Halang **boh** ‘salt’ (#2037 ***bɔɔh**).¹⁸

¹⁸ [Editorial note: Shorto later revised his analysis to distinguish a long vowel in this case.]

*-ɔs, *-ɔʌs, *-ɔs is tentatively reconstructed in the two following cases; either might alternatively be reconstructed *-ɔs. (The Khmer vowel-shift does not operate before a spirant.)

237. Khmer **tùəh** *das'* (and *doh*) 'to dam' (#1902 ***[j]t[ɔ]s**); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer **thnùəh** 'fish-weir, fish-crawl, of branches'; (ii) Mon **hətəh** 'dry-dam fish-trap'.

238. Mon **kləh** 'to throw (at, away)' (#1948 ***cl[ɔ]s**); and from an infixed form Khmer **crələh** *cralas'* 'to throw, hurl'.

*-ɔʌs is reconstructed in the following case, on the assumption that the Biat vocalism before *-s parallels that before *-h.

239. Sre **loos** (and **los**), Biat **lɔ:ih** 'iron' (***lɔʌs**).

*-oh. The following reflexes of *-oh have been established (for the distinction from *-ɔh see above): Old Mon /**uəh**/ (as < *-uh); Khmer, Stieng, Sre as < *-ɔh, Biat **-oh**; Bahnar **-ɔ:h** (dialectally **-o:ih**), Jeh and Halang **-oh**; Praok **-o**; Vietnamese -ô with hỏi tone.

Only two certain cases are known:

240. Middle Mon **loh** /**luəh**/ 'to uncoil (v.t.)', Modern Mon **ləh** 'to come unwound'; Old Khmer **loh** 'to free', Modern Khmer **lùəh loh** 'to redeem, ransom' (#2067 ***loh**); and from prefixed forms inter alia (i) Old Mon **pluh** &c. 'to attain Buddhahood', Modern Mon **pləh** 'to come unwound, to unwind'; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pləh** 'to peel off, skin', Sre **ploh** [bəs] '[snake's] slough', Bahnar dialects **plɔ:ih**, **plə:ih** 'to open, undo, undress'; Praok **plo** 'to rise in baking'; Vietnamese **trổ** 'to shoot forth, sprout'; (ii) Bahnar **klɔ:ih** '[scab] to come away'. Bahnar dialects **plɔ:ih** = **plə:ih** reflects a form with *-s suffix (***ploh-s** > ***ploos**; → Achinese **pləih** 'to unfasten, unroll, take off'); Kuy **plo:ih** 'to swell' perhaps more probably a long-vowel variant.

241. Biat, Jeh, Halang **loh** 'to go out'; Palaung **lɔh** 'to go, come' (#2068 ***loh**).

Items for which no reflexes from criterion languages are available are reconstructed with *-**[ɔ]h**.

*-ooh. The reconstruction of *-ooh is supported by two items, one of them tentative. The reflexes are Old Mon /**oh**/ (as < *-uəh); Khmer **-ɔh** (as < *-ɔh, *-oh); Palaung **-oh** (?), Praok **-o**; Vietnamese -o with hỏi tone.

242. Old Mon **poh** /**poh**/, Modern Mon **puh** 'to shoot with pellet-bow'; Khmer **bəh** *poh* 'to throw, to gin [cotton]'; Praok [ak] **po** 'bow' (***pooh**); and from an infixed form Mon **nuh** 'pellet-bow'; Khmer **phnəh** 'bow for beating cotton'; Vietnamese **nỏ** 'crossbow'.

243. Middle Mon **thəbəh** /**təbəh**/ 'cake of rice-flour', Modern Mon [kwain] **həbuh** 'rice-flour'; (?) Palaung (Milne 1931) **kərbəh** 'airborne dust, to be dusty' (***t[ɪ]bəh**). Though the Palaung comparison is tentative, there is support in Munda for the reconstruction.

No reconstructions of *-os, *-oos are made apart from the suffixed variant (Bahnar dialects **-o:ih**) under no. 240.

[End of manuscript—Eds.]

Part 2 Consonantism

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PMK:

*/	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	b	d	j	g	
	ɓ	ɗ			
	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	w	r l	y		
		s		h	/

Final consonants have already been treated in Part 1¹; neither voiced plosives nor glottalized ***ɗ**, ***ɓ** are reconstructed in final position. Here we shall consider first the reflexes at C₁ in forms with the structure ***CVC**. All the above consonants may be reconstructed in this position.

1 STRUCTURE ***CVC**

1.1 Voiceless plosives: ***k *c *t *p**

***k**, ***t**, ***p** are preserved in most of the languages compared. The main exceptions are that (i) in Khasi they are reflected by voiceless aspirates **kh**, **th**, **ph**; (ii) in Khmer and Vietnamese (but not in Mường) ***t**, ***p** are glottalized: **ɗ**, **ɓ** in the Khmer transcription, **đ**, **b** in the Vietnamese. Vietnamese /k/ is written *c* or *k* according to the following vowel. (For divergences in the Biat and Lawa reflexes of ***k**, ***t** see below.)

In Mon, Khmer and Khmu Yuan (not in some other Khmuic dialects) words with these initials have head register, unmarked in the transcriptions. In Riāng-Lāng they have high tone, and in Vietnamese and Mường tones of the ‘high’ series: *ngang*, *sắc*, *hỏi*.

These reflexes are illustrated in the following examples:

‘Fish’: Old Mon *ka(ʔ)*, Modern Mon **kaʔ**, Khmer **ka:-[moŋ &c.]** (in specific names), Sre **ka**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:**, Theng, Palaung **ka**, Riāng-Lāng **kaʔ**, Praok **ka**, Lawa **kaʔ**, Khasi *ʔkha* (~ *dohkha*), Mường, Vietnamese *cá*, Temiar **ka:ʔ** (16 ***kaʔ**).

‘Child’: Old Mon *kon*, Modern Mon **kon**, Khmer **ko:n**, Sre **kon** (loanword?), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kɔ:n**, Jeh **ko:n**, Halang **koan**, Khmu Yuan **kɔ:n**, Palaung **kuən**, Riāng-Lāng **kuan**, Praok **kɔn**, Lawa **kuan**, Khasi **khun**, Mường, Vietnamese *con*, Temiar **kəwɔt** (#1127 ***kuun**, ***kuən**).

¹ [Editorial note: the typescript of Part 1, as it came to us, lacked a discussion of final consonants, so that we are left with what can be surmised from the reconstructions presented in the comparative lexicon (Part 3).]

‘To pluck, break off, cut’: Khmer **kac** ‘to break [rigid object]’, Sre **kac** ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Biat **kac** ‘to strip [grain from ear]’, Bahnar dial. **kɛ:c** ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’, Riang-Lang **kac** ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’, Khasi **kheit** ‘to pluck, gather’, Mường **cách**, Vietnamese **cắt** ‘to cut up’ (#800 ***kac**).

Cf. for ***k-** also #18, #278-#281, #317, #495-#506, #779-#803, #889-#893, #956-#963, #1125-#1129, #1231-#1238, #1308-#1313, #1442-#1447, #1564-#1573, #1702-#1712, #1814-#1820, #1967-#1973.

‘Hand, arm’: Old Mon **tey**, Modern Mon **toa**, Khmer **day**, Sre **ti**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ti:**, Khmu Yuan **ti?**, Palaung **ti**, Riang-Lang **ti?**, Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tai?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **te?**, Temiar from nasal-suffix form **ti:k** (#66 ***t₁ii?**). Khasi has **ti** by levelling on the prefixed form **kti**, where **-t-** is regular (see below). Mường **thay**, Vietnamese **tay**, < #244 ***sii[?]**, are not cognate.

‘To weave, plait, twill’: Mon **tan**, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ta:n**, Jeh, Halang **ta:n**, Khmu Yuan **ta:n**, Riang-Lang **ta:n**, Praok **ta:n**, Lawa **ta:n**, Khasi **thaiñ**, Mường **tanh**, Vietnamese **đan**, Temiar **ta:c** (#898 ***ta:n**).

‘Breast’: Old Mon **tohh**, Modern Mon **tōh**, Khmer **dōh**, Sre **toh**, Chrau **tōh** (in **da:?** **tōh** ‘milk’), Biat, Bahnar **tōh**, Jeh, Halang **tuh**, Praok **tu** (?), Lawa Umpai **taus**, Lawa Mae Sariang **tauh** (#1927 ***t₁ōh**).

‘To bury’: Old Mon **tīp**, Modern Mon **tōp**, Chrau **tōp**, Biat **tōp**, Rōngao **tə:p** ‘to bury’, Jeh **tàp** ‘to set in ground’, Halang **tōp** ‘to put in ground’, Khasi **thep** ‘to entomb [bones]’ (beside **tep** ‘to bury’, which is unexplained: #1252 ***t₁ə(ə)p**).

Cf. for ***t-** also #64-#75, #303-#323, #542-#568, #812-#815, #896a-#899a, #998-#101, #1153-#1156, #1250-#1257a, #1340-#1353, #1463-#1458, #1610-#1624, #1733-#1738, #1825-#1828, #1899-#1903, #1996-#2009.

‘To shoot’: Old Mon **pañ**, Modern Mon **pōn**, Khmer **ba:n**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pa:n** ‘to shoot’, Bahnar **pə:n** ‘to beat cotton with bow’, Jeh, Halang **pe:n**, Khmu Yuan **pīn**, Palaung **pi:n**, Riang-Lang **pu:n**, Mường **pánh**, Vietnamese **bắn** ‘to shoot’ (#905 ***pa:n?**).

‘Four’: Old Mon **pan**, Modern Mon **pōn**, Khmer **bu:ən**, Sre **puan**, Chrau **puən**, Biat **puən**, Bahnar dialects **puə:n**, Jeh, Halang **puan**, Riang-Lang **pōn**, Praok **pon**, Lawa Bo Luang **paun**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **paun**, Mường **pốn**, Vietnamese **bốn** (#1127 ***pun?** &c.). Palaung has **phon** by counting deformation on **phən** ‘five’, < #1214 ***m-sən**.

‘To fly’: Mon **pɔ**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **par**, Jeh **pal**, Halang **par**, Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **pər**, Praok **po**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəu**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **peu**, Mường **pāl**, Vietnamese **bay** (#1633 ***par**).

‘You (pl.)’: Palaung **pe**, Riang-Lang **pe?**, Praok **pe**, Lawa Bo Luang **pai?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **pe?**, Khasi **phi** (#99 ***pi?**).

Cf. for ***p-** also #98-#106, #345-#355, #602-#618, #823-#825, #905-#907, #1020-#1030, #1162-#1168, #1371-#1372, #1478-#1481, #1633-#1640, #1752-#1760, #1833, #1908-#1918, #2021-#2031.

In Biat ***k**, ***t** are palatalized to **c-** before **-iaC** (< ***-iəC**). The same development is found in the closely related Bunör (and also in Preh: see Blood 1966:21) in corresponding contexts. Thus we have Mon **kit** ‘to bite’, Sre **kiat**, Chrau **kiət** ‘to itch’, Biat **ciat** ‘to sting, smart’, Bunör **cyat** ‘to itch’ (#957 ***kiit** &c.); Sre **kiaw**, Biat **ciau**, Bunör **cɛ:w** ‘left-hand’ (1814 ***kiəw**, ***giəw**); Sre **tian**, Chrau **tiən**, Biat **cian** Bunör **cyan**, Jeh **te:ŋ** ‘tail’ (#542 ***t₁iən**); Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** ‘to forge’, Bahnar **t(i)ɛ:r** ‘to hammer to an edge’ (and

Vietnamese *đe* ‘anvil’; #1554 ***tiər**).

Palatalization does not occur before an undiphthongized high front vowel, nor generally before **-ɛ:C** < ***-iəC**. It is, however, found in Sre **tias** mat, Biat **cɛh** mat ‘blind’. (Contrast in *C()CVC structures e.g. Biat **tɛ:t** ‘parakeet’ < #1010 ***gtit**, ***gtiət**; **ntɛh** ‘noise’ < #1900 ***kt₁as²**; whereas before **-iaC** in these contexts there is palatalization as above.) The development is likely to be recent.

A somewhat similar palatalization is found in one item in Lawa Umpai: Khmer **keh** *keh*, Lawa Bo Luang **kaih**, Lawa Umpai **cəs** ‘mountain goat’ (#1967 ***k[i]i[h]**, ***kiə[h]**).

The palatal term of the voiceless plosive series, ***c**, may be presumed to have been—or to have given rise to—an affricate in all the languages. The affricate is preserved in Mon, Khmer, Rōngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese and Mư̄ng (orthographic *ch-*), and Aslian. In most of South Bahnaric, Khmu, Northern Mon-Khmer, and Khasi the plosive element has been lost and the reflex is **s**. Biat has **ch**; but it should be noted that this is also the reflex of ***s-** (> Sre &c. **s**, §1.6), so that Biat differs phonetically rather than systemically from the main part of South Bahnaric. The phonetic direction of the merger may reflect the proximity of North Bahnaric. Finally, variant reflexes are found in Stieng (**s**, **c**) and Bahnar (**s**, **ts**, **c**); they will be discussed in detail below. Thus we have:

‘Louse’: Mon **coa**, Khmer **cay**, Stieng **si:h**, Sre **say**, Chrau **si:**, Biat **chi:**, Bahnar **si:**, Khmu Yuan **se?**, Palaung **si**, Riang-Lang **ˉsi?**, Lawa Bo Luang **səi?**, Lawa Umpai **se?**, Lawa Mae Sariang **səi?**, Khasi **’si** (~*ksi*), Vietnamese *chí, chấy*, Temiar **cɛ?** (#39 ***cii?**).

‘Grandchild’: Old Mon *cow*, Modern Mon **cao**, Khmer **cau** ‘grandchild’, Stieng **so:u** ‘grandson, nephew’, Sre **saw** ‘grandson’, Chrau **saw** ‘child’s spouse’, Biat **kɔ:n chau** ‘descendants’, West Bahnar **so:u**, Eastern **sa:u**, Jeh, Halang **caw**, Palaung **su**, Praok **saə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **so?**, Khasi **’siew**, Vietnamese *cháu* ‘grandchild’ (#43 ***cuu?**).

‘Cooked’: Mon **cín**, Stieng **si:n**, Sre **sin**, Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **tsin**, Jeh, Halang **cen**, Theng, Palaung **sin**, Riang-Lang **ˉsin**, Mư̄ng, Vietnamese *chín*, Temiar **cɛt** (#1137 ***ciin?** &c.). Khmer has **ch?ɲn** by metathesis.

‘Bird’: Stieng **cu:m**, Sre **si:m**, Chrau **sum**, Biat **chium**, Bahnar **se:m**, Jeh, Halang **cim**, Khmu Yuan **si:m**, Palaung **sim**, Riang-Lang **ˉsim**, Praok **sim**, Lawa Bo Luang **sajp**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **saim**, Khasi *sim*, Mư̄ng, Vietnamese *chim*, Temiar **cɛp** (#1324 ***cim** &c.).

Cf. also v. #39-#48, #289-#299, #520-#535, #807-#810, #981-#989, #1137-#1145a, #1243-#1246, #1324-#1329, #1591-#1599, #1725-#1726, #1821-#1821a, #1887-#1896, #1982-#1990.

The discrepant Stieng and Bahnar reflexes with **c** (in three items: #981, #1243a, #1324) may tentatively be attributed to clusters arising from prefixation, and thus eliminated. Stieng **s** and **c**, and Bahnar **s** and **ts**, occur with nearly equal frequency. It is thus not very likely that the divergences can be attributed to borrowing, nor can they readily be accounted for by reference to the vocalism or other contextual factors. We may note, however, that Stieng **s** corresponds to Bahnar **s**, and Stieng **c** to Bahnar **ts**, in three-quarters of the cases where both languages show cognates, against a random expectation of one-half: (Stieng, Bahnar **s**) 39 (‘louse’, above), #40, #43 (‘grandchild’, above), #514, #947 (Jölong **s-t** beside **c-t**), #950; (Stieng **c**, Bahnar **ts**) #286, #288, #781; (others)

² [Editorial note: in the first draft the reconstruction was ***k/n/tiəs**.]

#1137, #1324 ('cooked'; 'bird', above), #1539. This degree of agreement, between languages at opposite ends of the Bahnaric area, may be significant. I shall not use it to postulate an additional protophoneme, the nature of which would in any case be obscure. But it may be a relic of an early split the conditions of which are difficult to discern.

1.2 Voiced plosives: *g *j *d *b

All four voiced plosives are preserved in Bahnaric, Khmuic other than Khmu Yuan, Palaung, and Aslian; but in Chrau the dental and labial terms (written *d*, *v*) have both plosive and fricative allophones. Khasi preserves *j*, but for the other three terms has plain voiceless reflexes: *k*, *t*, *p*. The older voiceless-voiced contrast is thus maintained, under one form or another, in the relevant consonant systems of all the above languages; and, partly, in Khmer.

In Mon, Khmer, and seemingly Khmu Yuan the reflexes are *k*, *c*, *t*, *p* and are accompanied by chest register, marked by grave accent in the transcriptions. (The marking of chest register in Lindell 1971 is not wholly consistent if the above formulation is correct.) The Khmer dental and labial terms remain distinct from the glottalized reflexes of **t*, **p*.

In the three tone languages the reflexes fall together with those of the voiceless series, except that in Riang-Lang **j* yields a dental affricate [ts], here transcribed *c*. They are accompanied by low tone in the case of Riang-Lang and by tones of the 'low' series - *huyền*, *nặng*, *ngã*—in that of Viet-Mường (note that Mường *nặng* tone corresponds to Vietnamese *nặng* and *ngã*, Mường lacking the second of these).

Finally, in Praok and the Bo Luang and Mae Sariang dialects of Lawa the reflexes of **g*, **d*, **b* fall together with those of the voiceless series without register or tonal distinction, but with differences in vocalism which testify to the register stage through which Waic is presumed to have passed. In Lawa Umpai the reflexes are aspirates or *h*-clusters: *kh*, *th*, *ph* (for contextual palatalization see below). As with Riang-Lang, **c* and **j* remain distinct, the latter yielding Praok, Lawa Bo Luang *c*, Lawa Umpai *ch*, Lawa Mae Sariang *c* ~ *ch*.

Fewer items with these initials have a general MK distribution than was the case with their voiceless counterparts. Hence it will be necessary to illustrate them with more numerous but more limited examples.

'Those, they': Khmer *kè:* 'one, someone, he, they', Sre *gə* indefinite pronoun (weak form), Rōngao *ge:*, *ge:*, weak form *ga:* 'he, she', Khmu Yuan *ki:* (!) 'this', Palaung *ge*, Riang-Lang *_kə?* (weak form), Praok *ki* 'they', Lawa Bo Luang *ke?* 'he, she', Khasi *ki* 'they' (#27 **ge[e]?*).

'To grip, squeeze': Khmer *kìəp*, Stieng *giəp*, Bahnar *gɛ:p*, Palaung *giəp* 'to grip with tongs', Vietnamese *kép* 'to press, squeeze' (#1239 **giəp*).

'Fit(ting), sufficient': Old Mon *gap* 'to be fit for, fit to ...', Modern Mon *kòp* 'to suffice, (—*kò*) ought, to be fit to', Khmer *kəp* 'fitting', Stieng *ga:p* 'to suffice', Biat *ga:p* 'suitable, enough', Bahnar *gap* 'just enough', Halang *gap* 'enough', Jeh *gap* 'adequately', Palaung *guəp* 'enough', Praok *kup* 'to suffice' (#1240 **gap* &c.).

'To winnow': Mon *kùm*, Chrau, Biat, Theng *gum* 'to winnow', Palaung *gum* 'to clean [rice] by tossing' (#1317 **gum* &c.).

'House': Khmu Yuan *kà:ŋ*, Palaung *gaŋ*, Riang-Lang *_kaŋ* (#509 **ga[a]ŋ*).

'To enter': Khmu Yuan *kù:t*, Riang-Lang *_kut* 'to enter', Khasi *kot* 'to reach' (#968

***guut, *gu[ə]t).**

Cf. for ***g-** also #281a-#284, #507-#518, #804-#805, #964-#972, #1130-#1134, #1239-#1242, #1314-#1320, #1574-#1584, #1713-#1721, #1820a, #1884, #1974-#1980.

‘To break ground for cultivation’: Old Mon *jik*, Modern Mon **còik** ‘to harrow, to cultivate’, Khmer **cì:k** ‘to dig’, Sre **ji:**, Chrau **ji:ʔ**, Biat **ji:k** ‘to grub up weeds’, Rōngao **je:k** ‘to plough; cultivated field’, Jeh, Halang **jìak** ‘ricefield’, Praok **ciak** ‘to dig’, Lawa Bo Luang **cuuk**, Lawa Umpai **chuuk**, Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)ik** ‘irrigated field’ (#300 ***jiik**, ***jiək**).

‘Foot, leg’: Old Mon *juri*, Modern Mon **càŋ**, Khmer **cə:ŋ**, Sre, Chrau **jəŋ**, Biat **jəŋ**, Bahnar **jə:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **jò:ŋ**, Khmu Yuan **cəaŋ** (!), Palaung **juŋ**, Riang-Lang **_cəŋ**, Praok **caŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuəŋ**, Lawa Umpai **chuaŋ**, Temiar **juk** (#538(I) ***juŋ** &c.).

‘To sew’: Old Mon *jiri*, *jĩrĩ*, Modern Mon **còin**, Sre **jin**, Chrau **jip**, Biat **juŋ**, Palaung **jin**, Praok **cap**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuŋ**, Lawa Umpai **chin**, Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)in** (#894 ***jip**, ***jiip**).

‘To descend’: Chrau **juur**, Biat **jur**, Bahnar **ju:r** ‘to descend’, Jeh **jòl**, Halang **jur** ‘down’, Khmu Yuan **cu:r** (!) ‘to descend’, Palaung **jur** ‘valley’, Riang-Lang **_cur** ‘to descend’, Praok **ci:a** ‘to fall, be shed’, Lawa Bo Luang **co**, Lawa Umpai **chua** ‘to leak’, Khasi *jur* ‘descent’, Semai **jə:r** ‘to fall’ (#1606 ***jur** [] &c.).

‘Moist, swampy’: Mon **cim** ‘to be swampy’, Khasi *jum-jum* ‘full of juice’, Vietnamese *chìm* ‘to sink, be submerged’ (#1330 ***jiim** &c.).

‘Quick, to run’: Sre **jar** ‘quick, urgent’, Mường *chăl*, Vietnamese *chạy* ‘to run’ (#1602 ***jarʔ**).

Cf. for ***j-** also #300-#302, #535a-#540, #811, #990-#996, #1146-#1150, #1247-#1249, #1330-#1338, #1461-#1462, #1600-#1608, #1727-#1731, #1822-#1823, #1897-#1898a, #1991-#1995

‘To run away’: Old Mon *dow*, Modern Mon **təa** ‘to run away’, Khmer **təu** ‘to go (away)’, Sre **douʔ**, Chrau, Biat **du:**, Khmu Yuan **tùʔ**, Palaung **du** ‘to run away’, Temiar **doʔ** ‘to run’ (#84 ***duuʔ**).

‘To block, dam’: Khmer **tùp** ‘to block, dam’, Chrau **dəp** ‘to dam’, Riang-Lang **_tap** ‘to stop, dam’, Vietnamese *đập* ‘dam’ (#1219 ***dəp**).

‘To lodge for the night’: Old Mon *dum*, Modern Mon **təm** ‘to lodge ...’, Khmer **tùm** ‘to perch’, Rōngao **dɿ:m** ‘to camp out’, Jeh **dàm**, Halang **dəm** ‘to sleep away from home’, Khmu’ **duum** ‘to stay overnight’, Palaung **dəm** ‘to lodge’, Praok **tum** ‘to lodge, alight’ (#1357 ***dəm**, ***duum**). Khasi has *dem* ‘to alight, to lie down’, perhaps by the attraction of *pdem* ‘to incubate’, < #1356 ***dəm**, ***duum**.

‘Vicious’: Riang-Lang **_tam tak** ‘gur (palm syrup)’, Vietnamese *đặc* ‘to be viscous, to coagulate’ (#326 ***dak**).

‘Flower’: Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tia**, Lawa Umpai **thia**, Lawa Mae Sariang **tuai** ‘flower’, Vietnamese *đài* ‘calyx’ (#1469 ***daay**).

Lawa Mae Sariang *tu*, Mường *tôi*, Vietnamese *đồi* ‘hill’ are to be compared either with Old Mon *dal*, Modern Mon **tə** (see #1741 ***dul**) or with Sre **dor**, Halang **doar** (see #1626 ***[d][o]r**).

Cf. for ***d-** also #322-#328, #569-#580, #816, #900-#902, #1010a-#1012, #1157, #1258-#1259, #1354-#1359, #1469-#1471, #1625-#1629, #1739-#1745, #1829, #2010-#2012. Khasi *t-* is attested in #325 (**teh** ‘to bind, fasten’: Mon **tək** ‘to

tie, tether, link...') and #570 (**tong** 'to draw [water &c.]': Khmer **tùəŋ** 'to pull back and forth', &c.).

'To bind': Mon **pàk** 'to put [waistcloth] round', Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **puk**, Lawa Umpai **phuk** 'to tie, bind', Mường **puộc**, Vietnamese **buộc**, Temiar **bəg** 'to bind' (#357 ***bək** &c.).

'Belly': Mon **pəŋ**, Khmer **pùŋ**, Bahnar **buŋ**, Khmu Yuan **pə:ŋ** (!), Vietnamese **bụng** (#624 ***buŋ** [], ***buuŋ**?). Khasi has *poh* ~ *kpoh*, with a final variation of a type found in a few other items; perhaps attributable to the final cluster.

'Pedestal dish': Mon **pàn**, Khmer **pì:ən** 'pedestal dish', Palaung **ban** '(pedestal) tray', Mường **pàn**, Vietnamese **bàn** 'table' (#1170 ***baan**).

'Friend': Palaung **bu** 'friend', Praok [**paw**] **pu** [**pɛ**] 'associate', Lawa Bo Luang **pu?** **hməu**, Lawa Umpai **phu?** **hmeu**, Lawa Mae Sariang **pu?** **hmeu**, Vietnamese **bầu** 'friend' (#109 ***b[oo]**?).

'Ash': Sre **bu:h**, Chrau **vu:h**, Biat **buh**, Khmu Yuan **pəh** (#1960 ***buuh**).

Cf. for ***b-** also #107-#119, #356-#366, #619-#629a, #826, #908, #1031-#1037, #1169-#1176, #1482a-#1488, #1641-#1646a, #1761-#1763, #1834-#1835, #1920-#1921, #2032-#2035.

In Lawa Umpai the reflex of ***g** is palatalized before a high front vowel, or diphthong with that starting-point (cf. the palatalization of ***k** noted previously). Thus we have Riag-Lang **_kit** 'to scratch', Praok **kiat**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **kiat**, Lawa Umpai **chiat** 'to bite' (#964 ***giit**, ***giət**); and the Waic items Praok **kac**, Lawa Bo Luang **kik**, Lawa Umpai **chiaic**, Lawa Mae Sariang **kuic** 'ashamed' (sc. ***gaac**) and Praok **ki**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **kih**, Lawa Umpai **chis** 'salt' (sc. ***giis**). Evidence is lacking as to a Biat palatalization corresponding to that of ***k**, ***t**.

In Chrau, Bahnar (possibly North Bahnaric generally), Riag-Lang and Khasi there are isolated instances of a semivowel corresponding to reflexes assigned to ***j-** elsewhere. The majority occur before (original or secondary) high vowels. We shall generally treat them as a sporadic development and reconstruct ***j-**, though some may reflect clusters arising from affixation. Thus we find (i) Chrau **iun** 'to give' (~ **niun** 'to hand over') but Old Mon **jin** /**jən**/ 'to make over, hand over', Khmer **cù:n** 'to offer', Sre **jun** 'to bring', West Bahnar **je:n** 'to bring, convey', Semaq Beri (South Aslian) **jon** 'to give' (#1148 ***jun**, ***juun**; contrast Chrau **juur** < ***jur** 'to descend', #1606);

(ii) Bahnar **yɔ:ŋ** 'important, great' (~ **kəju:ŋ** 'high, long, big'), Sre **jo:ŋ** 'long, high, tall', Khmu Yuan **coŋ**, Central Nicobarese **cəŋ** 'high' (#537 ***j[o]ŋ**, ***j[oo]ŋ**); Bahnar **yi:m** 'like, thus, so', Riag-Lang **_cəm** 'in order to', and from an affixed form Praok **jəm** 'manner, action, condition' (#1332 ***jəm**, ***jəəm**; contrast Bahnar **jə:ŋ** < ***jəəŋ** 'foot, leg'); Bahnar **yun** 'to stand up', Jeh **yuaŋ** 'to get up', Halang **yuaŋ** 'to stand' < ***juŋ** (#538II, cf. iv below). But Bahnaric **y-** in these cases may reflect forms with nasal affix; **yi:m** would then parallel Praok **jəm**.

(iii) Riag-Lang **_yel** 'to buy', Khmer **cù:əl** 'to buy', Praok **juur** 'to buy' (#1729 ***j[u]l**, ***jiəl**; contrast Riag-Lang **cər** 'row' < #1605 ***[j]iər** []).

(iv) Khasi **iəŋ**, Palaung **jəŋ**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **juək** 'to stand' (#538II ***jəŋ**; cf. with variant vocalism Bahnar **yun**, &c.; connected with 'foot, leg', p. 2.10). Contrast Khasi **um-jeŋ** 'dew' < #1344 ***jar** or ***jər**.

Note that similar, but differently distributed, mixed reflexes are provisionally assigned to ***y-** (see below).

1.3 Glottalized consonants: *ɗ, *ɓ

Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi and Viet-Mường show two distinct sets of correspondences to the reflexes associated with *ɗ and *ɓ elsewhere. (So too do Kuy and, for the dental term only, Central Nicobarese.) One set has been described in the last section: Vietnamese *đ, b*, Mon etc. *t, p*, with chest register or low tone as appropriate. The other set comprises Mon (glottalized) *ɗ, ɓ*,³ accompanied by head register; Riang-Lang *ɗ, ɓ*, normally with high tone; Khasi *ɗ, ɓ*; Vietnamese *n, m* and Mường *đ, b*, both with tones of the high series. From correspondences involving the second set we reconstruct PMK glottalized *ɗ and *ɓ.

*CVC examples which demonstrate the coherence of the criterion languages are few, especially for the labial term; though they are bolstered by those involving more complex structures. We may cite the following.

Reflexive pronoun: Old Mon *deh*, Modern Mon *deh* 3rd person pronoun, Riang-Lang *ɗe?* reflexive pronoun, Khasi *[la]de* ‘self’; and Chrau *de:* ‘belonging to’, Bahnar *de:* indefinite pronoun, Khmu Yuan *te:* (!) general pronoun, Palaung *de*, Praok *ti* reflexive pronoun, Lawa Bo Luang *te?*, Lawa Umpai *te?* (!) ‘self’ (#87 **de?*, **deh*).

‘Crushed to bits’: Literary Mon (*p*)*ɗut* ‘to be broken, bruised’, Riang-Lang *ɗuc* ‘to be ground to powder...’, Mường *đách*, Vietnamese *nát* ‘to be broken, crushed’ (#818 **[ɗuuc]*, **[ɗaac]*).

‘To cover’: Riang-Lang *ɗup* id., Vietnamese *nấp, núp* ‘to hide’; and Khmer *tùp*, Sre *ɗəp* ‘to cover’, Biat *[kəp] ɗəp* ‘to lie in wait for’, Bahnar *ɗə:p*, Palaung *ɗəp*, Praok *təp* ‘to cover’, Lawa Bo Luang *tuap* ‘to shut’ (#1261 **ɗəp* &c.).

‘To have ...’: Riang-Lang *ɗəy* future prefix (with phrasal low tone), Khasi *dei* ‘must’; and Chrau *di:-* ‘(in order) to’, Biat *ɗə:i* ‘to be [un]able to’, Bahnar *de:i* ‘to have, possess’, Palaung *di* future prefix, Praok *ti* ‘(in order) to’ (#1472 **ɗəəy*, **ɗəy*).

‘Bean, small weight or coin’: late Old Mon *bāy* ‘1/32? tical’, Modern Mon *boa* ‘bean, pea, 1/16 tical’, Riang-Lang *bay* (!) ‘bean’; and Khmer *pèy* ‘obsolete small coin’ (#1489 **bay*, **baay*).

‘Askew, out of shape’: Mon *bea*, Vietnamese *méo* (#1764 **biə[ɿ]?*).

‘To bubble, boil’: Mon *bəh* ‘to boil (v.t.)’, Riang-Lang *bus* ‘foam, froth’; and Khmer *pùh* ‘to bubble, boil’, Bahnar *bu:h* ‘welling up’, Palaung *bur* ‘foam, froth’, Temiar *bu:s* ‘bubbles’ (#2038 **buh* &c.).

But most reconstructions of *ɗ- and *ɓ- rest on the evidence of one criterion language only; thus the next two examples depend on that of Mon.

‘Ripe(coloured)’: Literary Mon *pɗuim* ‘to be pale red’, Khmer *tùm*, Chrau *dum* ‘ripe’, Sre *dum* ‘id., (-rəmi:t) yellow’, Biat *dum*, Bahnar *du:m*, Jeh *dùm*, Halang *dù:m* ‘ripe, red’, Praok *tum*, Lawa Bo Luang *tum*, Lawa Umpai *thum* ‘ripe’ (#1362 **dum*, **duum*).

‘Two’: Old Mon *bār*, Modern Mon *ba*, Khmer *pì:*, Sre *bar*, Chrau *va:r*, Biat, Bahnar, Halang *ba:r*, Jeh *ba:l*, Khmu Yuan *pa:r* (#1562 **baar*, **[b]ir*).

Cf. also for *ɓ- #367-#375, #630-#637, #827-#831, #909-#910, #1038-#1044,

³ [Editorial note: here the symbols *ɗ, ɓ* are as used as in Shorto’s 1962 spoken Mon dictionary—the IPA values they indicate are the implosives (‘glottalized’) *ɗ, ɓ*, for which OUP typesetters substituted *ɗ, ɓ*. The same applies to modern Khmer notations. Spoken Mon *hw* corresponds to IPA *ɸ*.]

#1177-#1180, #1373-#1377, #1489-#1493, #1646b-#1648, #1764-#1771, #1921a, #2036-#2043.

The citation of ‘two’ raises a point of principle which should be mentioned here. The Pre-PMK reconstruction of this root was made to account for unexpected dialectal variants in PMK: Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường and Nicobarese apparently reflect **ʔaar*. On the evidence so far presented it might therefore be argued that the eastern languages—Khmer and Bahnaric—had not developed glottalized consonants at the PMK stage and that the latter have a merely dialectal status there. However, besides the distinct reflexes in Kuy (closely related to Khmer), most South Bahnaric languages show a distinctive development following a nasal in **(C)CCVC* structures (see below). We need not, then, doubt the PMK status of **ɗ* and **ɓ* although there are certain irregularities in their distribution.

Ambiguous reconstructions. Where no reflex is found in any criterion language, reconstructions remain ambiguous between **d-* and **ɗ-*, **b-* and **ɓ-*. In such cases I note **[d]*, **[b]*, except where factors other than the direct comparison of cognates (probable relationship with other roots, loan forms in non-MK languages) favour the alternative reconstruction. Cf. for **[d]-*, #79, #84a, #569, #1259, #1354, #1357, #1626, #2012; for **[b]-*, #107, #109, #111, #119, #356, #360-#361, #366, #629a, #1031, #1034-#1035, #1484, #1641, #1920.

This notation is a matter of convenience, not statistical probability. In **CVC* structures, assured reconstructions of **d-* indeed outnumber those of **ɗ-*, while those of **b-* and **ɓ-* are of nearly equal frequency; but in **CCVC* structures those of the glottalized consonants are markedly more frequent.

1.4 Nasals: **ŋ* **ɲ* **n* **m*

Four nasals corresponding in points of articulation to the two plosive series are for the most part preserved in the languages compared, with chest register or low tone where appropriate. They are infrequent initially in **CVC* structure except for the labial term, which accounts for some five-eighths of the listings. I shall illustrate it first.

‘You (singular)’: Sre *mi* sing., Chrau *ma:y*, Biat *mai* masc., Khmu Yuan *me:* (!) masc. sing., Palaung *mi*, Riang-Lang *_mi?*, Praok *may*, Lawa Bo Luang *mai?*, Lawa Umpai *mi?*, Khasi *me*, Vietnamese *mày* sing. (#128 **mi[i]?*).

‘Mother’: Middle Mon *mi*, Modern Mon *mì?* ‘mother’, Khmer *mè:* term of address to old women, Sre, Chrau *me:*, Biat *mɛ:*, Bahnar *mɛ?*, Khasi *mei*, Mường *mê*, Vietnamese *mẹ* ‘mother’ (#131 **mee?*, **?mee?*).

‘Mother’: Jeh, Halang *ma:* ‘aunt’, Khmu Yuan *mà?*, Palaung *ma*, Riang-Lang *_ma?*, Praok *mɛ*, Lawa *ma?* ‘mother’ (#132 **ma?*).

‘To emerge’: Old Mon *mok* ‘to appear’, Modern Mon *mòk* also ‘to emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax’, Khmer *mò:k* ‘to come, come near, approach’, Bahnar *mɔk* ‘[paddy] beginning to form grain’, Mường, Vietnamese *mọc* ‘[plant, hair, nails] to come up, grow, [sun] to rise’ (#378 **mɔk*, **mɔɔk*).

‘Eye’: Old Mon *mat*, Modern Mon *mòt*, Chrau, Biat *mat* ‘eye’, Sre, Jeh *mat* ‘eye, face’, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan (!) *mat*, Khasi *’mat* ‘eye’, Mường *mặt* ‘eye, face’, Vietnamese *mặt* ‘face’, Temiar *mad* ‘eye’ (#1045 **mat*).

‘Nose’: Old Mon *moh*, Modern Mon *mùh*, Sre, Chrau *muh*, Biat *moh*, Bahnar *mu:h*, Jeh, Halang, Khmu Yuan *mùh*, Palaung *muh*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sarian

mauh, Lawa Umpai **maus**, Khasi 'mut, Mường, Vietnamese *mũi*, Temiar **mə:h** (#2045 ***muh** &c.).

Cf. for ***m-** #127-#149, #376-#382a, #638-#646, #832-#835, #911-#912, #1045-#1052, #1181-#1189, #1378-#1380, #1494-#1499, #1649-#1655, #1772-#1779, #1922-#1923, #2044a-#2047.

Examples of the remaining nasals are of limited incidence. We may note for the velar: 'to bow head, nod': Khmer **រុំ:ក** 'to bend over and look, to nod off', Rōngao **ru:k** 'to incline head, bow head', Khasi [*koh*]*nguh* 'to nod...' (#287 ***ruk** &c.).

'To be extinguished, to extinguish': Chrau **រុត** v.t., Riāng-Lāng **ṛat** v.i.t. (#973 ***ṛət**).

'Hungry': Biat [ji:] **ṛu:t** 'hunger, to be hungry', Riāng-Lāng **ṛuat** 'to starve, to be hungry' (#975 ***ṛut**, ***ṛuat**).

'Eye': Bahnar [*kɔ:n*] **ṛa:i** '[pupil of] eye', Palaung, Praok **ṛay**, Riāng-Lāng **ṛay** 'eye, face' (#1453 ***[ṛaay]**).

'To nod head, to sway': Bahnar **ṛel** 'to shake head', [*ṛe:*] **ṛe:l** 'to sway', Riāng-Lāng **ṛil ṛil** 'to nod', Vietnamese *ngheo* 'to tilt [head] to one side' (#1722 ***ṛil** &c.).

'Price': Old Mon *nūs*, Modern Mon **ṛùh**, Palaung **ṛuər**, Praok **ṛɔ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ṛuah**, Lawa Umpai **ṛuas**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ṛoih** (#1886 ***ṛus** &c.).

A South Bahnaric platalization before high front vowel is assumed in the following item (see below for the parallel development in *CCVC structure).

'To swallow, drink': Middle Mon *ṛiit*, Modern Mon **ṛit** 'to swallow', Stieng **ṛiət**, Biat **ṛe:t** 'to drink', Palaung (Milne 1931) **ṛit** 'to swallow'; and with back vocalism Khasi *nguid* id., Semai **ṛɔ:t** 'to drink' (#806 ***[ṛuuc]** &c.).

'Morinda sp. (kind of tree)': Khmer **ṛò:**, Vietnamese *nhàu* (!); #61 ***ṛɔ?**).

'To suck up, drink': Sre **ṛu** 'to drink [spirits]', Praok **ṛaə**, Lawa **ṛo?**, 'to drink', Semai **-ṛɔ?** 'to suck' (#63 ***ṛuu?**).

'Larva': Riāng-Lāng **ṛaṇ** 'caterpillar', Khasi *ṛiāng* 'worm, insect' (#541 ***ṛaṇ**).

'To receive, suffer': Old Mon *ṛiin* passive auxiliary, Theng **ṛɪn** 'to receive', Riāng-Lāng **ṛən** 'to bear, endure', Vietnamese *nhận* 'to receive' (#1151 ***ṛən?**, ***ṛəṇ[]**).

In the next example Theng has **y-**, perhaps a special development in weak position (contrast the last and following ones). 'Person': Old Mon *ṛiāh*, Modern Mon **ṛèh** id., Theng **ye?** 'him', Riāng-Lāng **ṛe?** 'who, anyone', Jah Hut (Central Aslian) **ṛah** 'who?' (#63 ***ṛa?**, ***ṛah**).

In the next, Bahnar has **y-**, dialectally **ṛ-**, perhaps the regular reflex; the status of Khmu Yuan **n-** is uncertain in the absence of comparanda. 'Small': Middle Mon *ṛi*, Modern Mon **ṛi?** 'to be small in quantity', Bahnar **ye?**, West Bahnar also **ṛe?**, Khmu Yuan **nè?**, Theng **ṛe** 'small' (#59 ***ṛ[ee]?**).

For ***ṛ-** 58a-63, 541, 997, 1151-1152, 1339, 1609, 1732.

The dental term presents no irregularities. We note 'this': Mon **-nɔ?** 'this', Khmer **nɔh** 'that, there', Chrau **nɔ?** (!) 'there near at hand', Bahnar dialects **nɔ:u** &c. 'here, this', Vietnamese *nọ* 'this' (#92 ***nɔ?**, ***nɔh**).

'This': Khmer **neh**, **nih** 'this', Stieng **ne:i**, **ni:** 'this, here', Sre **ne** 'there', Khmu Yuan **ni?** (!) 'that', Riāng-Lāng **ni**, Khasi *-ne*, Mường *nì* (!) 'this' (#91 ***ni?**, ***nih**).

'To know': Khmu Yuan **nè:ṛ** 'to know', Khasi *nang* 'to be able, to know' (#592 ***[n₁[əə]ṛ]**).

'Urine, to urinate': Khmer **nò:m** n.v., Stieng **nu:m**, Chrau, Bahnar **no:m** v., Khmu

Yuan [ò̌m] **nu:m** (!) n., Riang-Lang **_num**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **naum** n.v. (#1365 ***n₁uum**). Khmu Yuan perhaps rather reflects a sandhi-form in ***kn-**, cognate with Palaung **hnum** and Mon **nɔm**.

‘Sun, day’: Stieng, Chrau **nar**, Biat, Bahnar **na:r** (#1630 *[**nar**, *[**naar**).

Cf. for ***n-** #91-#97, #342-#344, #591-#601, #1365-#1370, #1475-#1477, #1749-#1751, #1832, #1905-#1907, #2017-#2020.

1.5 Liquids and semivowels: ***y** ***r** ***l** ***w**

We shall consider the liquids first. ***r** and ***l** are the most frequent of all protophonemes in this position, as in prenuclear position generally; though as the roots in question show a high incidence of prefixation this frequency is not correspondingly reflected in the overall distribution of *CVC forms.

***r-** is preserved in the majority of languages. In Lawa Mae Sariang it is reflected as a uvular fricative, noted **ɣ**. The Vietnamese reflex is /z/; properly written **r**, but in about one-third of cases we find **gi-**, which is homophonous in northern Vietnamese. Of the two Mường correspondents noted, one is written with **r-**, one with **gi-**. These reflexes, as with all consonants of this group, are accompanied by chest register or low tone where appropriate.

‘To pull out, pull up, reap’: Mon **ròt** ‘to reap’, Khmer **rò:c** ‘to pull out, draw out’, Palaung **ruit** ‘to pull out’, Praok **rut** ‘to pull apart, away’, **ruuc**, Khasi **rat** ‘to uproot’, Vietnamese **giật** ‘to pull forcibly, snatch’ (#1058 ***rut** &c.).

‘To tighten, constrict’: Khmer **rù:t** ‘to draw [e.g. curtains] together’, **rù:ət** ‘to seize round the top or neck’, Sre **ri:t** ‘tight’, Chrau, **re:t** ‘to squeeze’, Biat **re:t** ‘to tighten’, **ro:t** ‘to shrink, become tight’, West Bahnar **re:t** ‘to draw tight, to gird, to strangle’, Khmu Yuan **riat** (!) ‘to tie together’, Palaung (Milne 1931) **rut** ‘to draw in with drawstring’, Riang-Lang **_rut** ‘to draw in’, Praok **rət** ‘to gird’, Temiar **rəyəd** ‘to squeeze’ (1061 ***ruut** &c.).

‘To help, to lend’: Old Mon **rim** [*bāñ*], Modern Mon **rēm** ‘to help’, Riang-Lang **_rɔm** ‘to lend, borrow [money]’, Palaung **rəm** ‘to borrow [money]’, Lawa Bo Luang **ram** ‘to borrow’, Khasi **ram** ‘debt, loan’, Vietnamese **giùm** ‘to help’ (1390 ***rum** &c.).

‘Fly’: Mon **rùi**, Khmer **rùy**, Stieng **ruəi**, Chrau **rəwəy**, Bahnar **rə:i**, Jeh **ro:y**, Halang **roay**, Khmu Yuan **rò:y**, Riang-Lang **_ruay**, Lawa Bo Luang **roi**, Lawa Umpai **rua**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yuaì**, Vietnamese **ruồi** (1534 ***ruy** &c.).

‘Root’: Mon **rəh**, Khmer **rùh**, Stieng **riəh**, Sre **rias**, Biat **rəh**, Bahnar **rə:h**, West Bahnar **re:h**, Jeh **riayh**, Halang **riah**, Khmu Yuan **rias** (!), Palaung **riəh**, Riang-Lang **_ries**, Praok **ria**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəh**, Lawa Umpai **res**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yəh**, Vietnamese **rễ**, Semelai (South Aslian) **res** (#1927 ***ris** &c.).

Cf. for ***r-** #160-#161a, #390-#397, #655-#670, #837-#844, #1055-#1063, #1269-#1275, #1383-#1391, #1500-#1506, #1785-#1787, #1840-#1842, #1924-#1932, #2050-#2053.

***l-** is preserved in all languages. Quotable examples, however, have limited distributions.

‘To take’: Palaung **le**, Riang-Lang **_le?**, Mường **lê**, Vietnamese **lấy** (!) (#188 ***li?**).

‘To try, test’: Khmer **lò:ŋ**, Biat **lò:ŋ** [**uaŋ**], Stieng, Sre, Jeh **lo:ŋ** id., Bahnar **lò:ŋ** ‘to be tested’, Lawa Bo Luang **lan**, Lawa Umpai **lɔŋ** ‘to try, test’ (#723 ***lɔŋ**).

‘Penis’: Sre **loc**, Bahnar **lɔ:** (!), Khmu Yuan **lòk**, Khasi **loh** (#855 ***lɔc** &c.).

‘To slip’: Old Mon **lot**, Modern Mon **lòt** ‘to fall prone’, Khmer **lùt** ‘to slip away, to let go of’, Chrau **lac** ‘to fall out through hole’, Biat **lɔt** ‘to abort (v.t.)’, Palaung **lut**, (Mon also) **luit** ‘to take off [clothes &c.]’, Khasi **loit** ‘to take off, untie, detach’, Vietnamese **lọt** ‘to slip or fall into’, **lột** ‘to strip off, to slough’ (#1081 ***lut** &c.).

‘To pass, to exceed’: Middle Mon **l(w)on** ‘to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed; exceedingly’, Modern Mon **lòn** also ‘to go past’, Khmer **lùən** ‘excessive(ly)’, Sre **lin** ‘to exceed’, Biat **lan** ‘past, ago’, Praok **luan** ‘to go past, to pass, escape’, Lawa Bo Luang **loan**, Lawa Umpai **lɔn** ‘very’, Vietnamese **luồn** ‘to pass, slip through or under’ (#1200 ***lun** &c.).

‘Again’: Riang-Lang ***lɔy** (!) ‘more, longer, else’, Praok **lay** marker of continuous or habitual action, Mường **lê** (!), Vietnamese **lại** ‘again’ (#1511 ***l[]ay[?]**, ***l[]aay[?]**).

Biat has exceptionally **r-** in **rwan** ‘to swallow’: Sre loan, &c., < #1201 ***luən**, perhaps by levelling on the affixed form **rɲuan**. Bahnar **da:h** ‘or’ < #2065 ***lah** is likely to represent a special development in weak position.

Cf. for ***l-** also #188-#196a, #417-#432, #710-#729, #924-#927, #1075-#1084, #1195-#1202, #1401-#1404, #1511-#1517, #1662-#1666a, #1853-#1856, #1941-#1945a, #2062-#2072.

The normal reflexes of ***w-** in all languages fall within the categories of bilabial or labiodental semivowel or fricative. They are noted as **v-** in Khmer, Palaung, Praok and Vietnamese; in Vietnamese ***w-** merges with the reflex of earlier intervocalic ***b** (i.e. PMK ***b** at C₃ in *CCCVC structure: see below). In Riang-Lang Luce notes variously **w-** and **vw-**, here rewritten **v-**; sometimes as alternatives; suggesting the sort of allophony found in Palaung (Shorto 1960, 547; there between bilabial and labiodental fricative). Jeh and Halang reflexes are not known; the remaining languages have **w-**, except that for Stieng Azémar notes **u-**, and in two instances before high front vowel (variant) **vu-**. Thomas has Chrau **u-**, in place of **w-**, in one instance.

‘Crooked, bent round’: Mon [**wèn**] **wòk** ‘to be crooked, deformed’, Riang-Lang **wɔk** ‘curved, slightly bent’, Praok [**kɔk**] **vɔk** ‘crooked’, Khasi **woh** ‘to (fasten with) hook’ (458 ***wɔk**).

‘To go round...’: Khmer **vì:ət** ‘to turn boat by paddling’, Stieng **ua:t** ‘to wag [tail]’, Chrau **wɛ:t** ‘to turn round’, Bahnar **wa:t** ‘circular, to encircle’, **wēt** ‘to turn [e.g. collar] back’, Riang-Lang **_viət** ‘to wring [clothes]’, Praok **vət** [**vɛ**] ‘to change direction’, Lawa Bo Luang **wiat** ‘to turn’, Temiar **wē:d** ‘giddy’ (1090 ***wiət** &c.).

‘To go, turn, round’: Old Mon **wūr** ‘round, around’, Khmer **vìə** ‘to go aside, avoid’, **vò:** ‘to go wrong...’, Stieng **vui:r** ‘to avoid’, Sre **wər** ‘to stir round’, Chrau **wər** ‘to stir...’, Biat **wɛ:r** ‘unlucky, taboo’, Bahnar **wi:r** ‘to twist’, **wé:r** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Khmu Yuan **wer**[**ka:y**] ‘to turn (v.i.)’, Palaung (Milne 1931) **viər**, Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **vi:a** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Khasi **wir** ‘astray’, Mường **wề**, Vietnamese **về** ‘to return’ (1609 ***wir** &c.).

‘To turn’: Khmer **vùl** ‘to turn (round)’, **vìəl** ‘to dig or cut round...’, Sre **wil** ‘circle’, Chrau **we:l** ‘to beat [game]’, Biat [**da:k wac**] **we:l** ‘eddy’, Bahnar **wi:l** ‘round’, Palaung **vir** ‘to return’, Riang-Lang **_viel** ‘to turn round’, Praok **ve** ‘coil’, Vietnamese **vẹo** ‘twisted, crooked...’, Temiar **wəl** ‘to turn’ (1794 ***wil** &c.).

Other reflexes of *w-. In two items, both with final ***c**, where Palaungic and Khasi appear to call for the reconstruction of ***w-**, Temiar has **ʔ-**. In the first of them this consonantism is found in all three branches of Aslian. In the second, where Temiar appears to reflect a secondary back vocalism, Semai has **y-** and Southern dialects the

normal **w-**, while most Northern ones have **w-** with an anomalous final nasal; two have **h-**, perhaps from a distinct etymon. In both cases we shall reconstruct ***w-**, assuming a rule of ‘de-dissimilation’.

‘Stomach’: Palaung **veʔ**, Praok **vac** id., Riang-Lang **_vac** ‘bowels, entrails’, Lawa **wiak** ‘belly’, Khasi [*’nier*]-*wait* ‘entrails’, Kensiu (North Aslian), Temiar **ʔej**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **ʔoʔəc** ‘belly’ (#837 ***wəc**).

‘Knife, sword’: Riang-Lang **_vac**, **_wac**, Praok **vac**, Lawa Bo Luang **wik**, Lawa Umpai **wiaic**, Lawa Mae Sariang **wuic** ‘sword’, Khasi *wait* ‘dao’, Temiar **ʔəwəj**, Semai (Central Aslian) **yəj**, Semelai (South Aslian) **wəj** ‘knife’ (#864 ***wac**, ***waac**). Cf. in North Aslian: Mendriq **wəj**, &c.; Kensiu, Kintaq Bong **haj**.

A similar development involving final ***j** is seen in Waic if Praok **inj** ‘to go back, return’, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔəinj**, Lawa Umpai **ʔəinj**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ʔəinj** ‘to come, return’ are cognate with Khmer **vəj** ‘back (again)’, &c., < #931 ***wij** &c.

Cf. for ***w-** also #233-#236, #454-#458, #765-#769, #862-#866, #1090-#1091, #1529-#1531a, #1669-#1672, #1794-#1798, #1950-#1951, #2080a-#2081

***y-** is of low frequency and rather more troublesome. The normal reflex appears to be /y/ in the majority of languages; in Khasi written *ī*, in Stieng *i-* and in two instances before high back vowels (variant) *j-* (cf. **u-**, **vu-** < ***w-**). It appears from the third example below that the Viet-Mường reflexes may be Mường *gi-*, Vietnamese *nh-*. The Temiar reflex has not been noted.

‘Grandmother’: Mon **yài** ‘mother’, Khmer **yì:əy** term of address to old woman, Stieng **ia:i**, Bahnar **yā** ‘grandmother, female ancestor’, Jeh, Halang **yaʔ**, Khmu Yuan **yàʔ**, Palaung **ya**, Praok **ye**, Lawa **yuaʔ** ‘grandmother’, Riang-Lang **_yaʔ** ‘id., wife’ (#151 ***yaʔ**, ***yaʔ-yaʔ** > ***yaay**).

‘To take’: Khmer **yə:k**, Bahnar **yək** id., Khasi *ïoh* ‘to obtain, receive, have’ (#v384 ***yək**, ***yək**).

‘To lift’: Old Mon **yuk**, Modern Mon **yàk** ‘id., to carry in arms’, Khmer **yùək** ‘to lift up’, Chrau **yə:ʔ** ‘to take off, lift’, Stieng **ju:k**, Sre **yə:**, Praok **yaok**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **yuak** ‘to lift’, Palaung **yuuʔ** ‘to rise, to raise’, (?) Mường *giắc*, Vietnamese *nhấc*, *nhấc* ‘to lift, raise’ (#385 ***yuk** &c.). But Viet-Mường may well reflect an affixed form in view of the sắc tone.

‘To weep’: Old Mon **yām**, Modern Mon **yèm**, Khmer **yùm**, Khmu Yuan **yà:m**, Palaung **yam**, Riang-Lang **_yam**, Praok **yəm**, Lawa **yuum**, Khasi *iam* (#1337 ***yaam**).

With ***y-** affricate reflexes occur sporadically—or appear to—in other Bahnaric and Palaungic languages beside Stieng, before original or secondary high back vowels. Similar mixed reflexes are assigned to ***j-**. In determining which protophoneme should be reconstructed the evidence of languages which show no variation—notably Mon and Khmer—is given most weight. In Bahnar at least, which figures in both variant sets, hypercorrection may play a part.

Thus we find Biat **jual** ‘to carry on head’, Bahnar **jə:l** ‘to raise higher than oneself, hold out’ beside Old Mon *yil* ‘to place on one’s head’, Modern Mon **yè** ‘to support or carry on head, to lift’, West Bahnar **yūil** ‘to hold out’ (#1781 ***[y]uəl**, ***yəl**; contrast Bahnar **yə:c** ‘fault, offence’ < #836 ***yuəc**; dialect borrowing between Biat and Bahnar may be in question); and Bönöm Bahnar **jə:k** ‘in good health’ beside Mon [*thət*] **yək** (#386 ***yuuk**). Note also 1780 ***[y]il** ‘barking deer’, a speculative reconstruction; perhaps rather ***ʔil**.

Cf. for *y- also #150-#154, #383-#387, #647-#648, #1053, #1190, #1266a-#1268, #1381, #1656-#1657, #2048.

1.6 Spirants and glottal stop: *s *h *ʔ

*s- is preserved in Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Biat, Jeh, Halang and Aslian. Biat has **ch-**, Bahnar variously **ts-**, **s-**; the latter in about one item in three (it may reflect borrowing from Jeh-Halang). In Khmuic and Palaungic **s-** has shifted to **h-**. In Viet-Mường we find Mường *th-*, Vietnamese *t-*; suggesting as an intermediate stage a shift to a voiceless dental fricative [θ] (found also in Danaw and, perhaps more relevantly, as a stage in the history of Cham). Finally, in Khasi we find *s-* [s] in two instances and *sh-* [ʃ] in one. *sh-* (which cannot reflect *c-) has been taken for the regular reflex; the distribution over all positions is complex and has undoubtedly been affected by analogy and back-formation; but remains in many respects obscure.

As do other consonants of this group, *s- gives rise to head register or high tone where these are applicable.

The Khmuic-Palaungic shift results in merger between *s- and *h-. In South Bahnaric and in most dialects of Bahnar, on the other hand, *s- merges with *c-. Fully distinctive reflexes are found only in Mon, Khmer, Rōngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese, and Aslian; but unambiguous reconstructions can be made whenever Khmu or a Palaungic language has a cognate in South Bahnaric or Bahnar. (Occasionally Palaung post-dental vocalism may favour the reconstruction of *s- even in the absence of these criteria; I then note *[s]-.)

‘Hair’: Old Mon *sok*, Modern Mon **sok**, Khmer, (→ ?) Chrau **sək**, Sre **soʔ**, Biat **chək**, Bahnar **tsək**, Jeh **su:k**, Halang **sok**, Palaung **huʔ**, Riang-Lang **ʔhuk**, Praok **haək**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **hauk**, Lawa Umpai *hauk*, Mường *thắc*, Vietnamese *tóc*, Temiar **so:g** (#467 ***suk** &c.).

‘Fruit, meat’: Old Mon **sac**, Modern Mon **sət** ‘fruit’, Khmer **sac** ‘flesh, meat’, Bahnar **tsec** ‘lean meat’, Temiar **sej** ‘meat’ (#871 ***sac**).

‘To bale out’: Mon **sat** ‘to bale’, Khmer **sa:c** ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre **sa:c** ‘to empty with bucket’, Chrau **sa:c** ‘to bale out fish-dam’, Riang-Lang **ʔhac** ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’, Vietnamese *tát* ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 ***sac**, ***saac**).

‘To sting’: Khmer **soc** ‘small kind of mosquito’, Sre **souc** ‘to prick, sting’, Biat **cho:c**, Bahnar dialects **tsuc**, **tso:c**, Khmu Yuan **hu:c**, Riang-Lang **ʔhuc**, Praok **huuc** ‘to sting’ (#873 ***suc** &c.).

‘Sharp, to sharpen’: Sre **sout**, Chrau **so:t**, Biat **cho:t** ‘sharp’, Khasi *shut* ‘to sharpen’ (#1100 ***suut**).

Khasi *san* ‘five’: Riang-Lang **ʔhan** id., Mon [cəh] **sən** ‘fif[teen]’ (#1214 ***suun** &c.) may have **s-** by counting deformation on *saw* ‘four’. But there is no such explanation for *sum* ‘to bathe, wash’: Mường *thắm*, Vietnamese *tắm* (#1417 ***samʔ**, ***sum** []).

Cf. for *s- also #243-#245, #463-#468, #777-#780, #870-#873, #1098-#1101, #1211-#1214, #1417-#1419a, #1537-#1538, #1675-#1678, #2084-#2088.

We come now to the two laryngeals *h *ʔ. It must be noted first that in a proportion of cases these alternate giving rise to doublets, as in other positions including final position. It does not appear that the alternances can be explained by any such theory as Dyen proposed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian; at least at the present stage of inquiry. We shall accordingly treat first the invariable correspondences, and note the other

cases at the end of the section.

***h-** is preserved in all languages, being consequently merged with ***s-** in Khmuic and Palaungic.

‘To open [mouth]’: Mon **ha** (!), Khmer, Stieng, Sre (!) **ha:**, Chrau **ha:ʔ** (!), Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:**, Vietnamese *há* (#251 ***haʔ**).

‘Finished’: Khmu Yuan **ho:c** particle of completed action, Riang-Lang **hac** ‘all, to exhaust’, Praok **huac** ‘to have finished; perfect auxiliary’, Lawa Bo Luang **haw̥k**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **hɔic** ‘finished’, Temiar **hɔj** ‘already’ (#875 ***huc** &c.).

‘To suck, drink’: Khmer **hot** ‘to suck up, swallow in a gulp’, Stieng **hu:t** ‘to inhale, to suck up last of drink’, Sre **huc**, Chrau **hu:c**, Halang **hu:t** ‘to drink’, Bahnar **hu:c** ‘to drink from spoon’, Jeh **hut** ‘to drink, suck’, Vietnamese **hút** ‘to suck, inhale’, Temiar **huj** ‘to sip’ (#1106 ***hut** &c.).

‘Place, at’: Old Mon *han*, Sre **hə** locative particle, Khmu’ **haʔ** ‘to, at’, Palaung **ha** ‘place’, Riang-Lang **ha** (!) ‘id., where, at, on, to’, Khasi **ha** ‘place, at’ (#1217 ***ha[a]n**, weak forms).

‘Finished’: Khmer **həy** ‘finished, already’, Stieng **hə:i** perfect particle, Biat **hə:i** ‘already’, Bahnar **hɛ:i** ‘just now’, Palaung **huəy** ‘to have finished’, Praok **hry** punctuating particle (#1539 ***həy** &c.).

Bahnar has **djēp** beside **hiēp** ‘to suck, suck the blood of...’ < #1294 ***hiəp**, perhaps an expressive deformation.

Cf. for ***h-** also #250-#251, #470-#475, #783-#784, #1104-#1106, #1215-#1220, #1424-#1426, #1539-#1540, #1682-#1687, #1803a-#1804, #1868-#1869; and the forms with alternant cited below.

The reflexes of ***ʔ-** to be expected in most contexts are in Khmer, Lawa, and Temiar noted **ʔ-**, and in Old Mon **ʔ-**. In the remaining languages initial vowel is written. It is likely that in most or all of them a glottal articulation is present, as explicitly in Mon (Shorto 1962:xi) and Palaung (Shorto 1960:547). Khmu Yuan has, unexpectedly, low tone in half the relevant items.

‘Person, I’: Old Mon *ʔey*, Modern Mon **oa**, Khm **ʔaŋ**, Stieng **i:**, Sre **aŋ**, Chrau **aŋ**, **iŋ**, Bahnar **i:ŋ**, Rōngao **a:u**, Jeh, Halang **aw**, Khmu Yuan **oʔ**, Palaung **ɔ**, Riang-Lang **ʔoʔ**, Praok **aə**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaiʔ**, Lawa Umpai **ʔauʔ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ʔauʔ** ‘I’, Khasi *i* ‘he, she, it’, Semai I **ʔiŋ** ‘I’ (#2 ***ʔiiʔ**) Some Aslian languages in all three branches have an isolated **y-** (Temiar **ye:ʔ**); this may be related to the developments before ***iə** noted below.

‘Wasp, hornet’: Biat **ɔ:ŋ** ‘hornet’, Sre **oŋ**, Chrau **ɔ:ŋ**, Jeh **o:ŋ**, Halang **oəŋ** ‘wasp’, Bahnar **o:ŋ** ‘hornet, wasp’, Khmu Yuan **ɔ:ŋ** ‘kind of wasp’, Palaung **ɔŋ**, Riang-Lang **uaŋ** ‘fossor wasp’, Vietnamese *ong* ‘bee, wasp’ (#485 ***ʔuŋ** &c.).

‘Upper garment’: Khmer **ʔa:v**, Biat **a:ɔ**, Sre, Chrau, Jeh, Halang **a:w**, Bahnar **a:o**, Mường, Vietnamese *áo* (#1813 ***ʔaawʔ**).

‘Fire, firewood’: Middle Mon *ʔoh*, Modern Mon **uh**, Khmer **ʔoh** ‘firewood’, Sre **ous**, Temiar **ʔo:s** ‘fire’ (#1872 ***[]ʔus** &c.).

When ***ʔ** precedes ***iə** the initial element of the diphthong is consonantized in Chrau, Riang-Lang, and at least dialectally in Bahnar; yielding Chrau **ʔy-**, Riang-Lang high-tone **y-**, Bahnar **y-**.

‘Fowl’: Sre, Biat **iar**, Chrau **ʔyer**, Bahnar **ye:r**, **ie:r**, Jeh **i:l**, Halang **iar**, Palaung **iar**, Riang-Lang **yer**, Praok **i:a**, Lawa **ʔe**, Khs, **iar** (#1552 ***[ʔiər]**). So we find Chrau **ʔyet** ‘to listen, hear’ < #942 ***ʔiət**. Bahnar has **ye:t irɔ:k**, **dje:t djrɔ:k** ‘lesser coucal’ < #941 ***[ʔ]iət**; an uncertain reconstruction from reflexes compatible with those of #1780 ***[y]il**.

Riang-Lang has usually the corresponding development of high-tone **w-/v-** when ***ʔ** precedes ***uə** (but contrast **uan** ‘fossor wasp’ < ***ʔuən**, above); thus **vat**, **wat** ‘to wipe’ < #946 ***ʔuət**; **we** &c. ‘three’: Palaung **uəy**, cf. #98 ***piʔ**.

Cf. for ***ʔ-** also #1-#6, #265-#268, #482a-#485, #794, #882-#885, #939-#946, #1115-#1121, #1224-#1225, #1297-#1299, #1434-#1438, #1552-#1556, #1694-#1696, #1813, #1871-#1873, #1956-#1959.

Variant constructions are not numerous in relation to those just surveyed; about one in eight of all laryngeal-initial items. In the larger group ***ʔ-** is to be regarded as the primary initial, and we take it first.

Some items are susceptible of special explanation. ***huh** &c. ‘to blow’ (Nicobarese, and affixed forms in Waic, Khs.) beside #1958 ***ʔuh** &c. (South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobarese) may reflect an earlier reduplication ***ʔuh ʔuh**. Contamination by ***hur** ‘to expose to heat’ (#1685; Bahnaric) may account for ***huul** &c. ‘to grill’ (Stieng, affixed forms in Biat, Bahnar) beside #1812 ***rʔuəl** (South Bahnaric, affixed (?) form in Khm.); note also #1501 ***ʔu(u)r** &c. ‘warm, (Stieng) to heat’. At least three items are grammatical words perhaps subject to special conditions of stress or junction. We find ***hiʔ** ‘we’ in Kuy, South Bahnaric, Aslian and Nicobarese beside ***ʔiʔ** in Khmu, Palaungic and Temiar (1); ***h[i]ʔ** deictic in South Bahnaric, North and South Aslian, and dialectally in Bahnar beside ***ʔiʔ**, ***ʔih** in Bahnar, Palaungic, Vietnamese, North Aslian, Nicobarese, and affixed form in Khmer (2); Riang-Lang **hnʔ**, Vietnamese **hấn** pronoun 3 sing. beside Palaung/Central Nicobarese **ən** id., Stieng **ə:n** interrogative pronoun, Riang-Lang **an** clause-subordinating particle (#1115 ***[ʔ]anʔ** &c.). Here we might also cite Mường **hal**, Vietnamese **hai** ‘two’ beside e.g. Palaung, Khasi **ar**, Central Nicobarese **ã**: (#1562 ***ʔaar** < Pre-PMK ***biʔaar**). Finally, expressive deformation might account for Palaungic ***hul** [] ‘to vomit’ beside #1695 ***ʔul** [] &c. ‘nausea’ (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Vietnamese).

In the remaining items the incidence of the **h**-form is more or less trivial. We have Biat **hok** ‘to spill’ but e.g. Sre **o**: ‘to empty [pot]’, Bahnar **u:k** ‘to pour out, empty out’, Riang-Lang **uk** ‘to pour away, to spill’ (#267 ***ʔuuk** &c.); Khmu Yuan **he:m** ‘younger sibling’ but Vietnamese *em* id., Stieng **iəm** ‘elder sibling’ (#1306 ***[sʔ]iəm**); Palaung **hɔʔ** ‘brains’ (and affixed form in Riang-Lang) but Vietnamese **óc** (#475 ***huək**, ***ʔuək**); and Mường, Vietnamese **hết** ‘to end, be finished...’ but e.g. Mon **ɔt** ‘to be exhausted...’, Khmer **ʔɔt**, **ʔɔt** ‘to be without’, Biat **ɔt** ‘to abstain from’, Bahnar **ət**, **ɔt** ‘[wind] to stop...’, Riang-Lang **ət** ‘to cease’ (#943 ***ʔət** &c.).

In two cases the primary form is to be constructed with ***h-**. We have South Bahnaric ***ʔum** > Sre **um** ‘to bathe’, &c., but e.g. Mon **hum**, Bahnar, Semelai **hu:m**, probably (cf. ***sum** [] #1417) Palaung **hum** (#1426 ***huum** &c.; Khmu may reflect an affixed form in ***ʔ-**); and Lawa **ʔaup** ‘cooked rice, but Mon **hap** ‘to eat [rice]’, Khmer **ho:p** ‘to eat’, Sre **hup** ‘to lift [food-bag] to mouth’, Palaung **hap** ‘food, to eat’, Vietnamese **húp** ‘to slurp [rice-gruel]’ (#1295 ***haap** &c.).

We may note also the apparent connexion between ***huc** &c. (#875); ***həy**, ***huəy** ‘finished’ (#1539) and ***rʔuc** &c. (#798); and that between Palaungic, Khasi ***ʔim**

‘to live, be alive’ and affixed forms in **h* generally meaning ‘breath’, where variants are reconstructed (#1299).

The reflexes set out in this chapter are summarized in tables 3a, 3b, and 3c.

2 STRUCTURE **CCVC*

CCVC* forms comprise both simplexes containing **CCVC* roots, and affixed forms of **CVC* ones whether prefixed (C-CVC*) or infix (**C/C/VC*). Our discussion will be illustrated preferentially with examples of the first kind, where the possibility of disturbance due to morphological levelling is more remote. In many languages some **CC*-sequences are reflected as *C-*. The reconstruction of certain forms as **CCVC* will in consequence depend on the evidence of related affixed forms. At such points of the discussion we shall be thrown back on the evidence of more conservative languages (notably Mon, Khmer, Khasi, and also Aslian and Nicobarese), and sometimes on comparison of their patterns as well as that of strictly cognate forms.

All the consonants listed in the table on p. 2.1 may occur at C_2 in structures **CCVC*. Glottalized consonants, semivowels and **h* do not occur at C_1 . Of the nasal series we reconstruct a nasal homorganic with the following consonant (schematically **N*), and **m*; these two terms are distinctive only before liquids.

The **CC*- sequences attested in the corpus are collated in Table 4.

2.1.1. Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiceless

Sequences of two voiceless plosives are generally preserved in Mon, Khmer, Khasi and Aslian; the consonant reflexes being the same as initially in forms of **CVC* structure except where otherwise stated. In Aslian and modern Mon a vowel *ə* is found between the two plosives. The first plosive may be voiced, under conditions yet to be determined, in Aslian languages.

In Bahnaric, Khmu, Palaungic and Viet-Mường we shall for the moment assume that **C₁* in this type of sequence is regularly lost. Such forms as Bahnar *kətəŋ* ‘to hear’, ad #542 **ktəŋ*, which apparently preserve it, will then reflect related affixed forms (cf. with Bah. Sakai *gərtək*). (The possibility that this is an insufficient formulation of the rules is discussed at the end of this section.) Sắc tone in Mường and Vietnamese non-stop-final words may point to, though it cannot assure, the reconstruction of **CC-*.

Exceptions, however, are relatively frequent. Many of them can be plausibly explained from borrowing, analogy, or contamination. Where there is evidence for **CC-* from any criterion language I usually reconstruct it without reserve.

These general statements will first be exemplified from the reflexes of **kt-*, which is particularly well represented in the material. In this case we have an additional criterion: the sequence (like **kd-*, see below) is palatalized in Chrau, yielding *c-* or occasionally *ch-*. The first three items raise no difficulty.

‘Hot’: Mon *kətao*, Khmer *kdau*, West Bahnar *toʔ*, Eastern *tɔ*: (#70 **ktuuʔ*).

‘To manipulate with flat of hand’: Old Mon *ktāc* [*sumoh*] ‘to smooth, level, with hands’, Modern Mon *kətat* ‘to rub between palms’, Khasi *ktaid* ‘to rummage’ (#815 **ktaac*).

Table 3a: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

PMK	*ʔ	*h	*k	*g	*ŋ
Old Mon	ʔ	h	k	g	ṇ
Modern Mon	Ø ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Khmer	ʔ ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Stieng	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ~ɲ
Sre	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ
Chrau	Ø~ʔy	h	k	g	ṇ
Biat	Ø	h	k~c	g	ṇ~ɲ
Bahnar	Ø~y	h (dj)	k	g	ṇ
Jeh/Halang	Ø	h	k	g	
Khmu Yuan	Ø ^{1,2}	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Palaung	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ
Riang-Lang	Ø~y~w~v ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Praok	Ø	h	k	k	ṇ
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	ʔ	h	k	k	ṇ
Lawa Umpai	ʔ	h	k~c	kh~ch	ṇ
Khasi	Ø	h	kh	k	ng
Mường	Ø ¹	h ¹	c~k /k/ ¹		
Vietnamese	Ø ¹	h ¹	c~k /k/ ¹	c~k /k/ ²	ng(h)/ṇ/ ²
Temiar	ʔ (y)	h	k		

Table 3b: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

	*c	*j	*ɲ	*y	*t	*d	*ɗ	*n
PMK	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɗ</i>	
Old Mon	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɗ</i>	
Modern Mon	c¹	c²	ɲ²	y²	t¹	t²	d¹	(n¹)
Khmer	c¹	c²	ɲ²	y²	d¹	t²	t²	n²
Stieng	s, c	j	i~j	t	d	d	n	
Sre	s	j	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Chrau	s	j (i)	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Biat	ch	j	ɲ	y (i,j)	t~c	d	d	n
Bahnar	s, ts	j (y?)	y, ɲ	y (j)	t	d	d	n
Jeh/Halang	c	j (y?)	y	t	d	d		
Khmu Yuan	s¹	c²	(n²)	y²	t¹	t²	t¹ (?)	n²
Palaung	s	j	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Riang-Lang	s¹	c (y)²	ɲ²	y²	t¹	t²	d¹	n²
Praok	s	c	ɲ	y (c?)	t	t	t	n
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	s	c³	ɲ	y	t	t	t	n
Lawa Umpai	s	ch	ɲ	y	t	th	th	n
Khasi	<i>s</i>	<i>j (i)</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>th (t)</i>	<i>t (d)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
Mường	<i>ch¹</i>	<i>ch²</i>	<i>t¹</i>	<i>t²</i>	<i>ɗ¹</i>	<i>n²</i>		
Vietnamese	<i>ch¹</i>	<i>ch²</i>	<i>nh²</i>	<i>ɗ¹</i>	<i>ɗ²</i>	<i>n¹</i>	<i>n²</i>	
Temiar	c	j	t	d				

Table 3c: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

PMK	*r	*l	*s	*p	*b	*ɓ	*m	*w
Old Mon	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
Modern Mon	r ²	l ²	s ¹	p ¹	p ²	b ¹	m ²	w ²
Khmer	r ²	l ²	s ¹	b ¹	p ²	p ²	m ²	v ²
Stieng	r	l	s	p	b	b	m	u~vu
Sre	r	l	s	p	b	b	m	w
Chrau	r	l	s	p	v	v	m	w (u)
Biat	r	l (r)	ch	p	b	b	m	w
Bahnar	r	l (d)	ts, s	p	b	b	m	w
Jeh/Halang	r	l	s	p		b	m	
Khmu Yuan	r ²	l ²	h ¹	p ¹	p ²	p ¹ (?)	m ²	w ²
Palaung	r	l	h	p	b	b	m	v
Riang-Lang	r ²	l ²	h ¹	p ¹	p ²	b ¹	m ²	w v ²
Praok	r	l	h	p	p	p	m	v (Ø?)
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	r ⁴	l	h	p	p	p	m	w (??)
Lawa Umpai	r	l	h	p	ph	ph	m	w (??)
Khasi	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s, sh</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
Mường	<i>r (gi)</i> ²	<i>l</i> ²	<i>th</i> ¹	<i>p</i> ¹	<i>p</i> ²	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>m</i> ²	<i>w</i> ²
Vietnamese	<i>r (gi)</i> ²	<i>l</i> ²	<i>t</i> ¹	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>b</i> ²	<i>m</i> ¹	<i>m</i> ²	<i>v</i> ²
Temiar	r	l	s		b	b	m	w (?)

¹ Head register; (Riang-Lang) high tone; (Mường, Viet.) ngang, sắc, hỏi tones.² Chest register; (Riang-Lang) low tone; (Mường, Viet.) huyền, nặng, ngã tones.³ Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)**. ⁴ Lawa Mae Sariang **y**.

Table 4: PMK *CC- sequences attested in the corpus

*/												
	ck	tk	pk		jk	dk	bk	ŋk		rk	sk	
kc	cæc	tc	pc	gc		dc	bc	nc		lc	sc	?c
kt	ct		pt	gt	jt		bt	nt		rt	lt	?t
kp	cp	tp	pəp			dp		mp		rp	lp	sp
	cg	tg	pg			dg	bg	ŋg		rg	lg	sg
kj		tj	pj	gj			bj	nj		rj	lj	sj
kd		td	pd	gd	jd		bd	nd		rd	ld	sd
kb	cb	tb			jb	db		mb		rb	lb	sb
kɸ	cɸ	tɸ	pɸ	gɸ	jɸ	dəɸ	bɸ			rɸ		sɸ
kʙ	cʙ	tʙ		gʙ	jʙ	dʙ	bəʙ		mʙ	rʙ	lʙ	sʙ
kŋ	cŋ	tŋ			jŋ	dŋ			mŋ	rŋ	lŋ	sŋ
kɲ							bɲ				lɲ	sɲ
kn	cn	tn	pn	gn	jn	dn	bn		mn	rn	ln	sn
km	cm	tm		gm	jm	dm				rm		sm
												?m
ky		ty		gy		dy	by			ry		sy
kr	cr	tr	pr	gr	jr	dr	br	nr	mr			sr
kl	cl	tl	pl	gl	jl	dl	bl	nl	ml	rl		sl
kw	cw	tw		gw				ŋw		rw	lw	sw
ks		ts	ps			ds	bs			rs	ls	?s
kʔ	cʔ	tʔ	pʔ		jʔ		bʔ		mʔ	rʔ	lʔ	sʔ
kh	ch	th	ph	gh	jh	dh	bh		mh	rh	lh	
												/

‘Wart’: Mon **kətot**, Stieng **tɔ:t**, Chrau **cɔ:t**, Biat **tu:t**, Palaung **tot** (#1009 ***kt₁uut**, ***kt₁uət**).

Chrau **t-** in the next two items almost certainly results from borrowing.

‘Bitter’: Mon **kəteŋ**, Stieng, Chrau (!), Biat, Bahnar **taŋ**, Khasi *kthang*, Vietnamese *đắng* (#554 ***kt₂aŋ**; Khasi *-th-* probably by levelling, cf. *byrthang* id.).

‘Ear’: Old Mon *ktor*, Modern Mon **kəto**, Stieng **tu:r**, Sre **tour**, Chrau (!), Biat **to:r** (#1621 ***kt₂uur**, ***kt₂uər**; note Kuy **takɔ:l**, Khasi *shkor*, < ***tkuər** by metathesis).

In the next example the Riang form probably incorporates the small-animal prefix, originally a weak form of ***kuən** ‘child’; Khasi results from false division, assuming the same prefix!

‘Crab’: Khmer **kda:m**, Stieng, Sre **ta:m**, Chrau **ca:m**, Riang-Lang **kətam**, Lawa **tam**, Khasi *tham* (!) (#1348 ***kt₁aam**).

In the next, the Khmer form is attributed to contamination. From Khmer and Modern Mon it would be possible to construct ***ntu(u)ŋ**; it is the Middle Mon initial which, taken with Chrau, is clinching for the reconstruction.

‘Hole, pit’: Middle Mon *ktoŋ*, Modern Mon **kətaŋ** ‘hole in ground, mine’, Khmer **ʔəndo:ŋ** (!) ‘well, mine’ (contaminated by **ʔəndau** ‘ditch, hole, cave’ < #78 ***[h]ntuuʔ**), Chrau **chuŋ** ‘hole’, Palaung **tuŋ** ‘ditch’ (#557 ***kt₁uŋ**).

The final item is less satisfactory, in that Temiar and other Central Aslian languages show an unexplained apparent loss of ***C₁**. Although Nicobarese seems to confirm the implication of the Chrau form, I note the reconstruction as provisional.

‘Egg’: Sre, Biat **tap**, Chrau **cap**, Temiar **tab** (!), Shom Pe Nicobarese **ka:'te:əb** (#1253 ***[k]t₁ap**). Jehai (North Aslian), Semnam (Central Aslian) **kətəd** may show ***kt-** with assimilation of the final.

The examples of other voiceless plosive sequences below are illustrative rather than comprehensive.

***tk-**: ‘island’: Old Mon *tko*, Modern Mon **kɔʔ** (!), Khmer **kəh** (!), Stieng **kə:h** [**dà:k**], Biat **kɔ:u** [**da:k**] (#23 ***tkɔʔ**, ***tkɔ:h**; → Thai **kɔʔ**). For some sequences there is at least sporadic loss of ***C₁** in Khmer (cf. below ‘to plant’, ‘to calculate’, ‘to sweep’), so perhaps Khmer → Thai, whence Mon **k-** by contamination; but modern Mon loses **C₁** also in ‘flower’, below.

‘Cold’: Biat **kat** ‘cold’, Khmu Yuan **kat**, Palaung **kət**, Praok **kuat**, Lawa Bo Luang **koat**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **kət** ‘cold [weather]’, Proto-Semai ***dkat** ‘cold’ (#962 ***tkat** &c.).

h following **C₁** in Khmer in certain sequences is prosodic (Jacob’s transcription reproduces the orthography preferred in *Vacananukram Khmer*, which is not absolutely consistent); so e.g. *phk-* transcribes **/pk/**. ***t**, ***p** at **C₁** are not glottalized as they are in ***CVC** forms.

***pk-**: ‘flower’: Old Mon *pkāw*, Modern Mon **kao** (!) (beside **pəkao** ‘floral decoration’), Khmer **phka:**, Stieng **ka:o**, Sre **bəka:w** (!) by back-borrowing ← Röglai, Biat **ka:ɔ**, Semnam (Central Aslian) &c. **bəkaw** (#1819 ***pkaaw**, ***pkaʔ**).

***pt-**: ‘Fungus’: Old Mon *ptis*, Modern Mon **pətəh**, Palaung **tir**, Riang-Lang **ˀtis**, Praok **ti**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **taih**, Lawa Umpai **tas**, Khasi **tit** (!), Proto-Semai ***btees** (#1903 ***pt₁is**, ***pt₁iis**).

***p** following a plosive loses its occlusion and becomes *w* in Old Mon; then Old

Mon *tw-* > Modern Mon *kw-* except before high or high mid back vowel, when *-w-* is lost. **t* before plosive > Khasi *s*, *sh* (cf. ‘ear’, p. 2.42; and the similar development before nasal—also in Palaungic—below).

**tp-*: ‘to step’: Old Mon *twek* ‘to walk, pace’, Modern Mon *kwaik* ‘to walk’, Mường *pưôc*, Vietnamese *bước* ‘(to) step’ (#349 **t₁paak*).

‘To calculate’: (Old Mon **twok* >) Mon *tok*, Khmer *bo:k*! (#351 **tpuuk*, **tpuək*).

‘To bind round’: Mon *kwoiŋ* id. (with vocalism by contam. *həmoŋ* ‘to wind round...’), Khasi *spong* ‘turban, to put turban on’ (#613 **t₂p[oo]ŋ*).

‘Rice mortar’: Khmer *tbal*, Stieng *pa:l*, Palaung *pər*, Riang-Lang *pal*, Praok *pə* (#1757 **tpal*).

‘To sweep’: Middle Mon *twah*, Modern Mon *kwəh*, Khmer *baoh* (!), Stieng *pu:ih*, Sre *pəs*, Biat *pəh*, Jeh *pu:yh*, Khmu Yuan *pəʔ*, Palaung *pir*, Riang-Lang *pis*, Praok *pi* id., Proto-Semai **pɿrs*: ‘to wipe’ (#1916 **t₂puus* &c.; **tp-* is supported by affixed forms in Riang-Lang and North Aslian).

**c* following a plosive retains its affrication in South Bahnaric, Khmu Yuan, and Riang-Lang; at least dialectally in Bahnar, and under conditions yet to be determined in Palaung (whereas in *CVC forms **c-* > Stieng *s*, *c*, Biat *ch*, Bahnar *s*, *ts*, Sre, Chrau, Khmu Yuan, Palaung, Riang-Lang *s*). These clusters are the main source of *c-* in the above languages apart from loans. Sre sometimes has *ch-* (see ‘to die’, ‘charcoal’); one instance of *ch-* in Chrau (‘charcoal’) may result from assimilation. Old Mon *kc-* > Modern Mon *ch-*, Literary Mon (properly) *khy-*; Old Mon *pc-* > Modern Mon *phy-*.

**kc-*: ‘to prick...’: Sre *cok* id., Biat *co:k* ‘to peck, [snake] to bite’, Bahnar *cə:k* ‘to cut a notch, (?)’, Palaung *cəʔ* ‘to prick’, Vietnamese *chọc* (!) ‘to pierce, puncture’ (#295 **kcok*, **kcook*; **k-* is established from a Khmer affixed form).

‘die’: Old Mon *kcit*, Modern Mon *chət*, Stieng *cə:t*, Sre *chət*, Chrau *cwt* id., Palaung *cuət* ‘[ghost] to leave the world’, Mường *chít*, Vietnamese *chết* ‘to die’ (#987 **kc[ə]t*). Biat has *khət*, perhaps by hypercorrection related to the palatalization of **kiət* &c.

‘Scattered’: Mon *chai* ‘to be separated, scattered...’, Khmer *khca:y* ‘to scatter, spread (v.i.t.)’, West Bahnar *cai* ‘to scatter...’ (#1460 **kcaay*).

‘Charcoal’: Mon, Sre, Chrau *chah*, Praok *sua*, Lawa Bo Luang *səih*, Lawa Umpai *səs* (#1824 **kcas* &c.; **k-* is established from affixed forms in Khmu Yuan and Riang-Lang).

**pc-*: ‘bitter, astringent’: Mon *phyəp* ‘to be astringent’, Khmer *cət* ‘bitter’, Stieng *cət* ‘bitter, astringent, sharp’, Bahnar *tsi:t* ‘bitter...’, Khmu Yuan *cet*, ‘Central Sakai’ *běchut* ‘sour’ (#989 **pcət*).

Old Mon *c* before plosive yields Middle Mon *s* and falls (with *s* < **s*) in modern Mon; **cp-* > Old Mon *cw-* > Modern Mon *hw-*.

**ck-*: ‘to grasp, hold’: Old Mon *ckem*, Modern Mon *kem* ‘to grasp’, Khasi *skhem* ‘firmly, securely’ (with *-kh-* by levelling on *shikhem* ‘(one) handful?’), Vietnamese *kém* ‘pincers, tweezers’, (?) Kensiu (North Aslian) *cəkam* ‘to hold’ (#1312 **ckiam* &c.).

**cp-*: ‘to pull sharp instrument across’: Mon *hwat* ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’, Khmer *pa:t* (!) ‘to trim or file down’, Stieng *pa:t* ‘to cut oneself on a sharp instrument’, Bahnar *pāt* ‘to whet’ (#1026 **cpaat*; note Mường, Vietnamese *phát* ‘to cut, trim’). The Khmer reflex is discussed below.

In three items **c-* has been speculatively reconstructed to account for unexplained aspiration in Stieng and/or Sre: note Stieng **phu:ŋ** ‘to wallow’ < #612 **[c]puuŋ*; Sre **khual** ‘to bark’, Stieng **kuə:l**, (Blood 1966) **khual** ‘to call’, < #1709 **[c]kuul* &c.; Stieng **phuə:l** ‘kind of gourd or melon’ beside **puəl** ‘kind of greenish cucumber’ < #1756 **[c]puəls*, **[c]pə[l]* []; Stieng **ghuŋ** ‘ladder’, Chrau **guŋ** id. < #515 **[c]guŋ* &c.

Reconstructions of sequences of like consonants are rare: one each of **cəc-*, **pəp-*, **dəd-*, **bəb-*. Only **bəbe?* ‘goat’, an onomatopoe, has a general distribution. The other three, one also an onomatopoe, are found in Mon and Khmer only and may belong to the post-PMK period of mutual influence between these two languages. In Mon they develop as disyllables, **C₁* yielding **h-**. We note in this section:

‘House lizard’: Mon **həcək**, Khmer **cəcək** (#297 **cəcak*, **cəcək*).

‘Skate’: Mon **[ka?] həpa** id., Khmer **bəbael** (beside **prəbael**) ‘skate, shark’ (#1760 **p[r]pail*).

Other reflexes. In four items where plosive sequences are or might be reconstructed we find Khmer unglottalized **t-**, **p-**. We have already cited **pa:t** ‘to trim down...’ < **cpaat*. From **taək** ‘gills’, **taək taək** ‘temples’: ‘Semang’, Sak. **pětök** ‘temples’ the reconstruction **ptəək* (#321) also seems assured. **taok** ‘spoonful’ (T.), ad #315 **[?]tuuk* ‘to scoop up’, seems to require a prefixed form. A similar construction might account for **tək** ‘sound of dripping’, ad #314 **tuək* ‘to drip’, with several derivatives; but it may be a back-formation from **tətək** ‘to drip’, if that is a loan from western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Malay *titek* ‘drop...’).

These are obscure. We shall propose **ʔt-* as a possible source of Khmer **t-**. Borrowing from Stieng or another South Bahnaric language could account for them, but no obvious etyma are recorded.

In **khtə:t** ‘to cackle’: Mon **kətət** (974 **ktəət*) onomatopoeia sufficiently explains the anomalous reflex.

Cf. also (for **ck-*) #19, #801, #1236, #1237, #1970;

(**tk-*) #23, #505, #506, #961, #962, #1818;

(**pk-*) #1238, #1819;

(**kc-*) #47, #295, #296, #530, #987, #988, #1252a, #1460, #1597a, #1892, #1893;

(**tc-*) #531, #981, #982, #986;

(**pc-*) #299, #989, #1895;

(**kt-*) #70, #317, #554, #555-#557, #815, #988, #1007, #1008, #1009, #1252a, #1254, #1348, #1348a, #1620, #1621, #1735, #1736, #1825, #1826, #1900, #2005;

(**ct-*) #1351;

(**pt-*) #321, #1827, #1828, #1903;

(**kp-*) #611, #1025, #1167, #1914, #1915;

(**cp-*) #1026, #1638;

(**tp-*) #72a, #350, #351, #1757.

We have so far assumed that the loss of **C₁* in this type of sequence is regular in Bahnaric, Khmuic and Palaungic as well as in Viet-Mường (where of course all forms are reduced to monosyllables usually of CV(C) structure). This is without doubt true of South Bahnaric. Even in the case of the other languages such an assumption cannot be easily

disproved, inasmuch as any root may in principle be combined with an affix, and—as we shall see—formally most if not all disyllables in North Bahnaric etc. can be accounted for from affixed protoforms. Such arguments are most convincing when affixed forms are attested elsewhere. Thus in the case of ‘crab’ (#1348) Mon **hətam**, ‘Semang’ **kəntem** require the construction of an infixed ***k/n/taam**, and we refer Jeh **kata:m**, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan **kəta:m** to it. Similarly with ‘charcoal’ (#1892), where we have Rōngao **kəcaʔ**, Jeh **kacah**, Halang **kəcah**, infixed forms are attested in both Khmu Yuan (**kənsah**) and Riāng-Lāng (**kərc(h)as**).

It is less easy to see why an infixed form should be used for ‘to die’ (ib.) when we find Jeh **kaciāt**, even beside West Bahnar **kəcit** with the developed sense ‘to die miserably’. Again, Khmu Yuan **pətəʔ** ‘smoke’ may well reflect an affixed form vis-a-vis Riāng-Lāng **ṭəʔ ɲal**, Praok **taw** (#1828 ***pt₁[əw]ʔ**); but we should prefer independent evidence. And in Riāng-Lāng at least, where reconstructible infixial elements all appear to have overt reflexes at any rate in some contexts—we cannot say that they are not generalized to others by analogy—there are difficulties in accounting for all simple two-plosive reflexes in this way. In discussing sequences of plosive + nasal or liquid it will be suggested that divergent reflexes in Palaungic especially are attributable to differences at V_1 in Pre-PMK ***CVCVC** structure. It is not beyond possibility that the same factor might result in the retention of two-plosive sequences in Palaungic and elsewhere. The question awaits further research (and above all more extensive lexica).

2.1.2 Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiced

In Old Mon we find clusters of voiceless + voiced plosive, **tg-** etc., which are taken to be reflexes of corresponding PMK sequences. Two other distinctive reflexes can then be established: Khmer cognates have head register, and Bahnar also Hre/Sedang (but not Jeh or Halang) have voiceless initial, implying in each case devoicing of the second plosive under the influence of the first. (The corresponding voicing of an originally voiceless plosive following a voiced one is recorded in the next section.)

C₁** is lost in Khmer in half the items in a rather short list, this limited evidence suggesting a tendency to preserve back consonants (k**, ***c**) and drop front ones (***t**, ***p**). Khasi loses ***C₁** in the two items recorded.

The one item recorded for Temiar (**taju:ʔ** ‘snake’ < #54 ***tjooʔ**) preserves the PMK sequence, as do cognates in both other Aslian branches.

Modern Mon forms have chest register. Some Old Mon forms have a vowel inserted following **C₁** (note **pdar**, **pudar** ‘to shade’); **C₁** then > Modern Mon **h**. Old Mon **kj-** > Modern Mon **c-**, Literary Mon **gy-**; Old Mon **pj-** > Modern Mon **py-** (cf. Old Mon **kc-** etc.). The Mon treatment of ***-b-** is irregular, presumably as a result of dialect borrowing; it is sometimes preserved, but usually becomes **w** with voicing of the preceding plosive. Note ***cb-** > Old Mon **jw-** > Modern Mon **hw-**.

Chrau has **j-** < ***kd-** (as **c(h)-** < ***kt-**) in **jə: pri:t** ‘plantain flower’ < #82 ***kdəʔ**.

Correlations between Mon and Khmer or Bahnar are seen in the following examples.

‘To take hold of’: Mon **pəkòn** ‘to yoke’, Literary Mon **bgan** also ‘to take hold of, come to grips’, Khmer **kan** ‘to hold’ (→ Stieng **kan** ‘to take, accept’) (#1134 ***pgan**).

‘Old’: Old Mon **pju**, Modern Mon **pyùʔ** ‘to be old, aged, dilapidated’, Bahnar **tsə** ‘old, antiquated, dilapidated’, probably Palaung **jo** ‘lifetime’ (#57 ***pjooʔ**).

‘Kind of yam’: Mon **kətət** id., Khmer **kda:t** ‘Arum indicum’ (#1011 ***kdaat**).

‘To rub’: Middle Mon **jwīt** ‘to pass one’s hand over’, Modern Mon **hwīt** ‘to stroke’, Khmer **bɿt** ‘to rub on, apply’ (#1036 ***cbiit**).

‘Hibiscus’: Mon **[kao]** **hwèa** id., Khmer **cba:** ‘Hibiscus rosa-sinensis’ (#1646 ***cbaar**).

Clusters of this type are reconstructed wherever there are voicing discrepancies between appropriate languages. The reconstruction of ***C₁** may then depend on affixed forms, or in some cases be arbitrary. Thus:

‘Ladder’: Stieng **ghu:ŋ**, Chrau **gu:ŋ** id., Biat **gu:ŋ**, Bahnar **ku:ŋ** ‘ladder, stair’, Jeh, Halang **gùaŋ** ‘house-ladder’ (#515 ***[c]guuŋ**). ***c-**, which probably accounts for the Stieng aspiration, is supported by an affixed form in Khs.

‘Kind of hornbill’: Khmer **[sat kaɛŋ]** **kə:k** (T.), Riag-Lang **[klaŋ]** **_kok**, Khasi **koh-[karang &c.]**, Proto-Semai with voicing metathesis ***dkuuk** (#284 ***tgɔk**).

The next item assumes borrowing from Jeh to account for Bahnar **g-**. Mon shows the same sporadic loss of ***C₁** as was seen in ***tkɔɔʔ** (#23), ***pkaaw** (#1819).

‘Fork, clamp, to clamp’: Mon **kèp** (!) ‘fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride’, Khmer **ka:p** ‘frame, cramp-iron, tongs, (beside **kì:əp** ‘to press, squeeze’ by levelling on der.), Stieng **ga:p** ‘to take in tongs, clamp’, Sre **gap** ‘to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]’, Jeh **ga:p** ‘to hold with slit stick’ (→ Bahnar **ga:p** ‘to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fix with clamp’), Palaung **gap** ‘to affix’, Vietnamese **cáp** ‘to edge mat; rim, edge’ (#1242 ***[t]gap**, ***[t]gaap**). The Sre short vowel is further evidence for ***CC-**.

Cf. also (for ***cg-**) #514, #515, #1237, #1449, #1581a;

(***tg-**) #248, #516, #517, #893a, #1242;

(***pg-**) #518, #1133, #1134;

(***kj-**) #52, #1335, #1461, #1608;

(***tj-**) #54, #895, #1336;

(***pj-**) #57, #1150, #1728;

(***kd-**) #82, #574, #576, #577, #1011, #1012, #1628, #1745;

(***td-**) #83;

(***pd-**) #84;

(***cb-**) #1036, #1485, #1646, #1742;

(***tb-**) #364, #907, #1646a, #1763.

(***kb-**) #1484.

2.1.3 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiceless

The opposite voicing discrepancy—Khmer chest register and/or Bahnar voiced initial against voiceless-initial reflexes in other languages—leads to the reconstruction of the third type of plosive sequence. ***C₁** is preserved in Khmer in about one item in three, the evidence again suggesting a tendency—not a rule—to retain back consonants but not front ones; ***j** before plosive > Khmer **s**, **Ø**. The sequence is preserved in about half the items in Khs.; specifically ***dk-** > **dkh-**, ***bc-** > **bs-**, but ***dc-** > **s-**, ***dp-** > **ph-**; the occurrences are too few to be certain that these developments are regular. Note that ***d**, ***b** at ***C₁**, when retained, are not devoiced as in ***CVC** structure. So far as the evidence goes, these sequences are again preserved in Temiar (but not apparently always in all Aslian languages). A voiced plosive is lost before a voiceless one in Mon; ***p** at ***C₂** is then preserved.

Reconstructions are straightforward where the sequence is directly attested in Khmer, Khasi or Aslian

‘White, clean’: Mon **koh** ‘to be white’, Khmer **skùh** ‘pure white’, Sre **kuh** ‘pale grey’, Bahnar dialects gu:ah ‘clean, white’ (#1971 ***jkuh**, ***jkuəh**).

‘To adjoin, adhere’: Old Mon **cap** ‘to adhere’, Modern Mon **cəp** id., **cip** ‘to be set edge to edge’, Khmer **cəp** ‘to adhere’, Sre, Biat **cap** ‘to fasten together’, Bahnar **ji:p** ‘joined edge to edge’, Palaung **siəp** ‘to pile neatly...’, Riang-Lang **sap** ‘to put in, on’, Khasi **bsap** ‘to mix with, to insert’ **bsiap** (beside **siap**; c.f., or by back-formation) ‘to put between two things, insert’, Vietnamese **chấp** ‘to join, assemble’ (#1254 ***bcap** &c.).

‘Snail’: Mon **taoʔ**, Temiar **gatūʔ** (#71 ***gtooʔ**).

‘(To) thunder’: Khmer **khtə̀** ‘to reverberate’, Stieng **tə:rh**, Chrau **tər** ‘thunder’, Biat **[tah] tər** ‘(to) thunder’ (#1622 ***gtər**; Bahnar **tə:r** ‘thunderclap; [lightning] to strike’ is likely to be a loan from Jeh/Halang, though the etymon is not recorded).

‘To burst, explode, pustulate’: Khmer **phtùh** ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’, Stieng **təh** ‘spark, to give off sparks; (in compounds) eruptive infection’, Sre **təh** ‘eruption’, Chrau **təh** ‘pimple’, Bahnar **do:h** ‘to explode’, **du:h** ‘pus, to suppurate’, (W.) **dəh**, Lawa Bo Luang **teh**, Lawa Umpai **thias** (!) ‘to give off sparks’, Palaung **teh** ‘[lightning] to strike, [gun] to go off’ (#2008 ***bt₁uh** &c.). The implication of earlier voicing in Lawa suggests borrowing from Bahnar (!); contrast Lawa Umpai **koʔ** ‘body’ < #20 ***jkooʔ**, **kəic** ‘hot...’ < #803 ***[b]kuc**, ***[b]kuuc**.

One widely distributed item causes difficulty. From Old Mon **piñ**, Modern Mon **pəiŋ**, Khmer **pəj** ‘(to be) full’, Sre **piŋ** ‘to overflow’, Bahnar **be:j** ‘full’, Khasi **phoiñ** ‘entirely’ it is possible to construct ***[d]pəj** &c. (#907). But Stieng **biʔi:ŋ**, Sre **bi:ŋ**, Chrau **ve:j**, Biat **be:ŋ**, Jeh **bij** ‘full’, Halang **bì:ŋ** ‘full of water, can be reconciled with this on the assumption of borrowing of this core item from Bahnar into Jeh/Halang and from Bahnar or Khmer into Proto-South Bahnaric. However, Temiar has **təbik**, with a consonantism consistent throughout Central Aslian. Rather it is preferable to assume doublets at PMK level in ***dp-**, ***tb-** by voicing shift (note Sre doublets: **piŋ**, **bi:ŋ**); and I do so.

Cf. also (for ***jk-**) #20, #504, #1817, #1971;

(***dk-**) #892, #1129, #1711, #1237, #1446, #1570, #1972, #1973;

(***bk-**) #803, #1571, #1712;

(***dc-**) #1144, #1329;

(***bc-**) #532, #1245, #1246, #1599;

(***gt-**) #71, #1010, #1622, #1623;

(***jt-**) #318, #558, #1257, #1902;

(***bt-**) #74, #562, #563, #1156, #1352, #1468, #1738, #2008;

(***dp-**) #907, #1027, #1028, #1168, #1468, #1759.

(***gs-**) #1102.

2.1.4 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiced

It follows from the last three sections that a sequence of two voiced plosives should be reconstructed when, given evidence of a plosive sequence as such, Khmer and/or Bahnar is in agreement with other languages in having a voiced-initial reflex. The four types of plosive sequence yield e.g. the following correspondences:

PMK	Mon	Khm.
voiceless + voiceless	head register	head register
voiceless + voiced	chest register	head register
voiced + voiceless	head register	chest register
voiced + voiced	chest register	chest register

*C₁ is preserved in Khmer more often than not; there are doublets, **k-** ~ **phk-**, &c., in about a quarter of the instances; *j before voiced plosive > Khmer **s-**. So far as the evidence goes, *C₁ appears to be preserved in Aslian. The case of Mon requires discussion.

*b following voiced plosive usually > Old Mon **w**, Modern Mon **w**, as following voiceless plosive. Correspondents reflecting other C₂ are hard to find unless we assume that the sequences were preserved in Old Mon with inserted vowel (actual Old Mon attestations are wanting). The Old Mon initial plosive whether voiced or voiceless would yield Middle Mon voiceless plosive (also in infixed forms) by a voicing distribution rule, thence Modern Mon **h-**. It cannot be proved that such Modern Mon forms do not always reflect affixed protoforms, but the development would be solidary with that of *Cb-. We shall adopt the hypothesis.

We may then cite:

‘Molar, jaw’: Khmer **thkì:əm** ‘molar’, Stieng **gɔ:m** id., **ga:m** ‘jawbone’, Biat **gam** ‘molar’, Vietnamese **cằm** ‘chin’ (#1318 ***dgam** &c.).

‘Stump, log’: Middle Mon **taguiw**, Modern Mon **həkè** ‘stump’, Khmer **kùəl** ‘id., floating log’, Biat **gəl** ‘log (nq.)’ (#1719 ***d₂gəl** &c.).

‘To emit smoke’: Mon **həkùì** ‘to smoulder, smoke’, Temiar **bəguy** ‘[smoke] to waft’ (#1450 ***bguy**).

‘Solid’: Khmer **cəp**, **khcəp** ‘solid, enduring’, Stieng **jap** ‘solid’, Bahnar **[kəjap]** **jap**, **yap** (with variant **y-** in juncture?) ‘very solid’ (#1248 ***gjap**).

‘Bad’: Kuy **cù:**, Rōngao **co:** (!), Palaung **jo**, Praok **caw**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **bajaw** (#58 ***bjoo?** &c.; Khmer **cè:** ‘to rebuke, insult’ is connected with a front-vowel var.).

‘To gather together’: Khmer **cùm**, **phcùm** id., Stieng dial. **jɔ:m[ja:l]** ‘to meet (together)’, Vietnamese **chùm** ‘to assemble, join, gather’ (#1338 ***bjum** &c.). Jeh **yum** ‘to pick up in a bunch’, Halang **yu:m** ‘to gather together’ may be cognate or may reflect a nasal-infix form.

‘Hut, room’: obsolescent Mon **hətòm** ‘room’, Khmer **khtò:m** ‘hut, shelter’ (#1359 ***gdɔəm**).

‘Walling material’: Mon **hətəŋ** ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’ Khmer **phtəŋ** ‘panel, leaf, partition’ (#580 ***bdaŋ**).

‘Paddy-bin’: Mon **kwàŋ** ‘large wicker basket for storing paddy’, Khmer **pò:ŋ** ‘paddy store under house’, Sre **boŋ** **[ko:y]**, Bahnar **buŋ** ‘paddy-bin in granary’, Palaung **buŋ** ‘receptacle’ (#627 ***gb[o]ŋ**; velar initial confirmed by loans in western Austronesian languages).

‘To climb, scale’: Old Mon **dwān** ‘to assault, march against’, Modern Mon **kwàn** ‘to climb’ (Literary Mon **dwān** also ‘to assault’), Khmer **pì:ən** ‘to climb, to march against’ (#1175 ***dbaan**).

But Literary Mon **bañ** **[bway]** ‘marshy pool’ reflects ***db-**, or perhaps ***tb-**, on the

evidence of affixed forms in Khmer and South Bahnaric with Lawa and Vietnamese cognates (#628 *[d]baŋ[] &c.).

Cf. also (for *bg-) #1320, #1450;

(*bj-) #58, #1338, #1823;

(*gb-) #627, #1645;

(*jb-) #363, #1173, #1174, #1486;

(*db-) #628, #629, #1175.

Ambiguous reconstructions, implying *b or *ɓ, are made in #1035 (*g[b]-), #1834 (*d[b]-).

2.1.5 Other consonant + plosive

In this section we discuss sequences of liquid; *s; nasal; and glottal stop, followed by plosive in each case. The order is one of convenience.

(a) **Liquid + plosive.** Sequences of this type are not very frequent, to which circumstance their observable liability to metathesis may well contribute. But the opposite metathesis of the high-frequency sequence type plosive + liquid is to be found especially in Bahnaric, where it is favoured by the pattern generated by related sequences + *r- infix.

*l appears to be lost in all languages least before voiceless plosive, except perhaps in Aslian. Such reconstructions then depend on the evidence of affixed and metathetic forms.

‘To be broken, split in two’: Old Mon *pāk* ‘to be shattered’, Modern Mon *paik* ‘to split’, Khmer *baek* ‘broken’, *bak*, Stieng *pak* ‘to break’, Sre *pa?* ‘id. (v.i.t.)’, [tam] *pa*: ‘to share out’, Chrau *pa?* id., *pa?* ‘to snap, break off’, Rōngao *pak* ‘[cord &c.] to break’, Jeh *pa:k* ‘to split’, Theng *pāk* ‘to break (v.t.)’, Khasi *phiah* ‘to split,’ (#352 **lpak* &c.; note for **lp-* Old Mon *l/ur/pek* ‘either of two sides’, Khmu Yuan *tə-lpak* ‘to break (v.t.)’; Riang-Lang *pliek* ‘(to) crack’ may reflect a metathetic **pliək*).

‘To separate, pick’: Mon *pōh* ‘to be displaced’, Khmer *beh* ‘to pick, pluck’, East Bahnar *pe:h*, West Bahnar *pe?* ‘id., to strip, peel, scale’, Palaung *peh*, Praok *pe*, Lawa Bo Luang *pəih*, Vietnamese *bề* ‘to pick, pluck’ (#2030 **lpiəh*; ~ **pliəh*, in Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric; note also from an infixed form Middle Mon *lapah* [ket] ‘to pick up’).

Kensiu *lätig* ‘tongue’ < #320 **ntaak* may reflect secondary **l* < **n*, attested also in Palaung and Nicobarese Cf. further (for **lt-*,) #322; (**lp-*) #352, #354, #616, #2030, #2030a.

**l* + voiced plosive is attested by simple forms only in #1921 **[l]baas*. (Old Mon, which preserves **r* in the parallel sequences, has one provisionally read instance of *lj-* in (*l*)*ja* ‘to halt, rest’.)

Sequences of **r* + voiced plosive are demonstrably preserved, as sequences, in Old Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Lawa and Khasi **r* then > Jeh, Khasi *l*; Proto-Waic **r* > Lawa Umpai *ra-*, Lawa Mae Sariang *ya-* (and BL *ʔa-*, Praok *si-*). Old Mon *r-* is lost in Modern Mon except that Old Mon *rj-* > Modern Mon *s-*, with chest register.

‘To shake’: Chrau *rəgu:*, Biat *rgu:* v.t., Lawa Umpai *rakhoh*, Lawa Mae Sariang *yakuh* v.i. (#30 **rguu?* &c.).

‘Cart’: Khmer *rətəh*, Stieng *rədəh*, Kontum Bahnar *rədə:h* (#2011 **rdeh*).

‘Firm, secure’: Old Mon *rbin*, Modern Mon *pən* id., Khasi *lpan* ‘stoutly’, Mường *pèn*, Vietnamese *bền* ‘durable’ (#1176 **rbin* &c.).

Riang-Lang has **_pat** ‘to fan, winnow...’ < #1037 ***rbət**, but the affixed form **_smpat** ‘flail, fan; to thresh, beat’ suggests an intermediate secondary ***tbət**.

Cf. also (for ***rg-**) 29, #1452; (***rj-**; by metathesis) #172; (***rb-**) #118, #1037, #1176, and ambiguously ***r[b]-** in #366.

For the treatment of ***r** + voiceless plosive the evidence is both patchier and less conclusive. It suggests that in Bahnaric and Waic, perhaps Palaungic generally, the sequences are normally preserved but ***C₁** lost in compounded forms.

Two metathetic items may be Bahnaric (or in the first case South Bahnaric) innovations. We have Sre **rəkiat**, Biat **rciat** ‘to grind, creak, gnash’ < #1064 ***rkiət**, ~ ***kriət**; and Chrau **rətīəŋ** ‘giant reed’, Bahnar dialects **rətē:ŋ** &c. ‘kind of reed’ < #693 ***rt₁iəŋ**, ~ ***tr₁iəŋ**.

To #1820 ***rk[aw]ʔ** ‘husked rice’ we must certainly refer Rieng-Lang **ʔkoʔ** id. and Khasi **khaw** ‘rice’. Lawa Bo Luang **ʔakauʔ**, Lawa Umpai **rakoʔ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yakoʔ** cannot, and Palaung **rəko** probably cannot, be referred to the nasal-infix form attested by e.g. Praok **gaw** and Khmu Yuan **rəŋkoʔ**, and with reserve we refer them to the simplex. The relevance of compounding to the foregoing is seen in #2009 ***rt₁ah** ‘to explode’, with its Biat doublets: **rtah** ‘to burst’, **tah** [tər] ‘(to) thunder’, Bahnar **ta:ih** (contrast **rətē:ŋ**, above) ‘[lightning] to strike’, Praok **tu** ‘to flash’ (or < ***btuuh**), Lawa Bo Luang [taʔ] **təuh**, Lawa Umpai **təs** [taʔ], Lawa Mae Sariang **toih** [taʔ] ‘lightning’. Cf. further for ***rk-** #1446a, #1820, for ***rt-** #565, #693, #2009.

For ***rp-** we have two items which are difficult to interpret. In Old Mon *rwaw* ‘weapon’, Khmer **rəbəh** ‘thing, gear, tool...’ < #1917 ***rp[ɔ]s**, Old Mon may have *w* by analogy if ***rp[ɔ]s** is a nominal formation from an unattested verbal root ***r[ɔ]s**. #1918 ***rpuus** &c. apparently yields Mon **puh** [toa] ‘index finger’: Sre [ti] **poa**, Bahnar dialects [kɔ:n] **pɔ:ih** ‘fourth finger’; but **puh** may rather be a byform of **kəpuh** ‘index finger’ < Old Mon *r/wñ/pus* [tey].

(b) ***s + plosive**. ***s** is preserved before plosive in Old Mon and except before a palatal one in Khmer; in Khasi we have dialectal **shk-** < ***sk-** in one item, but before voiced plosive ***s** is lost. Old Mon *s-* is lost in Modern Mon except that (i) Old Mon *sc-* > Modern Mon *s-*; (ii) ***sp-** > (Old Mon *sw-* >) Modern Mon **hw-** /**ɸ**/. Khmer shows sporadic, not regular, devoicing of a voiced plosive following ***s** (cf. the treatment following voiceless plosive), issuing in head register.

In other languages, including Temiar, ***s** appears to be lost; except that ***sk-** yields Palaungic **kh-**, perhaps reflecting a regular metathesis. We do not find the corresponding development in other sequences of the type.

‘Companion, company’: Old Mon *sko* ‘company’, Stieng **kɔ:u** ‘together, with, and’, Synteng Khasi **shkaw** ‘spouse’ (24 ***skɔʔ**).

‘Chaff’: Mon, Theng **kam**, Palaung **kham**, Rieng-Lang **ʔkham**, Vietnamese *cám* (#1313 ***skaamʔ**). Khmer **ʔəŋka:m** suggests a reconstruction ***h/n/k-**, but is perhaps borrowed by an obscure route from Khmu (Khmu Yuan **həŋka:m**); ***s-** is assured by the loanword *səkam* in Malay.

‘Kind of millet’: Khmer **sku:əy** ‘Job’s tears’, Rieng-Lang [ʔkəy] **ʔkhuay** ‘Panicum millet’ (#1447 ***skuəy**).

‘To shine’: Literary Mon *sān* id., Khmer **caen** ‘shining’ (#535 ***scaen**; **sc-** does not occur in Khmer!).

‘Right-hand’: Old Mon *stūm*, Khmer *sdam*, Palaung [i]təm, Lawa Bo Luang [ka]tam, Lawa Umpai təm, Mường tām, Temiar təp (#1309 *st₁am &c.).

‘Thatching-grass’: Mon [nəm] hwp?, Khmer sbo:v (#106 *spu?; *s—rather than *c—seems to follow from Central Nicobarese fo ‘thatch’).

‘To be cut short, to cut’: Old Mon *sgūt* ‘to be interrupted, cut short’, Khmer *skat* ‘to interrupt, to take a short cut, (→ Biat *kat* ‘to decide judicially, to take a short cut?’), Theng *gūt* ‘to cut down’, Khasi *kut* ‘to come to an end’, Vietnamese *cụt* ‘to be too short, to be crippled’, Temiar *gəd* ‘to cut’ (972 *sguut &c.). Khmer has head register < *sb- < *sḃ- in 1493; contrast the register in the next item.

‘Drum’: Khmer *skə̀*, Biat *gər* id., Palaung *gər* ‘noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]’ (1584 *sgər; *s is assured by an Old Mon affixed form).

Cf. also (for *sk-) #24, #1313, #1447, #1572, #1573;

(*st-) #73, #75, #567, #1353;

(*sp-) #106, #618;

(*sg-) #972, #1584, #1721, #1980;

(*sd-) #1629;

Praok, Lawa Bo Luang *kh-* < *sk- are attested in #24.

Ambiguous reconstructions are relatively numerous, mainly owing to difficulty in determining whether *s or *c should be reconstructed at *C₁. Cf. (for *[s]t-) #75, #568; (*[s]p-) #602, #996; (*[s]j-) #1731; (*[s][d]-) #2012.

(c) *Homorganic nasal + plosive*. Reconstructions of nasal-plosive sequences are to be expected on general grounds, as the counterpart of similar sequences involving other classes of *C₂. They fit conveniently into Austric comparative theory as correspondents of Austronesian reduplicate bases of the type of *k’ink’in ‘ring’ (Shorto 1976b:97,102). However, there are difficulties, in a not copious inventory, in reconciling all the apparent correspondences. Different sets are to be stated for sequences with voiceless and those with voiced plosive; in the case of the latter there are further irregularities, which may call for the reconstruction of a different type of sequence in some items or perhaps reflect otherwise irrecoverable differences of articulation point of the original nasal.

The starting-point for all these reconstructions is the supposed Old Mon prenasalized plosives, represented variously by spellings of the type of *’b-* ~ *mb-* ~ *’amb-*. We begin with the voiceless-plosive set.

Sequences of homorganic nasal + voiceless plosive are preserved as such in Old Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Stieng, Khmu Yuan, Waic, Aslian (on the evidence of Skeat and Blagden), and Nicobarese Old Mon voiceless prenasalized plosive yields Middle Mon *la-* + plosive, Modern Mon *kə-*, before *k tə-*, with occasional byforms without presyllable. Khmer has sequences of the type *ʔənd-* etc., Khmu Yuan correspondingly *hənt-* etc. (and Nicobarese preserves a first-syllable vowel). Proto-Waic prenasalized voiceless plosive loses its nasal element in Lawa Bo Luang, is voiced in the other two dialects, and is voiced with loss of the nasal element in Praok

The nasal is lost in Stieng and Rieng-Lang Vietnamese has the corresponding nasal with a high tone in one case and a low in another. Bahnar loses the nasal, Jeh apparently the plosive, but both develop initial *h* as in Khmu Yuan (so that common protoforms might be set up for North Bahnaric-Khmu). The Palaung and Khasi reflexes are not known.

‘Digit’: Mon **ken**, **taken** ‘finger, toe’, Praok **gen** ‘finger’, Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdɔih] **kəuŋ**, Lawa Umpai **ŋɡuən** [teʔ] ‘thumb’, Vietnamese *ngón* ‘finger, toe’ (#1128 ***ŋkiən** [] &c.).

‘(Kind of) owl’: Chrau **nko**: ‘screech-owl’, Stieng **kəu**, Sak. **ŋkō** ‘owl’ (#1816 ***ŋk[awʔ]**).

‘Ring’: Middle Mon *lacin*, Modern Mon **kəcin**, Khmer **ʔəŋciən** (→ Stieng **nciən**), Lawa Umpai **ŋjaim**, Vietnamese *nhẫn* (#1145 ***nciin** [] &c.).

‘Hole, pit’: Khmer **ʔəndau** ‘ditch, hole, cave’, Stieng **tù**: ‘deep ditch or hole’, Chrau **ntu**: ‘well, water-hole’, Biat **ntu**: ‘hole’, West Bahnar **hətū** ‘deep hole’, Khmu Yuan **həntuʔ**, Riang-Lang **tuʔ**, Praok **daə** ‘hole’ (#72 ***nt₁uuʔ**).

‘Tongue’: Mon **kətaik** (?), Khmer **ʔənda:t** (by assimilation), Khmu Yuan **hənta:k**, Riang-Lang **tək**, Praok **dak**, Lawa Bo Luang **tak**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **ndak** (#320 ***nt₁aak**; Mon perhaps reflects var. ***l/n/taak**, cf. Temiar **lenta:g**).

‘(To) dream’: Old Mon *‘ampo’* n., Modern Mon **kəpəʔ**, Sre **mpao** v., Bahnar **(h)apō** ‘prophetic dream’, Jeh **hmòʔ** ‘to dream’, Khmu Yuan **həmpoʔ**, Central Nicobarese **enfu:ə** n.v. (#105 ***mp[ɔ]ʔ**)

In #1327 ***ncim** &c. ‘to eat, to feed’ Mon and Khmer reflect ***nc-**, but Bahnaric and Palaungic similarly show reflexes associated with ***c-**; we reconstruct ***cuum** etc., ***cim cim** > ***ncim**. But it is conceivable that all the forms might be referred to a sequence ***mc-**.

Cf. for ***nt-** also #72, #320, #561.

What are presumed to be sequences of homorganic nasal + voiced plosive give rise to two distinct sets of reflexes in Khmer and South Bahnaric. So far as the evidence goes they are complementarily distributed; but it is hard to see how the difference might arise from the environment. In the attestations the sequences ***ŋg-**, ***nd-** are preserved; but the nasal element of ***nj-**, ***mb-** is lost.

For other languages the evidence is incomplete; we find the sequence preserved in Old Mon and Lawa; Old Mon /**ŋg**, **ŋj**, **mb**/ > Modern Mon **ŋ-**, **y-**, **m-** ~ **b-**, with chest register. The nasal is lost in North Bahnaric and Temiar. Vietnamese has usually the corresponding nasal, but with variant (South Vietnamese) /y/ from the palatal. Palaung has in one item **y-** < ***ŋj-**.

(Type 1) ‘to sit down’: Khmer **ʔəŋkùy**, Sre **ŋguy**, Mường, Vietnamese *ngồi*, Semai **gə:y** (#1448 ***ŋguy**).

‘Eel’: Khmer **ʔəntùəŋ**, Stieng **ndhu:-**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **ndu-** (#579 ***nduŋ** &c.).

(Type 2) ‘sickness, to be sick’: Old Mon *ʔey* v. = *ʔañjey* n., Modern Mon **yòə** n.v., Khmer **chù:** (!), Chrau **ji:** v., Sre **ji** n., Biat **ji:** n.v., Bahnar **jiʔ**, Jeh **jì:ʔ**, Halang **jìʔ** v., Temiar **jiʔ** (#55 ***ŋjiiʔ**).

‘Dark in colour’: Mon **yòm** id., Khmer **cəəm** ‘discoloured, stained, bruised...’, Palaung **yəm** ‘black, swarthy’, Mường **giòm** ‘black’ (#1337 ***ŋjum** &c.).

‘Negligent’: Old Mon *ʔbāy*, Khmer **pì:əy-**[**ŋì:əy**] id., Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **mbia**, Lawa Mae Sariang **mbuai** ‘to forget, leave behind’ (#1487 ***mbaay**).

Cf. also (for ***mb-**) #117, #365;

(***ŋg-**) #1448, #1591, #1720;

(***nj-**) #55, #56, #811, #1330, #1337;

(***nd-**) #579.

(d) **ʔ + plosive*. With the exception of **ʔb-*, for which we have reasonably coherent evidence, reconstructions of this type of sequence rest on evidence which is more or less anecdotal. We shall take **ʔb-* first.

**ʔb-* is reconstructed from (i) reflexes associated with **p-* in Khmer, South Bahnaric, and (with *sắc* tone) in Vietnamese; (ii) with **b-* in Riang-Lang but (iii) with **b-* in Khasi and probably Khmu Yuan, and with either in North Bahnaric, the rest of Palaungic, and Aslian; and (iv) with **mb-* in Mon (The occurrence of a glottal coarticulation in Old Mon prenasalized plosives is suggested both by the spelling and by the development of *b-* as a variant—perhaps originally sentence-initial, since it is found only in nouns and especially in those used as terms of address—from **mb-*.) We have three items.

‘Father’: Old Mon *ʔbaʔ*, Modern Mon *mèʔ* ‘father’, *bèʔ* peremptory term of address to males, Khmer *ba*: ‘father esp. of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation’ (→ Stieng *ba*: onomastic prefix for elder males?), Bahnar *baʔ*, (Röngao *maʔ*), Jeh *ba:ʔ*, Halang *baʔ*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sarian *puaʔ*, Lawa Umpai *phuaʔ*, Khasi *pa* ‘father’ (#112 **ʔbaaʔ*).

‘To suck at the breast’: Old Mon *ʔbow*, Modern Mon *mèa*, Khmer *bau*, Sre *pouʔ*, Chrau, Biat *pu:*, Jeh *buʔ* id., Khmu Yuan *pùʔ* ‘breast’, Palaung *bu*, Riang-Lang *ʔbuʔ* n.v., Vietnamese *bú* v., Che’ Wong (North Aslian) *buʔ* n.v. (#114 **ʔbuuʔ*).

‘To kneel’: Old Mon *ʔbār*, Modern Mon *mèa*, Khasi *par* id., Vietnamese *bái* ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 **ʔbaar*).

Two reconstructions involving voiceless plosives are made on the strength of variant spellings with *ʔ* in Old Khmer; to which can be added one where the closely related Kuy has *ʔat-*. In the first of these Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*c-* corresponds to Riang-Lang high-tone *c-*, as from **kc-*.

‘Old’: Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*cas*, Modern Khmer *cah*, Stieng *ce:h*, Riang-Lang *ʔcaʔ* (#1891 **ʔcas* &c.).

Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*t-* > Modern Khmer *t-* (whereas **t-* > Khmer *d-*); in the other languages cited in the next item **ʔt-* merges with **t-*.

‘Male elder’: late Old Mon *ta*, Modern Mon *taʔ* ‘father’, Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*tā* ‘old man’, Modern Khmer *ta*: ‘grandfather’, Stieng *ta*: onomastic prefix for junior males, Khmu Yuan *taʔ*, Praok *ta* ‘grandfather’, Palaung *ta* ‘master, grandfather’, Riang-Lang *ʔtaʔ* id., ‘husband’, Lawa *taʔ* ‘grandfather, old man’, Temiar *ta:ʔ* ‘sir’ (#68 **ʔtaʔ*).

‘Afraid, to fear’: Kuy *ʔatu:ŋ*, Khasi *tieng* (Mnar *tyoŋ*), Temiar *tu:k* (#552 **ʔtuuŋ*; the unexpected Khasi vocalism may result from the initial).

In #529, #1987 **ʔc-* is tentatively reconstructed to account for correspondences of Khmer *c-* to *c-* in South Bahnaric (as from **kc-* etc.); cf. also #46. **t-* is tentatively reconstructed to account for Khmer *t-* in #550, #1346.

2.2.1 Voiceless plosive + glottalized consonant

Sequences involving glottalized consonants have a plosive as the first member in some eight-ninths of all instances; and in about three-quarters of these cases the plosive is a voiceless one. Generally, the reconstruction of **d̥* or **b̥* at *C*₂ depends on the same languages—Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi, Viet-Mường—as at *C*₁ in **CVC* structures (section 1.3). Sequences **kd̥-* etc. are preserved as sequences in Old and Middle Mon (the initial consonant being lost in modern Mon) and normally in Khasi.

Such sequences are also to be reconstructed when evidence of a glottalized consonant in a criterion language coincides with evidence of a sequence in a language which merges glottalized consonants and voiced plosives: generally Khmer, in one instance Chrau (with **j-** < **kḍ-**); cf. section 2.1.2. Note that in Bahnar the reflexes of ***ḍ** ***ḍ**, unlike those of voiced plosives, are not devoiced following voiceless plosive. Distinctive evidence may also be derived from the South Bahnaric reflexes of related nasal-infix forms.

Mon and/or Khasi initial clusters are seen in the following examples.

‘Bamboo-joint’: Middle Mon *kḍon* ‘areca-nut container’, Modern Mon **ḍaŋ** ‘bamboo tube’, **ḍoŋ** ‘bamboo-joint used to hold liquids’, Sre **ḍiŋ**, Biat **ḍuŋ** (& Chrau (Blood 1966) **ḍiŋ** by interdialectal borrowing) ‘tube’, Stieng **ḍi:ŋ**, Bahnar **ḍi:ŋ**, Jeh **ḍiŋ** ‘bamboo tube’, Halang **ḍi:ŋ** ‘water-pipe’, Palaung **ḍiŋ** ‘bamboo container for liquids’, Khasi ‘*dong*’ ‘short pipe, betel-case’ (#903 ***kḍiŋ** &c.). Khasi here has a compounding form, therefore simple initial. Khmer **taoŋ** ‘cask’ is probably a loan from Malay *tong*.

‘To break, snap’: Mon **ḍek** [**pru?**] v.i., Khasi *kḍiah* v.t. (#331 ***[k]ḍ[ai]k**).

‘Span’: Middle Mon *cḍa*, Modern Mon **ḍa?**, Bahnar dialects **ḍā**, Khasi *tda* (#89 ***cḍa?**).

‘Wet’: Middle Mon *tḍek*, Modern Mon **ḍeak**, Khmer **tətùk** (#339 ***tḍiək** &c.).

‘Umbrella’: Old Mon *tḍon*, Modern Mon **ḍaŋ**, Khmer (!) **taŋ-**, **təəŋ-[yù:]**, Stieng **do:ŋ** [**iu:**], Biat **ḍo:ŋ** [**yu:**] id., Palaung **ḍoŋ** quantifier for umbrellas (#586 ***tḍuŋ** &c.).

‘Stalk, tail’: Khmu Yuan **tḍ:ŋ** ‘tail of bird’, Khasi *tdong* ‘tail’ (#585 ***tḍoŋ**).

‘To have in one’s mouth’: Khmer **biəm** ‘to hold in mouth, suck’, Chrau **ve:m** ‘to suck in mouth’, **vum** ‘mouthful [of rice wine]’, Riang-Lang **ḥum** ‘to hold in mouth’, Khasi *kbum* ‘to close one’s lips’, Vietnamese *móm-mém* ‘to mumble, chew’ (#1375 ***kḍiim** &c.).

‘Bamboo shoots’: Old Mon *tḍan*, Modern Mon **beŋ**, Stieng **ba:ŋ** id., Biat **ban** ‘shoots’, Palaung **bəŋ**, Lawa, BL **poŋ**, Lawa Umpai **phoŋ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **phoŋ**, **phuŋ**, Vietnamese *măng* [*tre*] ‘bamboo shoots’ (#636 ***tḍaŋ**).

In the next group of examples the evidence for a sequence lies in Khmer (as a voicing discrepancy where **C₁** is not preserved; cf. section 2.1.2); or, in the last item, in Chrau.

‘To nip off with one’s nails’: Mon **ḍoik**, Khmer **kdec ktic** (#819 ***kḍ[ə]c**).

‘Dipper, ladle’: Khmer **baoy**, Palaung **boy**, Riang-Lang **ḥoe**, Vietnamese *môi* (#1491 ***kḍooy**). ***k-** is established here from the loanword Thai **krăbuay**.

‘To withdraw’: Mon **bot** ‘to draw out, unsheathe’, Khmer **baoc** ‘to pull out’ (#831 ***cḍooc**). Here ***c-** is established from parallel western Austronesian forms: Malay *chabut*, etc.

‘To cook’: Chrau **jaŋ**, Riang-Lang **ḍəŋ** (#583 ***kḍaŋ**).

In addition to ***pḍ-**, I provisionally reconstruct ***p[ḍ]-** on the basis of two equations that suggest that the normal reflex in Khmer and Bahnaric is **pr-**.

‘Dry season’: Old Khmer *prañ*, Modern Khmer **praŋ** id., Sre, Chrau **praŋ** ‘dry weather’, Vietnamese *nắng* ‘sunshine, to be sunny’ (#588 ***p[ḍ]aŋ**).

‘Five’: Old Khmer *prañ*, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pram**, Mường *ḍăm*, Vietnamese *năm* (#1363 ***p[ḍ]am**).

[End of manuscript—Eds.]

Part 3 Comparative Dictionary

1 *ʔiʔ; *hiʔ we.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *ìʔ*, Palaung *ɛ*, Riang-Lang *ṽeʔ*, Praok *e*, Lawa *ʔeʔ* we (*plural*), Temiar *ʔɛʔ* we (*inclusive*).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *hai*, Stieng *he:i*, Biat *he: I*, Central Rölöm *hi: we* (*exclusive*), Bunör *he:*, Kensiu *heʔ*, Semai I *hi:ʔ*, Semelai *he:ʔ* we (*inclusive*), Central Nicobarese *hē* we (*dual*), *he:* we (*plural*).

B perhaps by prefixation, cf. PINNOW 1959 78. Cf. 150 *y[ee]ʔ.

(SHAFFER 1965 286; BLOOD 1966 181; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 52.)

†2 *ʔiiʔ person.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon *ʔey /ʔɔy/*, Modern Mon *oa*, Proto-Nyah Kur **ʔəy/*ʔwəy* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N263; favours **ʔay!*), Stieng *i:*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaiʔ I* (originally *this person*, cf. below), Palaung *i-* (in *ime* *male*, *ipən* *woman*), Riang-Lang *ṽiʔ* *person, human being*, Khasi *i* *he, she, it*, Kensiu *yeʔ*, Temiar *ye:ʔ*, Semaq Beri *ye:h I*.

Connect as suffixed or sandhi-forms (i: Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) ad **ʔiiʔ-nih* *this person*, Old Khmer *añ*, Modern Khmer, Stieng *ʔaɲ* (BLOOD 1966), Sre *aɲ*, Chrau *aɲ*, *iɲ*, Bahnar *iɲ*, Che' Wong, Semai I *ʔiɲ*, Semelai *ʔəɲ I*; (ii: North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) ad **ʔiiʔ-ʔ[ʷə]ʔ* *this person*, Jeh, Halang *aw*, Kammu-Yuan *òʔ*, Palaung *ɔ*, Riang-Lang *ṽoʔ*, Praok *aə*, Lawa Umphai *ʔauʔ*, Mae Sarian *ʔauʔ* I. Cf. further 110 *bu[u]ʔ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFFER 1965 523; BLOOD 1966 378; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1, 3) Kharia *iɲ*, *iɲ I*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 402; ad i).

Proto-Austronesian **ia* *he, she, it*: Malay *ia*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, **ija*^c; DYEN 1953 § 56; DAHL 1973 § 13.6, &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 209-10.

3 *ʔaʔ at.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *a:* *from*, Biat *a:*, West Bahnar *ā*, *ah* *at* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

4 *[]ʔaʔ we two.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *àʔ*, Praok *a*.

Connect 1439 *jʔaay?

5 *ʔ[ɔ]ʔ *elder sibling*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Praok [pu] o *elder sister*, Kensiu ʔoʔ *elder sibling*.

Cf. 1957 *ʔɔh *younger sibling*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 412.)

†6 *ʔ[ʷə]ʔ *this*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Stieng ɔ:u, ɔ:u, Biat a:ə *this*, Bunör ʔa:ə, Central Rölöm ʔaw, ʔɔ: *here*, Bahnar ɔw, əw *here, this*, Palaung ʷ *this*, Khasi u *masculine singular pronominal prefix*, Jehai ʔoʔ *he*; ~ Biat ia:ə *this*, Palaung iʔʷ *this (noun)*; ~ Biat ta:ə (o:i —) *tomorrow*, (ta: ɔ:i —) *presently*, Chrau taʔaw *tomorrow*.

Connect 79 *[d][ɔ]ʔ &c. *this, here*; A1 *bnʔ[ʷə]ʔ *yesterday*? Cf. further 1435a *ʔ[əy]ʔ; Old Mon wo' /woʔ/ *this* (< *wʷəʔ; with secondary w-?).

(BLOOD 1966 203.)

Kharia u- *this* (PINNOW 1959 K 520).

(*rʔaʔ see 13 *r[n]ʔaʔ *to stammer*.)

6a *klʔiʔ *kind of basket*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer lʔɿy *small round basket with upright sides*, Sre ləʔi *hemispherical basket*, Chrau ləʔi: *large round kind of basket*, Biat rʔi: (*kind of*) *basket*, Khasi khri *small basket*; → Cham lii:, Jarai rəʔi:, North Röglai laʔi:.

7 *cʔaʔ; *cʔah; (*cʔah-s > ?) *cʔaas *clear, clean*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*cnʔaʔ >) Palaung səŋa (MILNE 1931), Praok siŋa, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saʔŋaʔ *to be clean, pure* (& by back-formation Palaung, Praok ŋa *to be clear*); ~ (*c[m]ʔaʔ >) Chrau səpa: *clean and flowing [water]*; ~ Bahnar hədjaʔ *clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh siʔyaʔ *clean* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon c'ah /cʔah/ *to be clean, pure*, Modern Mon ah *to be clear, clean*; → Cham sah; ~ (*c[r]ʔah >) Khmer lʔah *clear, free from impediment*.

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Biat a:iʰ [sky] *to clear*; ~ (*cnʔass >) West Bahnar həga:iʰ, cəga:iʰ, East Bahnar səga:iʰ *clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*cbʔaas >) Khmer cəmʔa:iʰ cam'ās *to wash a corpse* (& cf. Khmer &c. forms cited under the entry 1920 *c[b]as, which perhaps contaminated).

Cf. further Nancowry séc *to clean*, Riang-Lang səŋam, probably contaminated by Shan ŋām *to be excellent*; & 950 *cʔaat.

8 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ciʔaʔ > *caʔ, Pre-Khmer ʔ[c]iʔ to eat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ca** /caʔ/, Modern Mon **cəʔ**, Old Khmer **cya**, Middle Khmer **sì: sī**, Kuy **ca:**, Sre **sa**, Biat **cha:**, Chrau, Bahnar **sa:**, Jeh, Halang **ca:**, Kensiu **ciʔ**, Temiar **ca:ʔ**, Semelai **ca:h** to eat, Central Nicobarese **ʃa:** to eat [vegetables], Nancowry **sā** edibles other than main food; ~ Old Mon **cirna**, Modern Mon **kənaʔ** food, West Bahnar **həna:** pig-swill (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semai **cana:** food (TAUERN 1914); ~ Khmer **cəmny** food; ~ Khasi **bsa** to feed (v.t.); ~ (*pncaʔ &c. >) Middle Mon **baca**, Modern Mon **həcəʔ**, Khmer **bənsi:** to feed (v.t.).

Add perhaps, from a variant in *-iʔ, Praok **i** to eat; & Danaw **ˀsué**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 22; SHAFER 1965 241; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 327; SMITH 1972 552; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 27.)

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***dza**, Archaic Chinese **d'ɿək** 食 ~ **diæg** 飢 n., causative (BENEDICT 1972 28 no. 66; 169 n. 452).

†9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ; *cʔə(ə)k; *cʔak (& *cʔaakʔ) to hiccough, belch.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar **əʔ** to belch; (probably) ~ Sre **səʔə** hiccough, Bahnar **təʔəʔ** to hiccough, belch, Jeh **taʔòʔ**, Halang **təʔòʔ** to belch; ~ (*crʔə(ə)ʔ >) Mon **həpʔ da'ui'** to belch, East Bahnar **dələʔ** to have stomach pains and hiccough (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Rieng-Lang **ˀkəʔəʔ** to belch, hiccough, ?Nancowry **hirəʔ** to hiccough.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **tʔaək** (!) to hiccough, Kuy **sʔə:ʔ** to belch, Palaung **[aŋ] uʔ** to hiccough; ~ (*cnʔə(ə)k >) Bahnar **həʔnək** to choke while eating, Palaung **kənʔuʔ** to belch, Vietnamese **nác** to hiccough; ~ Khasi **jyr-eh** belch, to belch, feel nausea.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **sà:k** (to) hiccough, Biat **ak**, **kʔak** hiccough, (~?) Chrau **səʔaʔ** to hiccough, Khasi **sa'ah** hiccough.

Cf. Bahnar **ʔnek-ʔnək** hiccough; Palaung **hlaʔ** to hiccough (MILNE 1931); & 1559 *cʔəər to belch; 11 *ʔ[au]ʔ to retch, vomit. Onomatopoeic (SMITH 1972 304.)

Kharia **ˀjeko-[ɖaʔ]** to hiccough (PINNOW 1959 179).

Proto-Austronesian (i: *[d']ə(N)qək-qək; Proto-Aceh-Cham) Acehnese **cökəʔ**, **cömökəʔ**, Cham **cəmuk muʔ**, Röglai **səʔə**, North Röglai **damaʔə:ʔ** to hiccough; (ii; so *d'ə-d'əqək by dissimilation > *k'əd'əqək >) Cebuano Bisayan **sid-uk**, **sud-uk**, by metathesis Ilocano **saiddek** to hiccough; & connected further Tagalog **sinók**, Bikol **sin-ok**, Pangasinan **sinék**, Magindanaw **singók**.

10 *crʔoʔ rafter.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Mon **həpʔ ja'o'** &c., Thin **sʔʔo**, Palaung **səʔʔ** (& by secondary derivation Rieng-Lang **ˀsəndoʔ** ~ *ˀsdoʔ) rafter, Serau **charo'** crossbeams (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 129).

Note also Bru **sapùə** rafter, side beams of roof.

11 *cʔ[au]ʔ to retch, vomit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar ɔʔ *retching noise* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Danaw ɔʔ, Central Nicobarese ɔau-[hələ] *to vomit*, Nancowry ʔuʔʔɔw; → Röglai ɔʔ, (?) Burmese 'o. *to vomit*; ~ (*crʔ[au]ʔ >) Mon həʔʔja'a' &c. *to vomit*, Bahnar rəʔʔ *to want to vomit* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔao caŋ'or (!) *to vomit*; by secondary derivation ~ Mon ɔʔ p'a' *to feed with premasticated food*.

BENEDICT 1972 192 n. 491 compares Burmese with Archaic Chinese 'u 嘔. Add perhaps Kensiu kəʔ, Temiar koʔ, Semelai khuʔ *to vomit*. Onomatopoeic; cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ &c. *to hiccough, belch*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

12 *tʔooʔ to crow.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ɔʔ; ~ Mon həuʔ *tha-u to make a concerted noise (e.g. in crowing)*, Kammu-Yuan tərʔðʔ *to crow*.

13 *[r][n]ʔaʔ to stammer.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon həaʔ *to stammer*, Bahnar [rəə:] rəa: *to stammer in fright* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Or *.rʔaʔ.

14 *rnʔɔʔ bag for cooked rice.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre rəndɔ *reed bag for rice*, West Bahnar rəʔʔ *basketwork bag for cooked rice* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

15 *sʔu[]ʔ; *sʔuəʔ mouldy, spoiled.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həʔúʔ *stench, to stink*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat ɔ: *to go mouldy*; ~ (*spʔuəʔ >) Khmer phʔu:ə *ph'uə(r) musty, stuffy, spoiled*, Chrau pəʔɔ: *mouldy, corroded*.

Cf. 1563 *sʔuur &c. *to emit a smell*.

*16 *kaʔ fish.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon ka(ʔ) /kaʔ/, Modern Mon kaʔ, Khmer ka:-[mɔŋ &c.] (in compounds), Kuy ka: (& ʔa:ka:), Sre ka, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ka:, Kammu-Yuan káʔ, Palaung, Praok ka, Riang-Lang ʔkaʔ, Lawa kaʔ, Khasi 'kha, [doh]kha, Mường cá (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese cá, Che' Wong kəyəʔ, Temiar ka:ʔ, Semaq Beri ka:h, Central Nicobarese ka:ə, Nancowry ká.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 1; BLOOD 1966 298; SMITH 1972 540; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 138 (a))

Kharia ka- (PINNOW 1959 64).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *ikan: Malay ikan, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; DYEN 1953 § 133).

†17 *kɔʔ; (*kɔʔkɔʔ >) *kɔ(ɔ)k neck.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ko'** /kɔʔ/, Modern Mon **kɔʔ**, Khmer, Biat **kɔ:**, Stieng **kɔ:u**, Sakai **kua'** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 26); ~ Sre **nko**, Chrau **ŋkɔ:**, Bahnar **akɔ:**, Bahnar dialect **həkɔ:**.

B: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **ʔkək** neck; ~ Praok **gok** throat, Kensi, Semnam **təŋkɔŋ** neck; probably → Malay **těngkok**, (→) Maranao **tengoq** neck (BLUST 1970 no. 124), Toba Batak **takkuhuk** nape of neck; by metathesis (***kŋɔk** >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋɔk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ŋok** neck.

Hence (i.e. ***ʔkɔʔ** →?) Thai **kʰɔɔ**, Shan **khɔ̄**. Note also Vietnamese **cổ**, < ***k[ɔ]h**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 478; BLOOD 1966 192.)

Sora [(ə)'saŋ]-ka:-n; Kharia **'kəŋkɔ** (PINNOW 1959 276).

Connected further (i) Kammu-Yuan **təklɔk**, Thin **təglɔk** nape of neck; (ii) Acehnese **takuə**, Cham **tako:y**, Jarai **tʰku:ai**, Röglai **təkuai**, North Röglai **takuai** neck (suggesting Proto-Austronesian ***takuai**; cf. with variant vocalism Cebuano Bisayan **tingkuy** hollow space in nape of neck); → Bahnar dialects **təkɔi** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **təkuay** neck, Jeh **taku:y** nape of neck; (iii) 505 ***tk[ɔ]ŋ** (nape) of neck.

18 *cnk[i]ʔ; *cnk[i]h waist.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **syngkai** waist, hips, loins.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **coŋkeh cankeh** waist.

Cf. Kuy **ŋkɛ:ŋ**, Bru **ŋki:ŋ**.

19 *ck[e]ʔ wild boar.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng **cerkei**, **rəkei**, Sre **jərke**, Chrau **jəkɛ:**, Bahnar **səkɛ:** wild boar; ~ Sakai **changgei** pig (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a)).

Or *-iʔ? Hardly = 1449 ***cgəy** dog.

(SMITH 1972 532.)

‡20 *jkooʔ body, self.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy **kau** I (familiar), Palaung **ku** quantifier for persons, Praok **kaə** persons, Lawa Bo Luang **kauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **koʔ** body; ~ Old Mon **jirku** /jərkuʔ/, Modern Mon **həkaoʔ** body, person, self, Bahnar **akəw**, Bahnar dialects **həkəw** body, self, name (?; with contextual diphthongization, or ← Indonesian), Central Sakai **sərgô** corpse.

(SHAFER 1965 300.)

Proto-Austronesian ***aku(S)** I: Malay **aku**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13-14; DYEN 1953 § 133).

Cf. (i) Shan **kăw** self, &c. (BENEDICT 1975 203, 206); (ii) Tibetan **sku** body, Burmese **kuiy** /ko/ self: Tibeto-Burman *(s)-**kəw**, BENEDICT 1972 184 n. 483; Archaic Chinese **k'iu** 軀, ib.

21 ***tnkeʔ** *horn*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **ke:i**, Sre **nke**, Biat **ŋke:**, Bahnar **ake:**, Bru **ke:**; → Jarai, Röglai **təki:**.

Kuy (t)**ka:i** shows contamination but is rather connected with Khmer **koy** *rhinoceros horn*.

(BLOOD 1966 176; SMITH 1972 531; cf. SHAFER 1965 475.)

22 *[t]**kəʔ** *kind of catfish*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Chrau [**ka:**] **kə:** *catfish*; ~ Mon [**kaʔ**] **həkəʔ** *thaka'* *kind of catfish*, *Clarias magur*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **thkə:** *thkar* *sawfish*.

23 ***tkəʔ**; ***tkəh** *island*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tko'** /**tkəʔ**/, Modern Mon **kəʔ**, Biat **kə:u** [**da:k**]; → Thai **kəʔ**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic; contaminated by 1970 ***ckəh** *dry*) Khmer **kəh** *koh*, Stieng **kə:h** (!) [**də:k**], Bru **kəh** *land (as opposed to sea)*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 30.)

(***pkaʔ** see 1819 ***pkaaw** *flower*.)

24 ***skəʔ** *companion, company*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **sko'** /**skəʔ**/ *company*, Stieng **kə:u** *together, with, and*, Synteng Khasi **shkaw** *spouse*; → Cham **sakau**, Röglai **səgəu** *together*; ~ Old Mon **sin̄ko'** *company (quantifier)*, (merging next?) Modern Mon **həkəʔ** *company, companion*; ~ Khmer **srakar** (!) /**srəkə:**/ *companion, age-mate*.

25 ***skəʔ** *grey-haired*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **sko:v** *grey-haired*, Sre **ko:** *to be white-haired, albino*, Bahnar **kə:** *grey[hair]*; ~ Old Mon **sin̄ko'** /**sənkəʔ**/ *grey-haired*, Modern Mon **həkəʔ** *to be grey-haired*, Old Khmer **sañkū** *grey-haired*.

Connect perhaps (i) Khasi **takhaw**, **takhew** *having scanty hair*; (ii) Central Sakai **běkô**, Central Nicobarese **pakə:** *to be white-headed*; Sora **'ba:o-['u:-]** *grey-[headed]*. Cf. 1971 ***jku(ə)h** *white, clean*.

†26 *ge(e)? (?) *deictic & 3rd person pronoun.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer *kè*: *one, someone, he, they*, Rōngao *ge̤*, *ge̤*, Kontum Bahnar *gi*: *he, she* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, poetic), Kammu-Yuan *kì*: *this*, Palaung *ge*, Praok *ki* *they*, Lawa Bo Luang *ke?* *he, she*, Khasi *ki* *they*; weak form Sre *gə* *indefinite pronoun*, Rōngao *ga*: & *ga:r* (!) *he, she* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *kə*: *he*, *kù?* *many [people]*, Riang-Lang *_kə?* *they*, Khasi *ka* *feminine pronominal affix*, Nancowry *kí* *all*.

Cf. Riang-Lang *_ke* *plural particle* (< *[g][e]h); Kuy *kxi* *that*; 252 *kh[ii]? *this, he, they*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

Kharia *ki* *plural suffix*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 74).

27 *gə? *ally, friend.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kə?* *inespousable cross-cousin*, Palaung *gə* *friend*, Riang-Lang *_kə?* *wife's younger brother, younger sister's husband* (& *_ko?* *wife's elder brother...* by arbitrary variation).

28 *b[ng][e]? *vegetable poison.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *bəŋê* *Jasminum longisetum, with poisonous leaf* (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar dialects *bəŋê*, *bəŋe:i* *poison especially prepared from Strychnos nux-vomica* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps *- []ŋ-; *-i?. If *bngi?, cf. 1461 * [kj][əy]? *poison...*, which could conceivably be reconstructed *gyi(i)?; then with secondary palatalization < *bgi(i)??

29 *rguu? (& *rgu?); *rgə?; *rguuh; *rguəh; *rgəh *to shake.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör *rəgu:*, Biat *rgu:* *v.t.*; ~ (*rnguū? >) Stieng *rəŋu:*, Sre *rəŋu* (→ Rōglai), Central Rölöm *ŋhu:* *v.t.*, Chrau *rəŋgu:* *wobbly, shaky*; by secondary derivation ~ (*-u? >?) Bahnar *gəgu?* *to shake (v.t.)*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *rùəŋkə:* *v.i.*

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat *rguh* [rgu:p], Lawa Umphai *rakhoh*, Mae Sarian *yakuh* *v.i.*; ~ Biat *ŋguh*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgoh* *to nod [head]*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat *rgəh* [rgə:p] *shaky*.

E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang *ʔəŋgəih* *to nod [head]*.

(BLOOD 1966 236.)

30 *ŋ[ɔɔ]?; *ŋ[ɔ]h *to fear.*

A: (?Khmer, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer *ŋo:v-ŋo:v* *with pleading, whining sound* (?; with affective register deformation?), Kammu-Yuan *ŋə?* *to fear*, Khasi *ngiew* *fearful, fearsome*.

B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semai *səŋəh* *to fear*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49.)

†31 *t₂ŋii? *sun, day*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *tñey* /tɲɔy/, Modern Mon *ŋoa*, Old Khmer *tñai*, Modern Khmer *thŋay sun, day*, Kuy (t)ŋai *day*, Sre *ŋay day, təŋay (!) sun, day*, Jeh *ŋay sun, day*, Halang *ŋay day*, Kammu-Yuan *səŋi? day, noon, (màt—) sun*, Palaung *səŋi*, Riang-Lang *ˀsəŋi?*, Lawa Bo Luang *saŋai?*, Lawa Umphai *saŋi?*, Mae Sariang *səŋe? sun, day*, Praok *siŋay sun, day, ŋay day*, Khasi *’ngi, sngi sun*, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *ngàŋ (!)*, Semaq Beri *təŋi? day*, Central Nicobarese *heŋ sun, day*, Nancowry *héŋ* (Nicobaric < *cʔaiŋ?); ~ Old Mon *tirñey daily*, Modern Mon *təŋoa middle part of day* (with which some disyllabic forms above should perhaps be compared).

(SCHMIDT 1905 66; SHAFER 1965 146; SMITH 1972 459; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 38.) Mundari *siŋgi sun, day*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 286; with Santali *siŋ day* & similar forms, perhaps by metathesis < *tʔiiŋ; cf. here Nicobaric).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *tʔiŋaŋ: Fijian *siŋa sun*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 154).

†32 *tɲa? *bow*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *tña’* /tɲaʔ/, Modern Mon *ŋaʔ (cross)bow*.

Sora *’naŋa:-n bow*. For *ɲ-* here (< *n-?) cf. 1410 *tləm &c.

32a *bmŋ[ii]? *fever*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *cùmŋu:* (!) *disease, illness* (contaminated by *chù:* < 55 *ŋjii?), Sre *bəŋe malaria*, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation *pomkaiyə fever*, Nancowry *pumkéya*, refer *ké chill, feeling cold*.

Connection uncertain Riang-Lang *ŋwəy pox, disease causing rash &c*.

(*bŋ[e]? see 28 *b[ŋg][e]? *vegetable poison*.)

33 *rŋa?; *rŋə? *live coal*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng *rəŋa: [u:ɲ]*, Sre [ous] *rəŋa*, Biat *rŋa: [uɲ]* *live coal*, Khasi *rŋa charcoal*; → Jarai *ʰŋaʔ*, Röglai *aŋa live coal*; ~ Middle Mon *laña [pramat]*, Modern Mon *əŋèʔ [kəmot]*, *təŋèʔ live coal*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Thin *rŋyʔ live coal*; ~ (*rŋəʔ > *rŋəʔ by dissimilation >) Palaung *rəŋgu*, Praok *gaw [ŋu]*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaŋgauʔ*, Lawa Umphai *raŋgoʔ live coal*, Semang *anggu charcoal* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 77 (a)).

Cf. (i) Khmer *rəŋvək* (& Bru *raŋhōʔ*), perhaps a loan from the same source as *slək leaf* ad 230 *slaʔ; (ii) Bahnar *ŋa:r dying, dead coal*, ↔ Jarai *ʰŋa:r = ʰŋaʔ* (< *ʔŋar by metathesis?).

‡34 *lɿaaʔ; *lɿawʔ *sessamum*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ *lɿɿaaʔ >) Chrau **rəŋa:**, Biat **rŋa:**, Kammu-Yuan **ləŋàʔ**; ~ (*lɿɿaaʔ >) Bahnar **rəŋa:** *white-seeded sessamum* (or last), Palaung **ləŋa** (MILNE 1931), Danaw **lɿŋ ɿaʔ** *sessamum*; ~ Riang-Lang **luk ɿaʔ** *sessamum*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer **lɿno**, Modern Khmer **lɿnə:**; ~ Middle Mon **laŋau**, Modern Mon **təŋəa** *sessamum*, Bahnar **rəŋəw** *black-seeded sessamum*.

With final variant cf. 1819 *pkaaw. Note also Kuy **rwùŋ** *sessamum*, Bru **lawùŋ** by metathesis? Culture-word. See also BENEDICT 1975 375.

Proto-Austronesian *lɿŋa(S): Malay **lěnga**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Austronesian if = Polynesian *Curcuma*, otherwise Proto-Hesperonesian).

35 *lɿaaʔ *itch*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **ləŋa** *itch between toes* (→ Röglai), Kammu-Yuan **ŋàʔ**, Riang-Lang **ɿaʔ** *to itch*, Mường **ngə** *itch* (BARKER 1966 25); ~ (*lɿɿaaʔ >) Vietnamese **ngứa** *itch*.

‡36 *lɿuʔ; *lɿuəʔ *lonely, deserted*.

A: (Mon) Literary Mon **lɿu** (attributive **lamɿu**) *to be solitary*; → Cham **lanū** *empty*; ~ (*lɿɿuʔ >) Old Mon **luño** /**ləŋuʔ**/ *to make deserted, (to isolate oneself =) to be solitary*, Modern Mon **təŋùʔ** *to be solitary, desolate*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rəŋuəʔ** *solitary, deserted; to think nostalgically of; to isolate*; Stieng **jəŋu:** *stupid*, compared at SCHMIDT 1905 36, is ← Proto-Austronesian *duŋu (BLUST 1970 no. 157).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *ŋaunəu >) Karo Batak **ngongo** *deserted, lonely*; (ii) *lɿŋau: Ngaju Dayak **la-lingau** *to be sad*, Cebuano Bisayan **míngaw** *lonely, deserted*, &c, (DEMPWOLFF 1938 97-8). Conceivably Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, but no obvious source. See BENEDICT 1975 369, *sad*...

‡37 *sɿiʔ (& *sɿiiʔ?); *sɿih; *sɿiiw *house*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon **sɿi**(ʔ) /**sɿiʔ**/, Modern Mon **həeʔ**, Stieng, Chrau **ɿi:**, Jeh **ɿiəh**, Halang **ɿiə**, Central Nicobarese **ɿi:**, Nancowry **ɿí**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Bunör **ɿih**, Central Rölöm **hih**, Biat **ɿih**.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **hi:w**.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 127 *miʔ &c.; add then perhaps Mường **nhà** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **nhà**, otherwise ad 152 *[y]aa[ʔ]. For Bahnaric palatalization cf. 806 *[ɿii[c] &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 153; BLOOD 1966 222.)

Sora **'sʔu:ŋ-ən**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 355, Southeast Munda only; perhaps by metathesis < *sʔiŋ).

38 *sɲoʔ *paddy*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon *sɲoʔ* /sɲuʔ/, Modern Mon *haoʔ* *husked rice*, Kammu-Yuan ɲɔʔ, Palaung hɲɔ, Riang-Lang ʔɲoʔ, Praok ɲo, Lawa Bo Luang hɲaʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hɲoʔ *paddy*.
(SHAFFER 1965 307.)

(*[c]iʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ *to eat*.)

†39 *ciiʔ (& *ciʔʔ) *louse*.

A: Mon *coa*, Khmer *cay* (→ Sre *sayʔ*), Stieng *si:h* (!), Biat *chi:*, Chrau, Bahnar *si:*, Kammu-Yuan *seʔ* (< variant?), Palaung *si*, Riang-Lang ʔsiʔ, Lawa Bo Luang *səiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *seʔ*, Mae Sariang *səiʔ* (!), Khasi *ʔsi* (~ *ksi*), Vietnamese *chí*, *chấy*, Kensi *ciʔ*, Temiar *ceʔ*, Semelai *ci:h* *louse*, Central Nicobarese *ʃe:i* *flea, louse*; ~ Kuy *ɲce:* *head louse*, Bru *ɲcəy*.

Lawa, Vietnamese (& Sreʔ) show secondary diphthongization. Stieng *-h* also ad 126 *bəbeʔ *goat*, 156 *bryaʔ *kind of varan*, 197 *klaʔ *tiger* (& 412 *prɔk *squirrel*!).
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFFER 1965 243; SMITH 1972 516; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 169.)
Sora *iʔi:-n*, Kharia *seʔ*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 341).

Cf. Haininh Yao *sei* *head louse*. (BENEDICT 1975 333; Chiengrai Yao *ého* *body louse*, Petchabun Miao *ńchəu* *head louse*, *ib.*, reflect Proto-Miao-Yao *(ń)ého(u)).

40 *ceʔ *great-grandchild*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre *se* *grandchild, great-grandchild* (→ Röglai *ce* *grandchild*), Bahnar [sɔw] *sɛ:*, Praok [kɔn] *se*, Lawa Bo Luang [kuan] *saiʔ*, Lawa Umphai [kuan] *seʔ* *great-grandchild*, Kammu-Yuan *cèʔ* *grandchild*, Bru *ʔace:*.

Cf. 43 *cuuʔ *grandchild*.

(*ceʔ see also 1983 *ceh *kind of jar*; *caʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ *to eat*.)

†‡41 *cɔʔ *dog*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Kuy *ca:*, Stieng *sɔu*, Sre *so*, Chrau *sɔ:*, Biat *chɔ:* *dog*, Bahnar [kɔʔ] *sɔ:* *wild dog*, Jeh *cou*, Halang *co:*, Kammu-Yuan *sɔʔ*, Palaung *sɔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʔsoʔ, Praok *so*, Lawa Bo Luang *saʔ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *sɔʔ*, Khasi *ʔsew* (~ *ksew*), Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese *chó* *dog* (→ Old Khmer *ca*, Modern Khmer *cɔ:* *dog, as year name*), Temiar *cəwɔʔ*, Semelai *cɔ:h* *dog*; ~ Kuy *ʔa:ca:* *dog*, Riang-Lang *yɔʔ* *dog, puppy*, (?) Jehai *ʔaciʔ* *dog*.

(SHAFFER 1965 235; BLOOD 1966 193; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 143.)

Kharia *sɔ-[lɔʔ]*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 210).

Proto-Austronesian *uat'u: Javanese **asu**, Cham (a)thow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *at'u^c; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 13.8, 16.1); → Central Rölöm **saw?** Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 50. Temiar suggests consonant metathesis vis-à-vis Austronesian, perhaps the source of the vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 272-3.

42 *c[u]? *to place, put.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **cə?** *cwa'* (!), Bahnar **su?**, Jeh **cù?** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Connection uncertain Kuy **sə:** *to put in, to fasten* (< *kcə[]??).

(*c[u]?) see 1986 *c[u]h *to wake.*)

†43 *cuu? *grandchild.*

A: (> *ciu? > Bahnaric &c. *caw?; Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Old Mon **caw** /cəw/, Modern Mon **cao**, Old Khmer, Modern Khmer, Kuy **cau** *grandchild*, Stieng **sə:u** *grandson, nephew*, Sre **saw** *grandson*, Chrau **saw** *son-in-law, daughter-in-law*, Biat [kɔ:n] **chau** *descendants*, Bahnar **səw**, **səw**, Jeh, Halang **caw**, Palaung **su**, Praok **səə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **so?**, Khasi 'siew, Vietnamese **cháu**, Semang -**chə'** *grandchild* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (b)); → Cham **cau(w)**, Acehnese **cə**; ~ Chrau **sənaw**, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (a)) **chěno'** *grandchild*.

Palaungic requires *-**uu?**, as does Indonesian; Cham, Acehnese reflect diphthongized forms. Cf. 40 *ce? *great-grandchild*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 535; BLOOD 1966 197; SMITH 1972 431.)

Proto-Austronesian (*k'u(S)k'u(S) >) Acehnese **cucə** (contaminated by **cə** ← Mon-Khmer; perhaps ← Malay), Malay **chuchu**, Iban **uchu** /**uchuq**/ *grandchild*; → Semang **chuchə'** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (c)). If Acehnese not ← Malay, *k'u(S)k'uS. But conceivably Mon-Khmer > Semang **chuchə'** → Malay → Acehnese, Iban.

†44 *c[uu]? *to be sick.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **su**, Riang-Lang **˩su?**, Praok **səə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **so?** *sickness, to be sick*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cú?** *pain*, ~ Danaw **kă ˩tsu** *to be in pain*.

If Nancowry **tú** rather *t₂-, connected 70 *ktuu? *hot?* But connection dubious 55 *njii?.

(SHAFER 1965 238a.)

Sora ə'su:-, a'su:- *to feel pain*, Kharia 'kəsu *sickness, to be sick*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 247).

45 *[c][wə]ʔ *to see*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **sɔːu**, Bunör **səːə**, Central Rölöm **sɔː**, Biat **chaːə** *to see*, West Bahnar **sɔːu** *to see clearly* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar **səɣu** *to see clearly* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

If Nancowry **héw** *to be visible* or **hēʔ** *to look at* is connected, *s-.

Connect 158 *[s]yəəʔ?

(BLOOD 1966 204.)

46 *[ʔ]ciʔ *relative/interrogative pronoun*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **chi** *it, which*, Palaung **se** *what (relative/interrogative), anything*; ~ Sre **nchi** *what, which?*

Connection uncertain Mường **chi** (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chi**, **gì** *what?*; *anything*.

(*ʔca(a)ʔ see 1891 *ʔcas *old*.)

47 *kciʔ *young, green*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **khɛy** *green, fresh, new, young [plants, animals]*; ~ Khmer **kəmcɛy** *unripe, green*, Chrau **gəɣeː** *soft*, Biat **ncheː** *green, unripe*, Bahnar **kəɣeː** *young, tender*; by back-formation or popular etymology Chrau **[kɔːn]** **seː**, Biat **[kɔːn]** **cheː** *young*.

(BLOOD 1966 174.)

48 *kmciʔ *collateral relation*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **kuñci** &c. /**kəmcɛʔ**/ *sister*, (— **dnal**) *bride*, West Bahnar **hmĩː** *aunt, cousin, older than parent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& Sedang **mé** *sister-in-law*, SMITH 1972 470?), Khasi **kynsi** *sibling's spouse*.

Khmer **cae** *elder sister* is ← Amoy/Cantonese **cé** 姐: POU & JENNER 1973 132.

Sora **'aː(j)i(:)-n** *younger sister* may be cognate if -j- is glide consonant; then separate from Proto-Munda ***aji**, PINNOW 1959 38.

†49 *jooʔ *grandmother*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **cùʔ** *great-grandmother*; ~ Central Sakai **ajô** *grandmother*.

Sora **jo'joː-n** *grandfather*.

†50 *juʔ *sour, acid*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **cùː** **jūv**, **jūr** *sour, tart*, Jeh, Halang **jùəʔ**, Khasi **jew** *sour*, (~?) Bahnar **?yuʔ** *sour; vinegar*; ~ Khmer **mcùː** *sour spice &c.*, (~?) Sakai **bucuːi** *sour* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349; ?), Central Nicobarese **pacəu** *to go sour*; ~ Khasi **byrjew** *sourish*.

Cf. also Vietnamese **chua-chát** *acid*. The same Khasi vocalism in 196a *j-luʔ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFER 1965 452; SMITH 1972 305.)

Sora **so'jo:-** &c., Santali **ꠘꠗꠤ** *sour*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 383; Proto-Munda ***jə**).

51 *juu? *wild banana*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[tə:m]** **ju:**, Sre **ju** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **ju:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*juu? see also 1944 ***juuh** *to stay, linger*.)

52 *kjə?; (*kjə? kjə? > ?) ***kjək** *heavy*.

A: (South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Semaq Beri **kəjəh**; ~ Sre **kənjə**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **jə:k**, Biat **jək**; ~ Chrau **kənjə?** *heavy*, (~?)

Riang-Lang **ˈsəmcək** *to nod from weariness*.

Connect uncertain Temiar **ʔəpuh**, &c. Cf. 1146 ***([k].-)jən**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 68 (a); BLOOD 1966 121.)

53 *knjə[ə]? *kind of basket*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəncə̀:** *60-litre basket*, Biat **njə:** *basket*.

***54 *tjoo?** *worm*.

A: (Mon, Aslian) Jehai **taju?**, Temiar **taju?**, Semelai **tijo:h** *snake*; ~ Old Mon **tiñju** /**təñju?**/ *worm, maggot*, Modern Mon **kəyao?** *maggot*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 311.)

Kharia **ti'jə?** *worm*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 329).

55 *nji? *sickness, to be sick*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **'jey** *to be sick*. = **'añjey** *sickness* /**ˈjəy**/, Modern Mon **yəa** *sickness, to be sick*, Nyah Kur ***ɕəy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V267; suggests ***-ay!**), Khmer **chù:** (!) **jhi**, Chrau **ji:** *to be sick*, Sre **ji** *sickness*, Biat **ji:** *sickness, to be sick*, Bahnar **ji?**, Jeh, Halang **ji?** *to be sick*, Temiar **ji?** (BENJAMIN 1976B).

Khmer vocalism & initial obscure. ? ~ Nancowry **kacéy** *to become weak*. Connection dubious 44 ***[c]uu?**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 522a; BLOOD 1966 213; SMITH 1972 294; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 187 (a), (b))

56 *[nj]a[a]? *tar*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **yè?** *tar, pitch*, Vietnamese **nhựa**, **dựa** *sap, gum, resin, tar, asphalt, opium* (by attraction 1601 ***jar** *sap*).

Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 40, : Stieng **ɕɔ:** **[u:ɪp]** *charcoal*.

57 ***pjoo?** *old*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **pju(?)** /**pju?**/, Modern Mon **pyù?** *to be old, aged, dilapidated*, Bahnar **so:** *old, antiquated, dilapidated*, probably Palaung **jo** *lifetime* (→ Shan **sò**); by secondary derivation ~ Praok **ju** *life, lifetime, age*, Lawa Bo Luang **?aju?**, Lawa Umphai **raju?** *age*.

Palaungic less probably ultimately ← Pali **āyu**.

58 ***bjoo?**; ***bjee?** (& ***bje??**) *bad*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Rōngao **co:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **jo**, Praok **caw**, Mah Meri **bajaw**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **cè:** **jer** (!) *to rebuke, insult*, Kuy **chè:** *to abuse obscenely*; ~ (***bmjee?** >) Bahnar **?me?** *bad, ugly*; by secondary derivation ~ Middle Mon **byi**, Modern Mon **pyi?** *to blame*, Khmer **phcae** *to blame, reprove* (GUESDON 1930).

Front vocalism secondary. For semantics of B cf. 1082 ***luut**; Khmer **cè:** taken as = causative, perhaps back-formation in view of vocalism, which implies *-**e?**. Note further Vietnamese **xấu** *bad*.

(SMITH 1972 318; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 9.)

58a *[**jii?** *uncle*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy (**?a:**)**jii:** *parent's younger brother*, Khasi **'ñi**, (~?) **kñi** *maternal uncle*.

Perhaps by contraction *[**kuuŋ** &c. **?ii?** (892, 2).

59 ***j[ee]?** *small*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon **ñi**, Modern Mon **jì?** *to be small in quantity*, West Bahnar **jɛ?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **jɛ?**, Thin **jɛ** *small*; (probably ~) Bahnar **?ye?** *small*.

Perhaps ***ji?**. Connected Mae Sariang **?jau?** *small in quantity*? Note Nancowry **ña** *smaller*.

60 ***ja?**; ***jah** *person*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **jɛ?** *who, anyone*; ~ Sre **drəŋa** *human being*.

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ñah** /**jah**/, Modern Mon **jəh** *person*, Thin **yɛ?** *him*, Jah Hut **jah** *who?*

Rieng-Lang, Thin fronting contextual.

(***jaa[?]** see 152 *[**y**]aa[] *house*.)

†61 ***ɲɔʔ** *kind of tree, Morinda species.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pəɲòʔ** Mon *angustifolia* Roxburgh (sandhi-form < */**tnɔm ɲɔʔ**/?), Khmer **ɲɔː**, Kuy **ɲùːa** Mon *citrifolia* Linnaeus, Vietnamese **nhàu** (!); ↔ Thai **ยอ** *Morinda citrifolia*, Lao **ໂຈ**.

Vietnamese tone perhaps post-palatal, cf. besides following 170 ***jriiʔ**, &c. (Cf. BEFEO 55, 196.)

†62 ***[ɲuʔ]** ***[ɲuəʔ]** *wrinkled, furrowed.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Palaung **ɲɔ** *to be ugly* (?), Vietnamese **nhàu** (!) *to be wrinkled, crumpled*; ~ Khmer **krəɲoːv** *frowning, displeased* (by dissimilation < ***srɲuʔ**? GUESDON 1930 also **sr**°; VACANANUKRAM KHMER has no instance of **srəɲ-**), Biat **[kwat mat]** **ɲpuː** *scowling, morose* (beside **kwat ɲɔːu** *abashed, crestfallen* ← Khmer); (by back-formation?) ~ Khmer **[khɲiːv]-khɲoːv** *to be wrinkled, crumpled*.

B: (Mon; ~ ***srɲuəʔ** >) Mon **həɲɔʔ** *to be wrinkled*.

On Vietnamese tone see preceding. Cf. 896 ***ɲpuəɲ** &c. *wrinkled; to frown...*

Sora **əju'juː-** *to be wrinkled*, **ju'juː-[je'je-]** *to be wrinkled and puckered*.

†63 ***ɲuuʔ** *to suck up, drink.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **ɲu** *to drink [spirits]*, Praok **ɲaə**, Lawa **ɲoʔ** *to drink*, Semai **ɲɔːʔ**, Temoq **ɲuʔ** *to suck*, Nancowry **cōʔ**, South Nicobarese **onyuː[ʃe]**, Teressa-Bompoka **nyuː-[hətə]** *to drink* (& Central Nicobarese **ɲɔː** *milk?*).

Cf. SMITH 1972 325, ***uʔ**; contaminated by 268 ***ʔuəkʔ**

(SHAFFER 1965 297; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)

Sora **ɲuː-**, **ɲu'ɲuː-** *to smell, sniff*; Santali **ɲũ** *to drink*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 112).

Sora is referred ib. 315 to cognates of 887 ***[j]ʔuup**.

†64 ***t₁iʔ**; ***t₁ih**; ***t₁iəh** *earth, ground.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Aslian, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ti**(') /**tiʔ**/, Modern Mon **təeʔ**, Old Khmer **tī**, Modern Khmer **dɿy**, Kuy **tɛːʔ**, Bru **kuteːʔ** (< *-[**ai**]k?), Kensiu **tiʔ**, Temiar **tɛʔ** *earth*; ~ Semelai **ʔateːh**; ~ (or =?) Kuy **kteːʔ**, Palaung **kəte**, Riang-Lang **ʔkəteʔ**, Praok **tɛ**, [**ha**]kte, (so probably, rather than simplex) Lawa Bo Luang **taiʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **tɛʔ**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pətéʔ** *earth*, (~?) Khasi **pyrthei** *the world* (rather than ← Sanskrit **pr̥thvi-**), Central Nicobarese **məltai** *land*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tɛh** *earth*; ~ Jeh **ʔneh**, Halang **təʔneh** *earth*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tiah** *ground, the world*, Stieng **tɛh** *earth*; ~ Chrau **ntɛh** *earth*; ~ Biat **nɛh** *earth, ground*.

-n-infix forms, as probably -h, contaminated by Indonesian, below.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 361; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 12 (a).)

Sora **'purtiː-n** *the world* (or ← Sanskrit?); Mundari **te**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 403).

Connection obscure Proto-Austronesian ***tanəq**: Malay **tanah**, Cham **tanuuh**, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, **tanəh/tanah**; assuming Javanese **tanah** ← Malay).

65 *t₁iʔ; *t₁iiʔ; *t₁iəʔ *that yonder*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ti** *that (spoken of, past)*, Chrau **tiʔ** (!) *there, yonder*, Khasi **-tei** *that up there, the aforesaid*, Semang [haʔ] **teh** *there* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ti:**, Sedang **tay** *up there*.

C: (Mon, ?Khasi) Middle Mon **te'** *there, then, that, those*, Modern Mon **teʔ** *that, (?)*
Khasi **-thie** *that down there*.

Chrau has **-ʔ** < ***-ʔ** in deictics, cf. **92 *nəʔ**, **1435a *h[əy]ʔ**. Cf. **66a *təʔ**; **1466 *t₁uuy** &c.

(SMITH 1972 515.)

†66 *t₁iiʔ *hand, arm*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric, South Aslian)
Old Mon **tey** /təy/, Modern Mon **toa**, Old Khmer **tai(y)**, Modern Khmer **day**, Kuy **te:**, Bru **ʔatəy** (< ***-iʔ** ?), Sre **ti**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ti:** *hand, arm*, Jeh, Halang **tì:** *hand*, Kammu-Yuan **tíʔ**, Palaung **ti**, Riang-Lang **ṭiʔ**, Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **taiʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **teʔ**, Khasi **'ti** (~ **kṭi**), Central Nicobarese **-tai** *hand, arm*; ~ (from a suffixed ***tiiʔ-ŋ**) Temiar **ti:k**.

Connected further, perhaps from a prefixed form, South Aslian forms: Semelai **thi:ʔ**.
Distinguish **244 *sii[ʔ]**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 14; BLOOD 1966 226; SMITH 1972 513; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 15.)

Kharia **tiʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 75).

(***t₁aʔ** see **68 *ʔt₁aʔ** *male elder*; **1988 *t₁ah** *level*; ***taʔ** see **75 *[s]taʔ** *to vomit*.)

66a *təʔ *that, there*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **də:** *relative particle*, Stieng **tə:u**, Biat **tə:** *that, there*, Bahnar **tə:** *that, there (far away)*, Khasi **[hang]to** *there (mooted, near at hand)*, **[u]to** *he, that (near)*, Vietnamese **đó** *that, there*.

Cf. **65 *t₁iʔ** &c.; **1466 *t₁uuy** &c.

67 *t₁uuʔ *in, at*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tu:** *in, at, with*, Chrau **tu:** *at, to*, Bahnar **tə:** *to, towards*, Palaung **tə** (in senses) *in (to)*, Riang-Lang **ṭuʔ** (in senses) *in (to)*, Lawa Bo Luang **tauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **toʔ** *middle, in the middle of*; ~ (*[**Intuuʔ** >)
Praok **daə** *in (to)*.

Add Khmer **dau** *to proceed towards* ? But not, as SCHMIDT 1905 34, : Mon **tao** *to be located in...* (< **1824 *taaw**). Cf. **B4 *t₁aʔ** &c. *place*.

(***t₁uu?** see also 2004 ***t₁uu[h]** ...to clean by rubbing.)

***68 (*t₁a?-t₁a? >?) *?t₁a? (& *t₁a??) male elder.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Late Old Mon **ta** /**ta?**/, Modern Mon **ta?** *father*, Old Khmer (**ʼ**)**tā** *old man*, Modern Khmer **ta:** *grandfather*, Stieng **ta:** *onomastic prefix for junior males*, Kammu-Yuan **tá?**, Praok **ta** *grandfather*, Palaung **ta** *master, grandfather*, Riang-Lang **ˀta?** *master, husband, grandfather*, Lawa **ta?** *grandfather, old man*, Temiar **tata:?** *old man* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132), **ta:?** *sir* (BENJAMIN 1976B 135).

(SHAFFER 1965 280; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 41.)

Proto-Austronesian ***tata:** Proto-Oceanic ***tata** *term of address to father, mother's brother* (BENEDICT 1975 286-7, which see), Proto-Philippine ***tata-i:** Cebuano Bisayan **tatay**, **tátay**, Pangasinan **tátay** *term of address to father*, Tagalog &c. **tatay** *father*, Samar-Leyte Bisayan **tatay** *father, grandfather*.

69 *[kb]t₁a?** to wash [head].**

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **kəta** (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang **ta?** *to wash [head]*, (or ~?) Khasi **bta** *to wash [face]*.

70 *ktuu?** hot.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Mon **kətao**, Old Khmer **ktau**, Modern Khmer **kdau**, Kuy (k)**tau**, Bahnar **tə?**, Jeh, Halang **tu?**; ~ (***kbttu?** >) Mon **hətao**, Khmer **kəmdau** *to heat*, Kuy **ntau** *to warm*, Bahnar **pəttə?** *to heat*.

If Bahnar → Jeh, Halang, perhaps *-**t₂**-; connected SMITH 1972 ***kasu?** (324; then *-**ts-**) *to sweat*; &/or 44 ***[c]uu?** *to be sick*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SMITH 1972 322; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 140; PINNOW 1959 52.)

71 *gtoo?** snail.**

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **tao?**, Temiar **gatū?** (BENJAMIN 1976B 132).

(***nta?** see 75 ***[s]ta?** *to vomit*.)

72 *nt₁uu?** hole, pit.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **ʔəndau** (& **rùəndau**) *ditch, hole, cave*, Stieng **tù:** *deep ditch or hole*, Chrau **ntu:** *well, water-hole*, Biat **ntu:** *hole*, West Bahnar **hətū** *deep hole* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **həntu?**, Riang-Lang **ˀtu?**, Praok **daə** *hole*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFFER 1965 303.)

Cf. 556 ***kt₁u(u)ŋ**, but connection dubious.

Proto-Austronesian ***piNt₁au** *door*: Malay **pintu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119, ***pin[t]u**; DAHL 1973 § 12.4; *-**au** confirmed by Acehnese **pinto**; see also BENEDICT 1975 273).

72a *tp₁[i]? *to instruct, teach.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **phdae**-[**phdam**] *to send verbal message, keep reminding* (→ Vietnamese **day** *to teach* ?) & ~ Khmer **prədae**-[**prədav**] *to teach, educate*, Stieng **ti**: (BLOOD 1966), Sre **bəti** *to teach* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (*pnt₁[i] ? >) Praok **də** [gəə] *to teach*; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **tənti**: *to teach*, Biat **nti**: *to learn*, (— **ntom**) *teach*.
(BLOOD 1966 227.)

†73 *bt₁a?; ***st₁a?** *tail.*

- A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **birta** /**bərtā?**/, Modern Mon **həta?**.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Lawa **sata?**, Kensiu **hati?**, Semaq Beri **hate?**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntá?**, Palaung **səta**, Riang-Lang **sənta?**, Praok **sida**, Temiar **senta?**.
Munda implies B secondary; on ***ta?** < ***bta?**? Danaw has **təŋ tə**.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 3.)
Kharia **pa'ta** (PINNOW 1959 K 386).

†74 *[b]tuu? *to burst, pustulate.*

- A: (Mon, Khasi) ~ Khasi **pyrthiew** [*parched grain*] *to burst; to come out in an eruption*; ~ Mon **hətao** *skin eruption endemic in cold weather*, Khasi **pyrthiew**, **byrthiew** *pustulated pulses*, (**kaba** —) *eruptions*.
Connect 2008 ***bt₁uh** &c.
Proto-Austronesian ***bātu(S)**: Sundanese **bituq** *to explode, erupt, to fire [gun]*, Cebuano Bisayan **butu** *to explode, burst; blister* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

†75 *[s]ta? *to vomit.*

- A: (Mon, Katuic, ?Khmer) Mon **ta?** (*medical*) *to vomit*, Bru **rata**: *vomit*, (?) Khmer **sda**: **stār** (!) *to unload, empty, drain off*.
Proto-Austronesian ***qu(N)t₁aq** *to vomit*: Malay **m-untah**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, ***[ʻ]u(n)tah**; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 8.2, 14.10).
If Khmer is not connected, Proto-Mon-Khmer ***(n)ta?**? See BENEDICT 1975 417.

(*st₁a? see 73 ***bt₁a?** *tail*.)

76 *di?; ***dih** *to hit, come in contact with.*

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **tī?** *to come in contact with, impinge on, collide, to charge, fight with horns*, Sre **dī** *to be right, to be in agreement, to have to*, Biat **dī**: *to hit; right*, Khasi (**īa-**)**dei** (!) *to hit*, Nancowry **té?** *to touch*.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **dadih** *to collide* (GUESDON 1930).
Khasi **d-**, for ***t-**, unexplained. B contaminated by 2010 ***dah** (compare with for semantics)?

77 ***da**[ʔ] *duck*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **t̪iə dā**, Kuy **thi:a**, Stieng, Chrau **da:**; (?) → Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **tua**, Lawa Umphai **thua**; ~ Sre **ada duck**, Gölar Bahnar **həda:** *wild duck*; → Cham **atà:**, Röglai, North Röglai **ada duck** (& Mon **ətəa?**); ~ Bahnar **təda:** [**da:k**] *wild duck*.

Or ***daar** (Mon, Khmer, Lawa), Khmer → Kuy, Bahnaric; Khmer orthography favours *-ʔ; Cham &c. inconclusive. Cf. Röglai **ara wild duck**, ↔ Sre **ara wild duck**, Kontum Bahnar **həra:** *duck*.

(SHAFFER 1965 121, 465.)

(***da**? see also 2010 ***dah** to *hit*, to *meet*.)

78 ***dəə**?; ***dəh**; ***dəəs** to *stop*, *be brought up short*, *come to rest*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Middle Mon **dui'**, Modern Mon **təʔ** to *stop*, *halt*, Khmer **t̪ɿ:** to *put (down, on shelf)*, to *land on*, *lodge*, *get caught*, Kammu-Yuan **təʔ** to *fall on one's bottom*, Semang [**bia**]-**dú** to *stop* (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 477; cf. W 8), Central Nicobarese [**ka:**]-**tr-** to *dwell, stay, wait*, Nancowry **katúr**; ~ Chrau **vədə:** to *catch falling object*.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **dəh** *rest*, Biat **dəh** at *leisure*, *easy*, Bahnar **dəh** *rest*, *cessation* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **pədəh** to *rest*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **t̪ɿ:h dös** to *be in the way*, to *be too big to go through opening*.

Connection dubious B31 ***dək** to *stop*, *halt*. Kontum Bahnar **pədə:y** to *stop*, *rest*, is ← Cham **patəy** to *rest*, cognate with Javanese **mari** to *stop*, *abate*; Mon **dah** [*rain*] to *stop* perhaps < 1903a ***daas** to *break*.

(SHAFFER 1965 130; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 70.)

79 ***[d][ɔ]ʔ**; ***[d][ɔ]h** *this*, *here*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **dəu**, **dəu** *here*, Sre **do** *this*, *here*.

B: (Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Thin **duh** *this*, Kensiu **dəh** *here*, Temiar **doh** *this*, *here*.

Connect 92 ***nəʔ** &c.? But perhaps ***d-** *here*, by contraction ***diiʔ-ʔ[wa]**? (85, 6).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 86 (d).)

80 ***dəə**? to *cover head*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer **t̪i:** **dū** *cloth cover of casket*, (TANDART 1935) to *cover*, Kuy **thù(:)aʔ** (!) to *wear on head* (contaminated by A22 ***[d]əək** to *wear round neck* &c., which compare?), Bahnar [**hla:**] **du:** *umbrella*; ~ Khmer **tət̪i:** **dadūv**, **dadūr** to *cover the head*, Sakai **tudō** to *cover* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 257); ~ Stieng **ndəu** [*umbrella*] to *shelter from*, *cover*, Sre **ndau** to *wear on head*, to *shelter under [umbrella]*, Biat **ndəu** to *cover oneself*, *cover head*; ~ (***pədəʔ** >) Bahnar **tū** to *cover*, *shelter*, to *take cover* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Proto-Austronesian ***tuduy**: Malay **tudong** *veil*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(BLOOD 1966 201.)

81 *duu? *to run away.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon **dow** /dɔw/, Modern Mon **tèa** *to run away*, Old Khmer **dau**, Modern Khmer **tɿu** *to go (away)*, Sre **dou?**, Chrau, Biat **du:**, Kammu-Yuan **tù?**, Palaung **du** *to run away*, Temiar **do?** *to run* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar **kədu:**, (!) **kədəw**, Jeh **kadàw**, Halang **gədò:w** *to run*, Tembi **dadu'** *to run away* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 44).
North Bahnaric diphthongization obscure. Add **84a *p[d]uu?** *to carry, transport?* Note Vietnamese **đào** *to escape, flee*. But Praok **to** *to run away* is < **1612 *tar**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SHAFER 1965 124, 479; SMITH 1972 424.)

82 *kdɔ? *plantain bud.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **dɔu** [pri:t] *plantain bud*, Chrau **jɔ:** [pri:t] *plantain flower*, Kammu-Yuan **kətɔ?** (!) *bud of plantain, rice, elephant grass*, Lawa Bo Luang **tu?**, Lawa Umphai **thu?** (— **ti?** &c.) *forearm*, (— **cuəŋ** &c.) *leg*; ~ (***krdɔ?** >) Mon **hətò?** [prət] *plantain bud, calf of leg*; by secondary derivation ~ (***dnɔ?** >) Sre **do** (— **jəŋ**) *calf*, (— **ti**) *flower*; (DOURNES 1950) *plantain bud*.
Cf. **B9 *k.dɔ?** *plantain*.

83 *tdi? *kind of bamboo.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (***tndi?** >) Mon [tùn] **kəlbə?** *tali* &c. *giant bamboo*; ~ (***trdi?** >) Stieng [tə:m] **rədəi** *kind of smooth-stemmed bamboo*, Bahnar **hədə:** *kind of bamboo* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **rədəē**); → Rōglai **tərde** *straight kind of bamboo with short joints*.
(SHAFER 1965 455.)

84 *pda[a]? *to lean on.*

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **pətè?** *to lean on*, Khasi [iə] **da** *to help, protect* (compounding form!; **iə-** reciprocal); ~ (***p.da[a]?** >) Vietnamese **đưa** *to lean on* (→ Mường **đưa**, BARKER 1966 23).
Cf. Central Nicobarese **iduwə-həre**; & **1470 *daay**.

84a *p[d]uu? *to carry, transport.*

A: (Bahnaric) West Bahnar **du:** (!) *to transport* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ndu:** [a: iə:] *to bring*; ~ Sre **pərdu** *to transport, carry away*, Bahnar **pədu?** *to transport*.
Originally *to carry off*, causative. ~ **81 *duu?** *to run away?* So Stieng **prədu:** *to run away (with), snatch up in running away*.

†**85** ***ḍii?** *middle, in.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon **ḍey** /**ḍɔy**/ *locative particle*, Sre **də** *dative particle (locative particle)*, DOURNES 1950), Biat **di:** [**dɔl**] (*in the*) *middle*, Kammu-Yuan **ta:**, **tə:** *at*, Thin **dă**, **dă** *in*; ~ Old Mon **tirḍey**, Modern Mon **hədoə**, Sedang **tadéy** *middle* (SMITH 1972 p. 79), Kammu-Yuan **tərti?** *between*; ~ Kuy **nthi:**, (?) Bahnar **ane?** *in the middle*, Palaung **kəndi** *middle*; ~ Old Mon **pḍey** *inside*, Middle Mon **pḍay**, Modern Mon **doə** *in*, Khmer **phtèy** *stomach*, (GUESDON 1930) *womb*, Pangan **pḍi** *central* (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 M 100).

Sora **tə'ra:ṇdi:-**, **tə'ra:ṇdi:-n** *middle*. (cf. PINNOW 1959 22).

Proto-Austronesian ***di:** Malay **di-** *locative prefix*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40; Proto-Hesperonesian).

86 ***ḍii?**; (***ḍii?**-s[] >) ***ḍiis**; ***ḍuu?**; ***ḍuul** *one.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kuy **thài** *different*, Stieng **di:**, Praok **ti**, Lawa Bo Luang **te?**, **ti?**, Lawa Umphai **thi?**, Mae Sariang **ti?** *one*; ~ (***ḍii?** **ḍii?** >) Khmer **tì:tèy**, **tətèy** *to be individually separate; other, different*, Nancowry **ríri** *all, whole*; ~ Palaung **rəndi** *alone, apart*.

B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **ḍis** *one*, (~?) Central Nicobarese **ore:h**, **ode:h** *first*, Nancowry **rúh** *other*, **ʔuréh** *first*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **du:** *one*.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tò:l** *to be single, just one*, Sre **du:l** *one*.

With suffix in B cf. Riang-Lang **sə-**, Khasi **shi** *one*. C perhaps < ***ḍii?**-ʔuu?, cf.

Palaung **u** *one* & Central Rölöm **ju:** (< ***dyu:**?).

Connect perhaps *-**d** in Santali **mi'd**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 338.

(SHAFFER 1965 285; BLOOD 1966 230.)

87 ***ḍe?**; ***ḍeh** *reflexive pronoun.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau **ḍe:** *belonging to*, Bahnar **ḍe:** *indefinite pronoun*, Kammu-Yuan **te:** *general pronoun*, Palaung **ḍe**, Riang-Lang **ḍe?**, Praok **ti** *reflexive pronoun*, Lawa Bo Luang **te?**, Lawa Umphai **te?**, Khasi [**la**]**ḍe**, Central Nicobarese **de:de**, **re:re** *self*; ~ (***kḍe?** >) Chrau **jə:** *belonging to*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **ḍeh** /**ḍeh**/, Modern Mon **ḍeh** *3rd person pronoun*, (weak form) Bahnar **dəh** *3rd person possessive pronoun* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **kədih** *reflexive pronoun*.

Connection uncertain Malay **dia** *he*, likely < Proto-Austronesian ***dia** *there* (BLUST 1970 no. 152) contaminated by **ia** *3rd person pronoun*, for which see 2 ***ʔii?**.

88 ***k[n]ḍa?** *thin.*

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy (k)**di:ə**, Bru **kada:**, (or ~?) Kammu-Yuan **həntà?**.

89 *cɗaʔ span.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Middle Mon *cɗa* span from thumb to middle finger, Modern Mon *daʔ* also to crawl like a leech, to measure by spans, Kuy (ch)thi:a, West Bahnar dialect *dā* span from thumb to middle finger (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *tda* span; to crawl like a leech; ~ Jeh *ida:*, Halang *həda:* span, Bahnar *səda:*, *həda:* span from thumb to middle finger; ~ Khmu' *sndaʔ* to measure length.

(SMITH 1972 543.)

(*t₂dīʔ see 2014 *t₂dīh near; *[]n[d]aʔ see 2015 *[]n[d]ah one of two sides.)

90 *[p]dɔɔʔ blister.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat *dɔ:u* blister, small swelling; to blister; ~ Mon *hədɔʔ* *phaɗa'* to blister.

†91 *niʔ; *nih this.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy *nì:*, Stieng *ne:i*, *nì:* this, here, Sre *ne* there, Bahnar *?ney*, *?ni:* that, Kammu-Yuan *nìʔ* this near at hand, Khasi [*u* &c.] *-ne*, Mường *nì* this (BARKER 1966 21), Central Nicobarese *əne* that (pronoun).

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer *neh*, Middle Khmer *neh neh*, *nih neh*, Riang-Lang *_ni* this.

Bahnar *?n-* in deictic also in following, which compare; as 1475 *naay, 1435a *ʔ[əy]ʔ &c. Jakun & Sakai (Lanoh) forms at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 89 are ← Malay.

Sora *-ne-* in e.g. *ten-ne-* here, Kurku *ini* this, &c. (PINNOW 1959 337).

Proto-Austronesian **in*, *i* this: Malay *ini*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 69; DYEN 1953 § 133; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 408. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 44.)

*92 *nɔʔ; *nɔh this.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, ?Khmuic) Mon *-nɔʔ* this, Chrau *nɔʔ* (!) there near at hand, Bahnar *?nu:*, *?nɔw*, *?nəw* here, this, Mae Sariang [*sajeʔ*] *nɔʔ* to[day], Vietnamese *nọ* this, Semelai *nɔʔ* here; ~ Middle Mon *'ano'* /*ənoʔ*/, Modern Mon *ənoʔ* here, Temoq *?anoʔ* this; ~ Semelai *nɔʔnɔʔ* this; probably ~ (*ʔ[anʔ-nɔʔ > ?) Kammu-Yuan *nə:* pronon 3 plural, Praok *nɔ* pronoun 3 singular Cf. Kuy *nəu* he, she, Bru *nəw* here, she, who (or 92a?).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer *noh*, Middle Khmer *nɔh noh* that, there, *nùh noh* that, Bahnar *(?)nɔh* here, this, Semnam *nɔh* this.

For Chrau final see 65 *t₁iʔ &c. Bahnar *?n-* in deictic also in preceding, which compare; *-ɔw* &c. perhaps contaminated by 6 *ʔ[ua]ʔ. Connect 79 *[d][ɔ]ʔ &c.? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 51 (e), (f), 85.) (?)

Proto-Austronesian *[nɨ]aa: Cebuano Bisayan **náa** *there (near addressee)*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 271). Note also Saaroa (Formosa) **na:na:** *there*, **kana?a** *that*, **kanau** *that (near)* (BENEDICT 1975 406, *this (one), there (I)*); and Li ***na** *he, she, they, that, there*, ib.

‡92a ***nɔ?** *what, which?*

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **nà:** *what?*, Khasi **-no** *which?, some[one &c.]*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***an₁u:** South Atayal **n-anu'**, Cebuano Bisayan dialect **anu** *what?*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 15, ***anu^c** *someone, something*; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 15.2); (ii) ***in₁u** *where, what?*: Malagasy **inu-na** *what?*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 15.2; BLUST 1971 no. 182).

†93 ***kn₁[i]?** *rat, mouse*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon **kni(?)** /**kni?**/, Modern Mon **nɔe?**, Kuy **(k)nai** *rat, mouse*, Stieng **kəne:i**, Sre **de**, Biat **nɛ:** (& **de:**, ← Sre?), Chrau, Bahnar **kəne:**, Jeh **kane:y**, Halang **kəne:** *rat*, Kammu-Yuan **kəné?** *rat, mouse*, Khasi **khnai**, Central Sakai **kəni** *mouse*.

Some disyllabic items may reflect an infix form.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 10; SMITH 1972 527; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 33.)
Kharía **'kəne** *mouse*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 398).

†94 ***[j]n₁aa?** *dew*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **[_num] _na?** *dew, mist*; ~ (***[j]rn₁aa?** >) Lawa Bo Luang **?a?na?**, Lawa Umphai **ra?na?** *dew*.
Sora **'sinna:-n**.

95 ***t₁n₁aa?** *large bovid*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Khasi **mynthna** *mithan*; ~ (***t₁mn₁aa?** >?) Riang-Lang **ˀpna?**, Danaw **mă ˀna?** *water-buffalo*.
Khasi compound, or ~ ***mt₁n₁aa?** by deformative metathesis.

96 ***[b]na?**; ***[b]nah** *you, plural of address*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **mnì:ə** *you...*, (**mənùh** —) *people* (beside **mnì:əl**).

B: (Mon) Old Mon **bnah** /**bnah**/ *you...*

Khmer **m-** by phrasal alliteration?

97 ***sna?** *crossbow*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer **sna:**, Kuy **nhai:**, **sna:**, Stieng **səna:** (or derived?), Biat **na:**, Vietnamese **ná:**; ~ Sre **səna**.
(BLOOD 1966 309.)

†98 *piʔ *three*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon **pi(ʔ)** /piʔ/, Modern Mon **pəeʔ**, Old Khmer **piy**, Modern Khmer **bry**, Kuy **pai**, Stieng **pei**, Sre **pe**, Chrau, Biat **pɛi**, Jeh **pe:y**, Halang **pe:**, Kammu-Yuan **péʔ**; ~ Semelai **hmpeʔ**; ~ Temiar **neʔ**.

Cf. (i) Bahnar **pe:ŋ**; (ii) 1437a *ʔuy &c., connected if < Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[**ui**] ~ *[**u/p/i**] or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFER 1965 567-8; BLOOD 1966 177; SMITH 1972 537; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 99, 100.)

Kharia **'uʔphe**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 348).

†99 *piʔ *you (plural)*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung **pɛ**, Riang-Lang **ʔpeʔ**, Praok **pe**, Lawa Bo Luang **paiʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peʔ**, Khasi **phi**, Central Nicobarese [i]fe:.

Connection dubious forms in *b-: (i) Old Mon **beḥ** /beh/ *you (singular)*, Modern Mon **pèh** *you*; with /h/ perhaps by levelling on Old Mon **deḥ** *3rd person pronoun* (< 87 *deh), **t'eh** *pronominal plural suffix*; (ii) Stieng **be:i** *you (plural)*, perhaps levelled on **me:i** *you (masculine singular)* (< 128 *miʔ); with these cf. Sora **am'be:n** &c., compounding form **-be'n**, Santali **aben** *you two*, &c., PINNOW 1959 55; (iii) Kammu-Yuan **pò:** *you (plural)*; levelled on **nò:** *pronoun 3 plural*. (ad 92 *nɔʔ).

(SHAFER 1965 286.)

Kharia **-pe**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 175a; Proto-Munda *-pe).

100 *paʔ; *pah *shoulder*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang [ʔcak] **ʔpaʔ**; ~ Khasi **tympha**.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **bả** [vai] [*shoulder*]-blade; ~ Middle Mon **pnah**, Modern Mon **nah** *shoulder*.

Connection dubious Kuy **mpa:ʔ** (*tip of*) *shoulder*, perhaps ~ A12 *ʔaak *shoulder-blade*; or 218 *blaʔ *shoulder*.

100a *pəəʔ; *puʔ *to lift, raise*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **pɯ:** *to lift, raise* (→ Sre **pə:**), Stieng **pɯ:** *to carry in hands*, Jeh **pòʔ** *to lift, reach*, Halang **pòʔ** (by attraction 121 *bɔʔ) *to carry on back*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **puʔ**, Praok **pu** *to carry on back*.

Back vocalism secondary? Or two roots, with contamination? Cf. Nancowry under the entry 121.

(SMITH 1972 306.)

†101 ***poo?**; ***poŋ** to swell, expand.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric, ?Khmer) Mon **pao?** to swell, to be nearly ripe, Central Nicobarese **fua-[hətə]** to swell, Nancowry **fúa**, (?) Khmer **bao por** to warp, swell.

B: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon **poŋ** to swell up, [bread] to rise; ~ (*[k]**poŋ**; or perhaps *[k]-**boŋ**, ad 108 *[b]**oo?**, >) Khmer **paŋ** inflated, puffed up, Bahnar **po:ŋ** swollen; ~ Kuy **mpo:ŋ** inflated, puffed up, Bahnar **pəpo:ŋ** to bulge out, become bigger; (?) ~ Vietnamese **bóng** bladder, ball, balloon.

Cf. besides *[b]**oo?** 348 ***pu(u)k**; Biat **poh** to swell.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; cf. SHAFER 1965 333.)

Sora **puŋ-(‘puŋ-)** to swell; cf. PINNOW 1959 356.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 404.

102 ***poo?** parent-in-law.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **pou** parent-in-law, relation by marriage, Stieng **[ba] pou** father-in-law (by contraction, cf. Sre **pou ba:p** father-in-law), Chrau **[va:p &c.] pɔ:** elder in-law, Bahnar **po?** friend, especially relation by marriage; term of address to child's spouse's parent, Palaung **pu**, Riang-Lang **ṽpɔ?** father-in-law, Lawa Bo Luang **pau?**, Lawa Umphai **po?** mother's elder brother, father-in-law.

103 ***krpi?**; ***krpiiw**; ***krpu?**; ***[kr]puh** buffalo.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **krəbɿy** (→ Stieng **krəpu:**?).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **kapiaw** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

C: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəpu**, Chrau **gəpu:**, Biat **rpu:**, Bahnar **kəpo:**.

D: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **puh**.

-B-D, contextually favoured, probably contaminated by Indonesian ***k/ar/əbau** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76, ***kəbav**; Cham **kapà:w**, &c.); note here Madurese **kərbhuy**, perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer. Connection obscure Mường **tru** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **trâu**.

(SHAFER 1965 59; BLOOD 1966 239; SMITH 1972 523.)

104 ***t₁pa?** freshwater turtle.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy **spa:**, Stieng **pa:**; ~ Sre **dərpa**, Chrau **dəpa:**, (or next?) Bahnar **təpa:**; → Cham **tapar**, Röglai **dərpa**, North Röglai **tupa**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **təmpá?**.

Cf. Vietnamese **ba-ba** turtle.

(***t₂puə?** see 1916 ***t₂puus** to sweep.)

†105 *mp[ɔ]ʔ *dream, to dream*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *'ampo'* /^mpɔʔ/ *dream*, Modern Mon kəpɔʔ, Kuy mpa: [bic], Bru mpaw, Sre mpao, Bahnar apɔ:, Gölar Bahnar həpɔ:, Jeh hmòʔ (!) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan həmpóʔ, Central Sakai pō *to dream*, Central Nicobarese enfuə *dream, to dream*, Nancowry ʔinfuá; ~ Palaung rənpō *to dream*; by metathesis (*rpm[ɔ]ʔ >) Rieng-Lang ɹəmuʔ *to dream*, Praok -maw *dream*, Lawa Bo Luang ʔamauʔ, Lawa Umphai ramoʔ *dream, to dream*.

Or *mpuəʔ (&c.), by metathesis *mpawʔʔ Stieng mbə:i *dream, to dream*, Biat mbə:i *to dream* are probably contaminated rather than ← Indonesian, below.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 296, 548; SMITH 1972 562.)

Kharia mui *to dream*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 351).

Proto-Austronesian *(n-)uSi(N)pi: Malay *m-impi*, Jarai rəpə:i *to dream*, &c. (cf. DAHL 1973 § 13.5, & add Gayo, Karo Batak nipi; DEMPWOLFF 1938 69, *[^c]i(m)pi^c; 108, *nupi^c; DYEN 1965). Kuiper suggested (from Munda & Indonesian) *mui, *pui; Proto-Austroasiatic *mpuiʔ or the like, with metathesis vs. Proto-Austronesian? See BENEDICT 1975 274.

(*rpuaʔ see 1918 *rpuus ...*fourth finger*.)

106 *spuʔ *thatching-grass*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon [nɔm] hwɔʔ, Old Khmer spū, Modern Khmer sbo:v *thatching-grass*, Central Nicobarese fo *thatch*. ~ Kuy mpa: *to thatch*, Bru sapɔ:

107 *[b]əʔ *to ingest*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan pəʔ *to eat, to drink*, Kensiu buʔ *to drink*.

107a *[]bɔʔ *hump of ox*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon pəʔ ba' &c., Kammu-Yuan pəʔ.

Conceivably *lb-; then ~ 119 *ln[b][o]ʔ *ox*?

Cf. Kachin dəbu, BENEDICT 1972 114.

*108 *[b]ooʔ; *[b]ooŋ; *[b]uŋ *to swell, bulge*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer pò: *to swell* (GUESDON 1930), (or derived > ?) Bahnar bō *swollen with decay* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer spò: sbor (!) *swelling up, swollen*; ~ (*p[b]ooʔ >) Central Nicobarese fa:po *fat*, Nancowry fápu connection dubious.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer pò:ŋ *hump, protuberance*, Bahnar bo:ŋ *swollen* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (perhaps ~ Khmer paŋ *inflated*..., &c., see 101 *pooʔ).

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer pùŋ *swollen* (?; GUESDON 1930, ≠ belly < 624 *buŋ[]), Kuy phùŋ *pregnant*, Bahnar buŋ *swollen, bulging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B) Khasi pong[kdung] *bellying, bulging out*; ~ Khmer kəmpùŋ *fully rounded*.

Problematic. If Khasi < B, C perhaps ← Indonesian, below; other Khmer, Bahnar conceivably < *[d]-poo? &c., ad 101. Cf. further (i) Khmer **krùəŋ** *shoulder of hill* (< *[k][b]əŋ?); (ii) Khmer **pə:ŋ** *bump...; to puff up, swell up, become inflated*, Kuy **phù:əŋ** *blistered, swollen* (< *[b]əŋ); (iii) 629 *[d]buŋ *foetus*. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 333.)

Proto-Austronesian *kə(N)buŋ: Malay **kěmbong** *inflated, distended*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; probably Proto-Malayo-Javanese, discarding Tagalog, Toba Batak, & assuming Malay → Ngaju Dayak; so perhaps ← Mon-Khmer!). See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b); BENEDICT 1975 404.

109 *b[oo]? *friend*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **bu** *friend*, Praok [paw] **pu** [pɛ] *associate*, Lawa Bo Luang **pu?**(hməu), Lawa Umphai **phu?** [hmeu], Mae Sarian **pu?** [hmeu], Vietnamese **bầu** (!) *friend*.

Cf. 1836 *b[aw]? *companion*...

110 *bu[u]? *individual*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **vu:** *someone*, Biat **bu:** *person*, Bahnar **bu:** *someone, who*; ~ Chrau **kəmvu:** *who*.

By contraction *bu[u]? ?ii? (cf. 2; Palaungic: i, *buuy >) Praok **puy**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sarian **pui**, Lawa Umphai **phui** *person*; (ii, *bii? >) Palaung **bi** *person*.

(Cf. SMITH 1972 559.)

111 *[][b]uu? *soul, shadow, butterfly*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) ~ Khmer **?əmbau** *butterfly* (TANDART 1935), West Bahnar **mu:** *shadow, reflection* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **kərbu** *spirit* (MILNE 1931), *soul*, Semang **kālbo** *shadow* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 126).

The soul is believed to be visible as a butterfly by e.g. the Mons.

*112 *?baa? *father*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **'ba'** /^m**ba?** / *father*, Modern Mon **mè?** *father*, **bè?** *peremptory term of address to males*, Khmer **ba:** *father especially of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation* (→ Stieng **ba:** *onomastic prefix for elder males?*), Bahnar **ba?**, (Kontum) **ba?**, Jeh **ba:?**, Halang **ba?**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sarian **pua?**, Lawa Umphai **phua?**, Khasi **pa** *father*.

Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, Stieng **mə:m**; or Biat **mbɔ?**.

(SHAFER 1965 281; SMITH 1972 319; LEWITZ 1967 121-3.)

Kharia **'aba**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 26).

Proto-Austronesian *əNbaq: Malay **ěmbah** *grandparent*, Acehnese (ö)**mbah**, Iban **embah** [apai] *father*, Tagalog **ambaq** *uncle* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. BLUST 1971 no. 167); → Temiar **bə:h** *father?*

113 *[?]bo? *mother*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **'bo'** /^mbaw?/ *mother*, Modern Mon **bə?** *female of animals...*, Jehai **bə?**, Temiar **bo:?** *mother*; probably → Malay **ibu**, → Javanese **ibu**; ~ Mường **bợ** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **vợ** *wife*, Semnam **babo:?** *wife, woman*, Jehai **babo?**, Temiar **babo:?** *woman*.

Or ***mb-**. Since Javanese is likely to be a loan word, Dempwolff's construction of Proto-Austronesian ***ibu**^c (DEMPWOLFF 1938 66) is dubious (but note Sediq **búbu?**).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 61, M 192.)

*114 *?buu? *to suck at the breast*.

(Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **'bow'** /^mbaw/, Modern Mon **mèa**, Khmer **bau**, Sre **pou?**, Chrau, Biat **pu:**, Jeh **bu?** *to suck* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pù?**, Palaung **bu**, Riang-Lang **bu?** *breast, to suck*, Vietnamese **bú** *to suck*, Che' Wong **bu?** *breast, to suck*, Jah Hut **bo:?** *breast*, Chowra Nicobaric **mə:-[hətə]** *to suck*, Nancowry **mó?**; ~ Vietnamese **vú** *breast*; ~ Old Mon **pubow** /^{pə}m^baw/, Modern Mon **həmèa**, Khmer **bəmbau**, Biat **mpu:**, Jeh **hmu?** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pənpù?**, Riang-Lang **pəkbu?** *to suckle*; ~ Sre **təmpou?** *to suckle*.

Cf. Praok **pəy** *to suck*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 41a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 386.)

Atayal ***bubu** *breast, milk*, (~) Kananabau **mumu** *breast, milk*. (BENEDICT 1975 242, which see).

115 *krəbə[ə]? *crocodile*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **krəpɔ:**, Stieng **krəbɔ:**, Biat **rbɔ:**, Bru **rabə:**.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***buqaia(S)**: Malay **buaya**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***b/uh/aja**^c; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50).

*116 *kboo? *white*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **gwu**, Modern Mon **kwù?** (& **pù?**) *to be white*; ~ Middle Mon **kambu**, Modern Mon **kəmao?** *white*.

Cf. Khmer **kpus** /**kboh**/ *pure white*. Connection obscure 369a ***kḥḥk** *white, grey*. Sora **'ba:ə-** *grey[haired]* is more probably connected 25 ***skəw?**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kulabu(S)** *grey*: Malay **kəlabu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82-3, Proto-West-Indonesian; referred as prefixed form to ***qabu** *ash*, for which see 2034 ***buh** &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 221-2, *ashes*.

117 *mbii? elder sibling.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *mbay*, Modern Mon *bòə* *elder sister*, Stieng *bi:* (BLOOD 1966), Sre *bi*, Bunör, Central Rölöm *mi:* *elder sibling*.

Kammu-Yuan *pì:* *elder sibling* is (by back-borrowing?) ← Lao *bhii*. Cf. 1531a **waay* *elder sibling*; 1494 **mə(ə)y* *mother's sister*.

(BLOOD 1966 215.)

(**mbo?* see 113 **[?]bo?* *mother*.)

118 *rba? to hunt down.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (**rmba?* >) Old Mon *runba* /*rəmba?*/, Modern Mon *kəmè?* *hunter*, Khmer *rùmpì:ə* *carnivorous*; ~ (**rnba?* >) Khmer *rùmpì:ə* *prey, kill* (& *lùmpì:ə*, TANDART 1935).

Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, : Khmer *mə:* *elephant-hunter*.

†119 *ln[b][o]? ox.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *ləmpò?*.

Originally perhaps *humped (cattle)*, ~ (**lbə?* =) 107a **[]bə?*. Connection obscure Mường *pò* (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *bò*; ← or contaminated by Proto-Austronesian **kəbau* *buffalo* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76)?

Proto-Austronesian (?) **lənbu(S)*: Cham *limə:*, &c. (with obscure vocalism), Malay *lěmbu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 247, *cattle*.

†120 *ḡa? paddy.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Chrau *va:*, Stieng, Biat *ba:*, Bahnar *ḡa:*, Danaw *ḡa*, Che' Wong, Mah Meri *be?*, Temiar *ba:?*; ~ Khasi *kba*; ~ Semelai *baba:h* *paddy* (& Semang &c. —i.e. Jehai, Bateg Dek— *bab* *boiled rice*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Cf. 133 **ma?* *seed*, (BLOOD 1966 276; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 106 (a), (c).)

Kharia *ba?* *paddy*, ~ Sora (children's language) *'ba:ba:-n* *cooked rice*, Mundari *baba* *paddy*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 4).

121 *ḡə? to carry on back.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer *va*, Modern Khmer *pə:* *to carry on hip* (JACOB 1968; *on back* GUESDON 1930, *in arms* TANDART 1935, HENDERSON 1952; i.e. *to carry child?*), Palaung *bə*, Riang-Lang *ḡə?* *to carry on back*, Temiar *ba?* *to carry on back* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132; rather than *bə?* *to carry*, ib. 135), Nancowry *ḡupúə?* *to carry on back*.

Cf. B117 **ḡ[a]s* *to carry [heavy object]* (& POU & JENNER 1975 no. 21). Bahnar *pu?*, Halang *pò?*, Praok *pu* are < 100a **pəə?* &c.

†122 *ḡ[ɔɔ]? *younger sibling*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **pù:** *bū* (!) *parent's younge brother*, Praok **pu**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **pu?**, Lawa Umphai **phu?** *younger sibling*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṣəmbo?**, (~?) Khasi *hynbew* *younger sibling*.

If rather *ḡu?, Riang-Lang vocalism obscure.

Santali **bɔ-[kɔ]** *younger sibling*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 218).

(*ḡuu? see 125 *(t)ḡuu? *sugar-cane*.)

122a *[j]ḡ[o]? *kind of cereal crop*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **spò:** *sorghum*, Bru **sapùa** *Job's tears*; ~ Biat **mbɔ:**, Bahnar **həḡɔ:** *maize*.

Obscure. HENDERSON 1952 has Khmer **sp̃ru**; contaminated by 1834 *ḡ[b]aw *millet?* (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

(*ḡḡuu? see 2041a *jḡuəh *beak*.)

123 *[t₂]ḡe[e]?; *[t₂]ḡee[s] *Job's tears, Coix lachryma-jobi*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṣəḡe?** *Job's tears, Coix lachryma-jobi*, Lawa Bo Luang **sapi?** *Panicum miliaceum* (*Japanese kibi*).

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **kəḡe:h** *Job's tears*.

Cf. Ami (Formosa) **havay** *Setaria italica* (TSUCHIDA 1977, 89).

124 *tḡə?; *[t][ḡ]u(u)? *to touch, feel*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Biat **bu:** *to feel*, Bahnar **bə:** *to touch, feel, handle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?; *t₁-) Khasi **tba** *to touch, feel*; ~ (*tḡə? >) Sre **ḡu**, **tḡu** *to touch, feel*; ~ (*trḡə? >) Bahnar **həḡə?** *to feel for*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bu-[bi &c.]** (*-uu?), Praok **pu [pi]** (*-u?) *to touch, feel*.

Note further Central Rölöm, Bunör **bi:**, Köho Chil **təbi:** (BLOOD 1966 207); but connection obscure Mon **kwò?** *dwa'* (< *tḡə?); perhaps contaminated by *bal > Khmer **pəḡal** *to touch*.

†125 *(t)ḡuu? *sugar-cane*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **tḡow** /tḡɔw/, Modern Mon **baɔ**; ~ Old Khmer *'arṇvau*, Modern Khmer **ṭəmp̃ru**.

Connect 1834 *ḡ[b]aw *millet?*

(SCHMIDT 1905 34.)

Proto-Austronesian *t₁əbuS: Malay *těbu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 133, *təbu^c; cf. DAHL 1973 § 9.5, 14.9; BLUST 1961 proposed *^ouS₁u); → Semang *těbu'* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 515). Khmer, & Old Mon **ḡ**, obscure if Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian; but Old Mon **t-** contaminated by it? See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19 (a); BENEDICT 1975 401.

‡126 *bəbeʔ goat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon *bəbeʔ* /bəbeʔ/, Modern Mon *həbeʔ*, Old Khmer *vave*, Modern Khmer *pəpè:* (with vocalism by secondary lengthening?), Kuy, Biat *bɛ:*, Stieng *beh*, *bɛ:ih*, Sre *be*, Chrau *vəvɛ:* (& *dəvɛ:* by dissim), Bahnar *bəbɛ:*, Jeh *buʔbe:y*, Halang *bəbɛ:*, Kammu-Yuan *pɛʔ*, Palaung *bɛ*, Praok *pe* goat, Lawa Bo Luang *peʔ*, Lawa Umphai *pheʔ*, Mae Sariang *piʔ* mountain goat.

For Stieng *-h* cf. 39 *ciiʔ. Onomatopoeic. Cf. (i) Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 302, (III); Riang-Lang *ʔpɛʔ* is ← Shan *pɛ̀*; (ii) with initial nasal Central Nicobarese *me*, Nancowry *mɛʔ*; Kharia *mɛ'rɔm*, Gutob *gime*, &c., PINNOW 1959 177; Ong-Be *mɛ* goat, sheep, &c., BENEDICT 1975.

(SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFER 1965 36; BLOOD 1966 171; SMITH 1972 529.)

Jakun *bêbeʔ* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 53A), Sundanese *embe*, Macassar *bembe*, Proto-Ambonese **bibi* (STRESEMAN 1927). (Mainland forms perhaps ← Mon-Khmer: Cham *pəpè:*, Jarai *bəbɛ:*, Rōglai *bə*, North Rōglai *mube*).

127 *miʔ (& *miiʔ?); *mih; *miiw rain, to rain.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer *mè:* downpour (*quantifier*) (?; also *mì:* *mīr* overcast, threatening rain), Stieng, Chrau *mi:* (to) rain, Semnam *mi:ʔ* rain; ~ Bahnar *ʔmi:* (to) rain (< **iiʔ?*), Jeh *ʔmiah*, Halang *ʔmìa* rain; ~ Semai *maniʔ* rain.

B: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat *mih*, Central Nicobarese *əmīh* (to) rain, Nancowry *ʔamúh*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *mi:w* rain.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 37 *sɲiʔ &c.; add then perhaps Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *mưa* rain. Cf. further 141 *gmaʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 216; SMITH 1972 521; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 7; & cf. R 8.)

128 *mi[i]ʔ; *miih you (singular).

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *mài* you (*familiar*), Sre *mi* you (*singular*), Stieng *me:i*, Chrau *ma:y* (BLOOD 1966 also *may*), Biat *mai* you (*masculine*), Kammu-Yuan *mè:* you (*masculine singular*), Palaung *mi*, Riang-Lang *_miʔ*, Praok *may*, Lawa Bo Luang *maiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *miʔ*, Khasi *me*, Vietnamese *mày*, Bateg Nong *məʔ*, Central Nicobarese *me*, *mě* you (*singular*).

B: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Bateg Dek *mɔh*, Semnam *mi:h* you (*singular*); ~ Bahnar *ʔmih* you (*dual*).

Vocalism in part suggest **-əy*; perhaps a calling deformation, but in South Bahnaric by attraction 1436 *ʔəy[h] *feminine*; Chrau *ma:y* then as *əy* ad *ʔəy[h].

(SHAFER 1965 158; BLOOD 1966 187; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 33.)

129 *mii? to look at.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *mey* /mɔy/ to look (at, into), Modern Mon *mòà* to watch over, (in compounds) to look, Khmer *mèy* to dwell on mentally (poetic), Kuy *mè:* to look (at); ~ Khmer *məmèy* to imagine; ~ (**mrmi?* >) Sre *rəmi* to look at.

130 *mii? brother-in-law.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre [pou] *mi* (DOURNES 1950), Jeh, Halang *mi:* brother-in-law, Bahnar *mi:* brother-in-law older than oneself.
(SMITH 1972 514.)

*131 *mee?, (*mee?-mee? > ?) *?mee? mother.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Middle Mon *mi*, Modern Mon *mì?* mother, Old Khmer *me*, *'me*, *ame* mother, Modern Khmer *mè:*, *mae* term of address to old women, *mè:* familiar or impolite term of address to women, Kuy (?a:) *mɛ?*, Stieng *me:i* mother, Sre *me:* mother, *me* female, Chrau *me:*, (term of address) *mɛ:?*, Biat *mɛ:*, (term of address) *mɛ?*, Bahnar *mɛ?*, Khasi *mei*, Mường *mɛ* (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese *mẹ*, Semai I ?*ame:?*, Semai II ?*ame?* mother.

Variant forms (in part implying *-e?) probably developed contextually. Cf. Old Burmese *mi*, Modern Burmese (*'a*)*mi*. But connection uncertain Cham *mɛ:?*, Jarai *ami?*. Cf. also following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 177; BLOOD 1966 175a, b; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194.)

Kharia *mi'j* aunt (PINNOW 1959 80).

132 *ma? mother.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy *ma:?* mother (to children) (originally term of address? then → Khmer *mak* mother, mummy?), Jeh, Halang *ma:* aunt, Kammu-Yuan *mà?*, Palaung *ma*, Rieng-Lang *_ma?*, Praok *mɛ*, Lawa *ma?* mother.

Semelai, Che' Wong *ma?* (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194) are ← Malay *ěmak*. Cf. besides preceding. Tibeto-Burman **ma*, Archaic Chinese **mǎ* 媽 (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 487; 188 n. 487, 189). (Cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

133 *ma? seed.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon *ma* /ma?/, Modern Mon *mè?* seed, Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese *mạ* rice seedling; (?) ~ Sakai *sěmá* paddy (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 105).

Cf. 120 **fa?* paddy.

134 **[]ma?* insect.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ma**, Riang-Lang **_ma?**; ~ Mon **kəma?** (**cama** &c.; but < ***kuən ma?**?).

135 **[]ma?* right-hand.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ma**, Chrau, Biat **ma:**, (~?) Bahnar **?ma:** *right-hand*, Jeh, Halang **?ma:** *right-handed*.

(SHAFER 1965 174; BLOOD 1966 305; SMITH 1972 542.)

(***ma?** see also 236 ***m-wa?** *parent's sibling*.)

136 **m[o]?*; **m[o]h* what.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon **mu**, **mo'** /**mu?**/, Modern Mon **mò?** *what?*, Chrau **mɔ?** (!) *what, why*, Kammu-Yuan **mɔ?** *who*, Palaung **mɔ** *what, which, where, when?*, Praok **mɔ** *who, which?*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Biat **mɔh** *which, why?*, Kammu-Yuan **məh** *what?*, Palaung **mɔh** *any*, Semai **ma:h**, Semaq Beri **hmɔh** *what?*

Chrau -**ɔ** generalized from deictics, cf. 65 ***t₁i?**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 78.)

(***mu?** see 2046 ***muh** *to be*; ***?mee?** see 131 ***mee?** *mother*.)

137 **klmiə?* sugar-cane.

(Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **kəlmè?**, Palaung **rəmɛ**, Lawa Bo Luang **?amai?**, Lawa Umphai **rami?**, Mae Sariang **ɣame?**, Vietnamese **mía**. Kammu-Yuan perhaps < *-**əy?** by metathesis.

138 **kmu?*; **kmuə?*; **kmu(ə)h* mouldy, rotten.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **mao?** **kmu** *to be mildewed*, Kammu-Yuan **mu?** *rotten [wood]*.

B, C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **khmuic:ə** **khmuicəɾ** (!) *stinking, musty-smelling*, (with post-nasal vocalism?) **khmɔh** **khmoḥ** *stinking*; ~ Bru **lamɔh** *turning mouldy*.

139 **k[n]mu?* person, human being.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **mo:** *person, people* (usually as phrase head), Kammu-Yuan **kəmmú?** *human being, Khmu, Theng*.

***140 **kmuu?*; **kmuə?*; **kmə?* dirty.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **khmau** *black*, Kuy **kmau** *black, tarnished*; ~ Old Khmer **kanmau** *black, dark*, Palaung **kəmu** *grease, to be greasy, dirty* (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **krəmau** *dark, almost black, in colour* (→ Stieng **krəmɔ:u** *dirty, to soil*, Biat **rma:ɔ** *dirty?*).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **ʔmòʔ** *bad, broken*, Halang **ʔmòʔ** *dirty, bad*; ~ Bahnar **kəmɔʔ** *dirty*.

C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong, Sabum **kamah** *dirty*; ~ Bahnar dialects **kəmə:** *dirty* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SMITH 1972 307; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 116.)

Mundari **humu** *dirt, dirty*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 114).

†141 *gmaʔ rain.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kuy **mì:a** (*to*) *rain*, Kammu-Yuan **kəmàʔ**, Mah Meri, Semaq Beri **gəma:h** *rain*.

Connect **127 *miʔ** &c.?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 8.)

Kharia **gim** *to rain*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 282; Proto-Munda ***gimaG**).

142 *[c][p]maʔ porcupine.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau **səma:**, Sre **səma** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **jəma:**; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prəma:**.

Perhaps ~ (North & Central Aslian) ***cmaʔ** *sharp*: Kintaq Bong, Jah Hut **cəmaʔ** (cf.

SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 296).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 550.)

143 *jməʔ creeper, cord.

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Praok **maw**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔmauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **ʔmoʔ** *cord*, Semaq Beri **jəmɔʔ** *root* (or *creeper*, if = Malay **akar**?); ~

Kammu-Yuan **cəmməʔ** *rope, cord*; ~ Khasi **jyrmī** *creeper*.

(SHAFFER 1965 299; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d).)

143a *[j]m[o]ʔ to be hidden, concealed, to hide.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **mɔ:** [**nu:ih**] *disassembling*, Palaung **mɔ**, Praok **mo** *to be hidden, concealed*, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔmaʔ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔmɔʔ** *to hide, conceal*.

Or ***-ɔʔ**.

†144 *t₁miʔ new.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **thmɿy**, Kuy (**t**)**mai**, Stieng **me:i**, Chrau **me:**, Biat **mhe:**, Thin **hme**, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **mới** *new*, (?) Central Nicobarese [**ã:**]-**kəme**-[**yəŋ**] *to repeat*; → Thai **mây**, Lao **mai**, Kam-Sui ***hmay** *new* (BENEDICT 1975 344); ~ (***t₁nmiʔ** >) Middle Mon **tami**, Modern Mon **kəmɔeʔ** *to be new*, Sre **təme**, Kammu-Yuan **hənmeʔ**, **həmmeʔ**, Palaung **kənme**, Riang-Lang **tənmeʔ**, Khasi **thymmai** *new*; ~ (***t₁bmiʔ** >) Old Mon **tumi** /**təmiʔ**/ *to renew*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFFER 1965 175; BLOOD 1966 173.)

Sora **'tamme:-**, Kharia **'tənme**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 184).

145 ***t₁maʔ** *to fight, make war.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **thma**, *'ma war, battle, dispute*; ~ Old Mon **tinma** /**təmmaʔ**/ [**werwey**] *enmity*; ~ (***t₁rmaʔ** >) Praok **sima** *to fight*.

146 ***t₂məʔ** *stone.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon **tmo'** /**tməʔ**/ *stone, rock, hill*, Modern Mon **məʔ** *stone, rock*, Old Khmer **t(h)mo**, Modern Khmer **thmɔː**, Kuy **tmau**, Halang **moː**, Palaung **mo**, Khasi **maw**, Che' Wong **təməʔ**, Jah Hut **təməʔ** *stone*; from a suffixed form Semaq Beri **təməŋ** *stone*; (probably) ~ Stieng **təmbuː**, Chrau **təmoː**, Bahnar **təmoː** (→ Jeh **tamouʔ**), Praok **simaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **samauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **samoʔ** *stone*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 165; SMITH 1972 560; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 463.)

*147 ***[hy]muʔ** *name.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bru, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon **yamo'**, **himo'**, &c. /**hyəmuʔ**/ *name, to be named*, Modern Mon **cəmùʔ** *name*, Old Khmer **jmah**, Middle Khmer **chmùəh jhmoh** (to) *name*, Kuy **mùh**, Bru **ramùh**, Lawa Bo Luang **mau**, Lawa Umphai **maus**, Mae Sariang **məih** *name*, Riang-Lang **mus** (to) *name*, Praok **mə** *to be called* (& Palaung **mur** *mouth?*), Sema **muh** *name*; ~ Sre **təməh** *to name*; ~ Thin **səŋmə**, Jehai **kəməh**, Semnam **kənməh**, Semaq Beri **jəŋməh** *name*.

*-h, *-s by effect of initial? Perhaps ~ ***hyuʔ** > Middle Mon **yo'** /**ywʔ**/, Modern Mon **yəʔ** *particle of address*; cf. for this analysis Kensiu **cəʔ** *name* (& Kammu-Yuan **cùː**, Praok **cə** **kaə**, apparently ← Tai (Shan **sū**); cf. BENEDICT 1975 343, & note Dioi, Sek ***jə**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 443; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 9.)

Sora **ə'nam-ən**, Kharia **'jimi**, **'jimi**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 510b; Proto-Munda ***jimu**, ***jimu**).

148 ***[s]maʔ** *rotten.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **[ph] hmaʔ** *to be rotten*, Khasi **sma** *to have a bad smell*.

Or ***cm-**; or ***t₂m-**, Mon **h-** by phrasal sandhi?

149 ***smə[]ʔ**; ***sməh** *equal, alike.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **smaə** *equal*, Kuy **mhəː**, **sməː** *to be smooth, even, level*; ~ (***snmə[]ʔ** >) Chrau **səməː** *same*, Stieng **səmwuː** *equal, similar*, Bahnar **həmō** *equal, similar, level* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **s(ə)mɣ** *to be like; just like*; → Thai **samǎə**; Cham **sāmū**.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **smoh** /**sməh**/ *to be equal, alike*, Modern Mon **hmuh** [**cəp**] *to agree*.

(***sm[ʍə]ʔ** see 264 ***m[h][ʍə]ʔ** *evening, night*.)

†150 *y[ee]? we.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Palaung *yɛ* I and they elsewhere, Praok *yɪ* we, Mintil *yɛ?*, Semaq Beri *yɛ:h* we (*plural inclusive*); ~ Bahnar *ɲi:* we (*dual exclusive*).

Cf. 1 *ʔiʔ &c.; perhaps by contraction *ʔiiʔ-ʔiʔ we persons.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1.)

Juang [ɲiɲ]-je we (PINNOW 1959 39; ?).

†151 *yaʔ (*yaʔ-yaʔ >) *yaay grandmother.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Bahnar *yaʔ* grandmother, ancestress, Jeh, Halang *yaʔ*, Kammu-Yuan *yàʔ*, Palaung *ya* grandmother, Rieng-Lang *_yaʔ* wife, grandmother, Praok *yɛ*, Lawa *yuaʔ*, Semang *yā'* grandmother (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 87); ~ (*jyaʔ; perhaps by contraction *njaʔ-yaʔ the grandmother's man, cf. Old Mon *'ja* /ʔjaʔ/ he) Mon *cèʔ* great-grandfather, Old Khmer *jī* ancestor, Modern Khmer *cì:* ancestor, respectful term of address (→ Stieng dialect *jì:* grandmother?), Biat *cɛ:* grandfather, Kammu-Yuan *cua* [taʔ] *cua* [tɛʔ] ancestors; ~ (*kuən yaʔ > *knyaʔ, sandhi-form *jaʔ > : i) Rieng-Lang *_kəŋpaʔ* woman, female; (ii) Khmer *ɲi:* female [animal], (?) Semnam *ɲɔ:ʔ* mother.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *yài* mother, Khmer *yì:əy* term of address to old woman, Stieng *ia:i* grandmother, ancestor.

Cf. A171 *yaw grandparent.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 186, 187; SHORTO 1972 234; SMITH 1972 310; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 193.)

Kharia *ə'ja'ja* grandmother, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 297).

(Proto-Austronesian *ia(q)ia(q) >) Atayal *yaya'* mother. Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 51; & see BENEDICT 1975 339, mother.

(*yaʔ see also 1873 *iʔaas to shine; 2048 *yah ...waste, residue.)

152 *[y]aa[ʔ] house.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok *yɛ*; ~ Praok *ɲɛ*, Lawa *ɲuaʔ* (& Danaw *ɲa*), Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *nhà*.

Problematic. (i) Praok *yɛ* perhaps ← Lahu *yè*; then *ɲ-? (ii) Mường, Vietnamese tone as in e.g. 61 *ɲɔʔ? but if *mưa* rain is connected 127 *miʔ &c., Viet-Mường perhaps rather ad 37 *sɲiʔ &c.

(SHAFER 1965 153.)

153 *yuʔ umbrella.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer [təəŋ &c.] -yù:, Kuy by sandhi [thùŋ] ɲù:, Stieng [do:ŋ] iu:, Biat [do:ŋ] yu:.

154 *[j]yʉ? to fear.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) West Bahnar **yʉ:**, Jeh **?yʉ?** to fear, be afraid (of) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **yʉ** to be afraid, to take alarm, Praok **yaw** to be bewildered; ~ Biat **phʉ:**, Chrau **pənhʉ:**, West Bahnar **pəyʉ:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **maŋʉ?**, Halang **mə?ŋʉ?** to frighten; ~ Bahnar **tə?yʉ?** to frighten; ~ Sre **rəyʉ** to be afraid (DOURNES 1950).

Note also Nancowry **yé?**.

(SMITH 1972 323.)

(*gyi(i)? see 1461 *[kj][əy]? poison, venomous.)

155 *dya? thatching-grass, thatch.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **dia:**, Sre **ja** thatching-grass, Chrau **ya:**, Biat **ja:**, Bahnar **gia:** thatch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **dia:** &c.).

156 *brya? kind of varan.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng **riah** (!) kind of large bird-eating lizard, Sre **bəya** (→ Röglai), Biat **rya:** kind of varan, Chrau **rəya:** spotted varan, East Bahnar **bʰya:** aquatic kind of varan (?) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Nancowry **huyé** big lizard.

For Stieng **-h** cf. 39 *cii?.

Perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian ***buqaia(S)** crocodile (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***b/uh/aja**^c; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50; Malay **buaya**, Cham **piya:**, &c.), contaminated by Cham **marawa:**, Jarai **mʰru:a**, North Röglai **marua** varan.

157 *ryuə? loose.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Sre **rəyua** (→ Röglai); ~ (***rnyuə?** >) Mon **kəpò?** *laño'* to be loose, to loosen.

Connect Chrau **rəya:**, Biat **rya:** relaxed.

*158 *[s]yəə?; by metathesis *[s]?əəy to see.

A: (Palaungic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Palaung **yʉ**, Praok **yaw**, Lawa **yo?** to see (Mae Sariang also **yu?**); ~ Biat **phə:** to show, (?) Chrau **pənhʉ:** to boast, show off, (?) Nancowry **hayúŋasi** to imagine, **hinyúŋasi** picture, image.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi **[ioh]i** to see (& by secondary derivation **pyn-i** to show); ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋə:y** to look (at).

Note further (***səy?** >?) Chrau **səy**, Vietnamese **thấy** to see. Connect 45 *[c][wə]? Kharia **jə(?)**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 295).

159 *syoo? paddle, ladle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon (***sao?**,) by secondary derivation ~ **kəsao?** paddle; ~ (***sryoo?** >) obsolete Mon **səyʉ** paddle, Sre **səyo** spoon.

Connection dubious Praok **khaw saw** paddle.

(***raʔ** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

160 *rɔʔ; *rɔs, (*rɔs rɔs > ?) *srɔs dry.

- A:** (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **ro**, Chrau **rɔ** dry, Khasi **raw-raw** very [dry]; ~ Bunör, Bahnar **krɔ**, (or **B**) Praok **kro**, Mường **xo** dry (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207); ~ Biat **ndrɔ** dry, dried up.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **srɔh sras** 'drained, dry'; ~ Biat **krɔh** dry, dried up, Nancowry **hiyáh, hiyás** dry.
 Connected variously Vietnamese **ráo**; Kammu-Yuan **rà:s**; Bahnar **hrəʔ** [waters] to go down, dry up; but probably not Palaung **roh** to dry [tea leaves] over fire, Thin **prũh** to dry over fire, Bru **ràh** to dry by fire. Cf. 1970 ***ckəh**, 2086 ***s[ɔ]h** &c.
 (BLOOD 1966 191.)

161 *roʔ(roʔ); *rooʔ to make an inarticulate noise.

- A, B:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mon **kərɔʔ** to cry, weep, shriek, make plaintive noise (< ***roʔ roʔ**), (**A/B**) Khmer **rò** to low, bellow, roar, groan, Bru **ʔarò** to cry out, Stieng **rɔ:u** to cry, shriek, low, roar, Palaung **rɔ** [rɛ] to purr, Riang-Lang **ṛrɔʔ** (!) to hum, grunt, make a noise, Vietnamese **rộ** to be noisy, (**B?**) Temiar **ro:ʔ** to say; ~ (**A?**) Bahnar **krɔ** croak (!) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Rongao **kro** to cry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**A/B**) Stieng **ndrɔu** to coo, croak, sing, (**B**) Praok **graw** to roar, (or **A?**) Semai **ŋrɔ:ʔ** to say.
 Onomatopoeic; so 177 ***drooʔ** low roar; 1840 ***ra(a)w** to make a loud sound.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 91 (a), (b).)

161a *rooʔ to shake.

- A:** (Nicobaric, Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Nancowry **yów** to shake; ~ (***rnrooʔ** >) Mon **kərùʔ** to shake (out; v.t.), Bahnar **adrɔʔ**, Gôlar Bahnar **tədrɔʔ** to squirm, shake (v.i.); ~ Riang-Lang **ṛkruʔ** to shake (v.i.t.).

(***ru(u)ʔ**, ***ruəʔ** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

***162 *kraʔ road, way.**

- A:** (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Praok **kra**, Lawa Bo Luang **khraʔ**, Lawa Umphai **kraʔ**, Mae Sariang **khyəʔ**, Mường **khá** (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **sá**; (by metathesis < ***knraʔ**?) Kuy (**k**)**na:**, Bru **rana:**.
 Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **kaiyi:**, probably ~ **kai-** to come.
 (SHAFFER 1965 143.)
 Mundari **hora**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 217).

163 *kraʔ kind of jar.

- A:** (Mon, Khasi) Khasi **khra** earthen water-vessel; ~ Mon **[həri] əkraʔ** large storage-jar.

164 *kra[]?; ***[k]ra[]h** *old, aged*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **kra:** (!), Bahnar, Halang **kra?** *old*, Khasi **[nong]-ra** (compounding form!) *worn-out utensil*; ~ Stieng **kəmra:** *old, bald, decrepit*, Chrau **kəmra:** *grey hair*, Biat **mbra:** *white [hair]*, (∼, or ***knra[]?** by assimilation >?) Bahnar **kədra?** *old person, master*, Jeh **dra?** *old*.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi; ~ ***[k]nra[]h** >?) Riang-Lang **˜tra** *white hair* (& by secondary derivation **_kənra** *to be white?*), (∼?) Khasi **kynrad** *master*.

Cf. 1787 ***raal**.

(SMITH 1972 308.)

164a *kro? *large*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **-kro'** /**krū?**/, Modern Mon **krə?** *to be corpulent, robust*, Khasi **khraw** *large*.

Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **kəru:**, **kədu:**, Nancowry **karú?**, apparently < ***kɗ-**.

165 *kruu? *to rinse, wash*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **krow** /**krōw**/ *to wash*, Modern Mon **krao** *to rinse out, wash, to wash oneself*, Palaung **kru** *to rinse one's mouth* (MILNE 1931).

Hardly connected 1841 ***r[]aawh** *to wash*. But cf. Tibeto-Burman ***kruw** = ***krōw**, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 117.

166 *gre? (& ***gree??**) *litter*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **krè:** *bed*, (— **snaeŋ**) *litter* (< ***-ee?** if not ← South Bahnaric), Chrau **gre:** *litter, howdah*, Biat **gre:** *bed*, (— **rnuiŋ**) *litter*, Bahnar **gre:** *litter*.

167 *cri?; ***crii?** *abandoned dry cultivation*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Kuy **sai** *dry field*, Bru **thray** (implies probably ***sr-**), (or : Khasi?) Chrau **rɛ:** *old swidden*; ~ (***cnri?** >) Stieng **[mi:r]** **ndre:i** *field cultivated for three years*; ~ (***crri?** >) Khasi **syllai** *recently abandoned cultivation*.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***cnrii?** >?) Riang-Lang **˜tri?** *fallow*.

Distinguish 185 ***sre?** *field*.

168 *cri?; ***crii?** *malevolent, unlucky*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ ***cnri?** >) Bahnar **hədre?** *an evil spirit*, Khasi **thynrei** *spirit which aggravates disease*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***cnrii?** >) Mon **kəroa** *class of malevolent earth spirits* (→ Burmese **sarai**, → Mon **hərai** *class of malevolent earth spirit*), Khmer **cəŋray** *ill-omened, unlucky; bad luck* (→ Thai **canray** *low, mean, accursed, unlucky*, → Kuy **caŋ rai** *malevolent, bad, bringing bad luck*; Cham **caŋra:y** *undearable [child]*), Sre **səray** *cannibal* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (***cmrii?** >) Biat **[ɬak]** **brai** *bad luck*.

South Bahnaric diphthongization post-palatal?

169 *crii? *to glide through the air.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **cray**, **sray** *to glide, sail, move*, Khmer **cray** *whizzing through* (GUESDON 1930), (**criəv-** —) *flying high into the distance*.

170 *jrii? *Ficus.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **jrey** /jɾɛy/, Modern Mon **sòà** *Ficus especially Ficus religiosa Linnaeus*, Old Khmer **jrai**, Modern Khmer **crèy** *Ficus bengalensis*, Kuy **thrài** *banyan*, Stieng [tə:m] **jəri:** *kind of tree*, Sre **jiri**, Chrau, Bahnar **jri:**, Kammu-Yuan **cri?**, Riang-Lang **cəri?** *Ficus*, Khasi **jri-[sim]** *rubber tree*, Mường **khi** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **sí** *Ficus species*; → Cham **crà:y**.

Mường, Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal, cf. 61 *jɔ?, 62 *[ɲu?, 172 *jruu?, 196a *j-lu?; but also ad 1844 *kraw?, 1856 *ləw?.

Sora **onjər-**['nɛ:b-ən] may be connected if a compounding form (SCHMIDT 1905 68; glossed *banana!*)

171 *jra? *to decay.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **sè?** *jra to wither*, Riang-Lang **cəra?** [*wood*] *to rot*.

***172 *jruu?**; ***jruh**; by metathesis ***rjuh** *deep*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **crəu**, Kuy **nthrù:**, Bru **ntrù:**, Sre **jurou**, Chrau, Biat **jru:**, Bahnar **jru?**, Thin **cru**, Riang-Lang **cəru?**, Praok **raə**, Lawa Bo Luang **ɔ̃dau?**, Mường **khu** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **sâu**, Central Sakai **jěro** *deep* (& probably Temiar **jəro?** *long, far*), Central Nicobarese **ciyau** *deep*, Nancowry **ciyáw**; → Javanese **jěro** *deep, inside*; ~ (*jrruu? >) Khasi **jylliew** *deep* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **j^əruh**, Sre **juruh** (DOURNES 1950).

C: (Mon) Old Mon **rjuh** /rjuh/, Modern Mon **səh**.

On Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 170 *jrii?.

Javanese semantics modelled on the partly displaced term **daləm** *inside*, < Proto-Austronesian ***daləm** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***ḍaləm**) *inside, deep*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 31; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66.)

Sora **jə'ru:-**, **'jaru:-** (cf. PINNOW 1959 396a).

173 *tre? *kind of thorny succulent plant.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **[mɛ̃aŋ]** **kre?** *prickly pear*, East Bahnar **[hla:]** **tre?** *kind of thorny succulent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

174 ***t₁roʔ** *to hit, come in contact with, meet (requirement).*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **tro:v** *to hit, to coincide with, to be correct*, Bahnar **troʔ** *to hit (mark), to coincide; opportune*, Kammu-Yuan **trɔʔ** *suitable, appropriate*, Riang-Lang **troʔ** *to be fit, fitting, to agree*, Lawa Bo Luang **khraʔ**, Lawa Umphai **krɔʔ**, Mae Sariang **khyaʔ** *to be sufficient*, Sakai **těrou** *to hit* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 105), Central Nicobarese **taiyo:-[tai]** *to hit (target)*.

(SMITH 1972 327.)

175 ***t₁ru[u]ʔ** *Schima wallichii tree.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **trúʔ** *kind of large tree with irritant bark*, Riang-Lang **truʔ** *Schima wallichii*.

176 ***droʔ** *fiddle.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **trə:** **dra**, Kuy **thrù:a**, Biat **dro:**; → Mon **krò**, → Burmese **taró**, → Palaung **təro:**; ~ (***dmroʔ** >) Bahnar **bro:** *stringed instrument* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

***177** ***drooʔ** *low roar.*

(Mon) Mon **krùʔ krùʔ** *adverbial describing rain, (— krèak krèak) noise of crowd.*

Onomatopoeic; so **161** ***ro(o)ʔ** *to make an inarticulate noise.*

Proto-Austronesian ***dəyu:** Malay **děru** [wind] *to roar, howl*, Iban **deru** *roll of thunder*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 121, *(**dd**)eRu; Proto-Hesperonesian).

178 ***druʔ** *kind of fish-trap.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trù:** *long fish-trap tapering at both ends*, Kuy **thrù:**, Chrau, Biat **dru:** *kind of fish-trap*.

***179** ***praʔ** *loft, platform, rack.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Mon **pra'** /**praʔ**/, Modern Mon **praʔ** *tower, turret* (→ Burmese **pra**), Khmer [**pra:ŋ**] **pra:** *tower*, Sre **pra** [**dam**] *catwalk in roof of granary*, Bahnar **pra:** *platform at front of house*; ~ (***pnraʔ** >) Bahnar **pədrā** *scaffolding, platform, rack* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **madra:** *trellis*; (by back-formation?) Biat **dra:** *loft, rack*, Chrau **ndra:**, Bahnar & dialects **adra:**, **hədra:**, Halang **hədra:** *drying-rack*.

(SMITH 1972 545.)

Proto-Austronesian ***para** *scaffolding*: Malay **para** *attic above half-ceiling, kitchen shelf or rack*, Cham **para** *loft*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; DYEN 1953 § 97). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian improbably in view of semantic development. See BENEDICT 1975 289, *fence*. Note Tamil **paraṇ**, &c., BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 3259.

(***praʔ** see also **2059** ***prah** *to make offerings*.)

*180 *brii? *sky, rain*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon **brey** /brɔy/, Modern Mon **pròà** *rain*, Bru **bri?** *to drizzle*, Kammu-Yuan [màt]-**pri?** *sun*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai [nəum &c.] **mbre?**, Mae Sariang [nəm] **mbye?** *thunder*, Praok **pray**, Mường (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **trời** (!) *sky, weather*, Sakai **bri day** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 43 (a)).

Viet-Mường initial & vocalism obscure.

Proto-Austronesian ***quay**i or ***uqay**i *sun, day*: Malay **hari**, &c. (SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25; cf. DAHL 1973 § 13.8; DEMPWOLFF 1938 163-4, ***vay**i^c; DYEN 1965). See BENEDICT 1975 266.

*181 *brii? *forest*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Khmer **vrai**, Modern Khmer **prèy**, Sre **bri** *forest, scrub*, Biat **bri:** *forest, region*, Chrau **vri:**, Stieng, Bahnar **bri:**, Kammu-Yuan **pri?** *forest*, Palaung **bri** *forest, uncultivated land*, Riang-Lang **pri?** *forest, country, region*, Praok **pray** *country*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **phre?**, Mae Sariang **phyi?** *wild [animal]*, Khasi **bri** *grove, plantation, forest* (& **ri** *country, region*), Jah Hut **bəri?**, Semelai **bəri:h** *forest*; → Thai **p^hray**; probably = Bahnar **bri:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok [**plak**] **pray**, Lawa Umphai [**ka**] **phre?** *outside*.

Cf. following; & semantically 394 ***ru(u)**k.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SHAFER 1965 35; BLOOD 1966 208; SMITH 1972 517; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 234.)

Santali **bir**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 321).

*182 *bruu? *hill*.

A: (Katuic) Kuy **bru:**.

Connect Riang-Lang **pruy**; & perhaps B17 ***r[u]**? *village*. Cf. also preceding.

Sora **bə'ru:-n**, **ba'ru:-n**, in compounds **bur-** *hill, forest*, Kharia '**biru** *hill*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 278).

*183 *mra? *person*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Mrabri **mra** (JSS 51/2); ~ (***kan mra?** by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmrà?**, Thin **kǎmbra**, **kǎmbra** *wife* (& by back-formation Thin **bra**, **pra** *wife*); ~ Jehai **mənra?** *person*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 25.)

Sora in compounds '**mar-ən** *man, male, person*, ~ '**man(d)ra:-n** *man, male, person*.

184 *mra? *dah, matchet*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **mra**, Modern Mon **pərè?** *dah, matchet*, Chrau **vra:** *kind of bush-knife with short handle*; probably → Thai **p^hrāa**, &c (***braa.2**, EGEROD 81), → Khmer [**kambɔt**] **pri:ə**.

185 *sreʔ field.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **srae**, Kuy **sɛː**, Stieng **səreːi**, Sre **sre**, Biat **chreː** *irrigated rice field*, Kammu-Yuan **réʔ** *dry field*, Danaw **-(h)ré** *hill cultivation*.

Distinguish **167 *cri(i)ʔ** *abandoned dry cultivation*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

186 *[s]mr[e]ʔ straw.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **rəhe**, Biat **rhɛː**, Praok **bre** [ŋo].

Or ***mrh-ʔ**? Conceivably connected by metathesis.

Proto-Austronesian ***Zəyami(S)**: Malay **jərami**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, ***dayami**^c; cf. DYEN 1951; DAHL 1973 § 16.3; Proto-Hesperonesian).

186a *sraʔ to have a lesion.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **saʔ s(r)a** *to have a sore, be injured*, Biat **chraː** *to sting, smart*; ~ Old Mon **sindraʔ** /sənraʔ/ *to incise, score*, Modern Mon **həraʔ** *to break the surface of*.

†187 *sruʔ paddy.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon **sroʔ** ?/sruʔ/, Modern Mon **sɔʔ**, Khmer **sroːv**, Kuy **saː**. Connection dubious Sakai **charoi**, **chendroi** *husked rice* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 112), or Mường **lọ** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **lúa** *paddy*; Nicobarese **əroːe**, **əroːʃ** *rice* is (ultimately) ← Portuguese **arroz**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

Sora **'saroː-n**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 370).

188 *liʔ to take.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Palaung **le**, Riang-Lang **leʔ**, Mường **lệ** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **lấy** (!), Nancowry **léʔ** *to catch something thrown?*

Connect perhaps Thin **təndeʔ**, if **deʔ**, **teʔ** *to take* (& Kammu-Yuan **tèʔ**) arise by back-formation Cf. also Khmer **liː** *to carry on shoulder*.

†189 *laʔ liiʔ; *luuʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **la li** *to be untidy, careless in*, Khasi **lali** *slovenly, sluttish, dirty*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **luːliː** *ineffective, careless* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps Lawa Bo Luang **klaiʔ**, Lawa Umphai **kleʔ** *at leisure*; & cf. further Vietnamese **trây** *to be lazy, negligent*; Khmer **lmùy** *asleep* (TANDART 1935), (**kheùl** —) *lazy*; **1861 *rliw** *lazy*; **1941 *las** *lazy, idle*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***lalai**: Gayo **lale**, Acehnese **lale** *absorbed, abstracted, heedless*, Karo Batak **lalé** *to overlook*, Malay **lalai** *dreamy, inattentive, careless, dawdling* (→ Central Sakai **lalai** *negligent*), Iban **lale** /**laleq**/ *absent-minded, forgetful, rapt, fascinated*, (or ii) Javanese **lali** *to forget* (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Javanese → Malay **lali** *insensitive*, → Acehnese **lalə** *absorbed, preoccupied*, Karo Batak **lali-lali** *simple-minded, to pretend to be stupid*, or constructed (ii, Proto-West-Indonesian) ***lali(S)**. (Cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, ***lali^c**.)

190 ***le?** *to leave, depart*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Bahnar **le?** *to leave, to give way*; ~ Middle Mon **kle'** *to depart from, to deposit*, Modern Mon **kle?** also *to be lost*, Thin **kli** *to be different*, Central Nicobarese **kole:-[həŋə]** *to kick aside*; ~ Sre **rəle** [*sun*] *to be declining*, (~?) Bahnar **təle?** *to separate (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **khyllie** *to pry up*; ~ Bahnar **pəle?** *to separate (v.t), to divorce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **ple?** *to make way, step back, step aside*.

Connect 2062 ***leh** ...*to go out?* Cf. also 1514 ***ləəy** &c. *to leave (alone, off)*.

191 ***la?**, ***la?-s**; **lah**, (***lah-s** >) ***laas**; by metathesis ***saal** *to spread, extend*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **li:ə** *to unfold, spread, open out*, Bahnar **lā** (**la:ŋ** —) *opened out, exposed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (**kəca:ŋ** —) *flat*; ~ (***la?-s** by metathesis > ***lʔaas** >) Khmer **da:h tās** *to spread out all over, to cover [drum]*; ~ Palaung **pla** *to spread out* (MILNE 1931) (= 214 ***pla?** *to show...?*), Vietnamese **trá** *to gild*; ~ (***[p]nla?** >) Sre **da** *to unfold, spread*, Nancowry **hilúá** *what can be spread, e.g. mat, bedding*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **lah** /**lah**/ *to extend*, Modern Mon **[hloa] lèh** *to be extensive*; (***laas** >) Old Mon **lās** /**las**/ *to lay out, spread, to inlay*, Modern Mon **lèh** *to lay out, spread, to floor*, Khmer **li:əh lās** [*horns* &c.] *branching wide*; ~ (***laas laas** &c. >?) Middle Mon **ralah** /**lalah**/ *to stretch [hand] out*, Literary Mon **lalah** also *to spread*, Bahnar **ləlah** *to overspread, invade* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***plaas** >) Mon **plah** *to extend, spread*, Riang-Lang **ˀplas** *to spread out*, Vietnamese **trải** *to spread*.

C: (Mon, Kuy) Old Mon **sāl** /**sal**/, Modern Mon **sa**, Kuy **sa:l** *to spread (mat &c.)*.

Hence 1944 ***la[i]s** *fathom?* Add perhaps Stieng **plai** *to spread out* (< ***plais?** cf. **lai** ad ***la[i]s**); & cf. 421 ***la(i)k** &c. *to unfold...*; 1078 ***laat** *to be spread out flat*.

192 ***la?** *male ancestor*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon **la'** /**la?**/, Modern Mon **lè?** *grandfather*, Khmer **[cì:]-li:ə** *ancestor of fourth generation*.

(***la?** see also 189 ***la?** **lii?** *careless, slovenly*.)

193 *ləʔ good.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) Khmer **lɔː** *good, pretty* (with metathesis as in **191 *laʔ-s, 1137 *ciinʔ**; → Kuy **ʔaː** *good*, Bru **ʔãː**), Kammu-Yuan **ləʔ** *good, fine*; ~ (***lpəʔ** >) Kuy **paː** *good* (JOHNSTON 1969).

Note: perhaps ***lɔː**, direction of metathesis not clear.

Khmer vocalism post-dental? Distinguish **443 *[d_l]lak**.

***194 *lə[ə]ʔ on top of, on.**

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lɔː**, Stieng **luː**, Biat **[aː] ləː**; → Thai **ləə**; ~ (***mlə[ə]ʔ** >?) Chrau **avləː** *above*.

Proto-Austronesian ***quluː** Malay **(h)ulu** *up-river, up-country*, Cham **haləw** *head, source*, &c. (cf. DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 66, ***hulu^c**; 162, ***ulu^c**). If Mon-Khmer originally weak form, ← Indonesian? See BENEDICT 1975 311-12, *head*.

195 *lɔʔ; *lɔwʔ; *lɔs kind of jar or pot.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəlwəː** *jar*.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **lūː** **lū(v)** *pipe, tub made from tree-trunk*, (TANDART 1935) *large jar*, Danaw **ʔo** *pot*; ~ Riang-Lang **ʔkloʔ** *pot*, Palaung **klo** *cooking-pot*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon, Viet-Mường) Sre **[taŋ] los** *squat bulbous jar with five handles*; ~ Old Mon **klas /klos/** *water-vessel in ritual use*, Modern Mon **[nəŋ] kləh** *vase* (?; but sense probably by attraction, rather than ←, Sanskrit **kalasa-** /Pali **kalasa-** *water-pot*); ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərləh** *cooking-pot* (?) ~ Vietnamese **chõ** *earthenware steamer*.

Cf. Vietnamese **lu** *water-jar*; **2075 *glah** *cooking-pot*.

196 *looʔ unstable.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lūʔ** *to be unstable*, Praok **lu** (—**le**) *to be unstable*, (— **la rəm**) *to be excited*.

Cf. Vietnamese **lao-đào** *to be unstable, unsteady*, **lảo-đảo** *to stagger, totter, reel*.

196a *luʔ to howl.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **lūː**, Kuy (!) **luː**, Bru **luː**; ~ (***[c]kuəl luʔ** by contraction >?) Bahnar **kəlū** *to bay at the moon* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi **jlew** (& **jlaw**), Vietnamese **tru** *to howl*; ~ Biat **mbluː** *to howl*.

Onomatopoeic. With Khasi vocalism cf. **50 *juʔ**, with Vietnamese tone **170 *jriiʔ**; both probably post-palatal.

(***luʔ** see also **2071 *luh** *to appear (through)*; ***luuʔ** see **189 *luuʔ liiʔ** *careless, slovenly*.)

†197 *klaʔ *tiger*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon *kla*(ʔ) /klaʔ/, Modern Mon *klaʔ*, Khmer *khlaʔ*, Stieng *klah* (!), Bahnar *klaʔ*, Khasi *khla* *tiger*, Central Sakai *kla* *black and white tiger* → Gayo *kulö*.

For Stieng *-h* cf. 39 *ciiʔ. Sre *kli:w* is perhaps by contraction < *klaʔ *yaw*, cf. Biat *yau* (originally *grandfather*, < A171 *yawʔ).

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 62; SMITH 1972 546; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 135.)

Sora 'kina:-n, Kharia ki'ɽʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 281).

198 *kloʔ *all*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon *klo*' /kloʔ/, Riang-Lang ʔkloʔ; ~ Semang *nalo*' (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 61).

†199 *kl[o]ʔ *shellfish, snail*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *klaʔ* *shellfish, snail*, Bru *klɔʔ* *shellfish, snail*, Stieng *klo:u* *kind of shellfish*, Biat *klɔʔ* *shellfish*, Chrau *khloʔ* *shellfish*, Bahnar *klɔ:u* [kədeʔ &c.] *shellfish* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *klɔʔ* *snail*, Central Sakai *kalô* *snail-shell*; ~ Old Mon *kinlo*' /kənluʔ/ *shellfish*, Modern Mon *kənaoʔ* also *shellfish*, Central Nicobarese *kendu*: *clam*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *lak'laʔ*, Lawa Umphai *lak'laʔ* *kind of shellfish*.

→ Karen *khlo *snail* (BENEDICT 1972 132 n. 356); perhaps Burmese *kharu* *snail*; Archaic Chinese *klwa &c. 蝸 (BENEDICT 1972 187 n. 487). Blagden notes similar Andamanese forms for *shellfish*. But connection dubious following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 151.)

Sora 'gonlo:-n &c. *snail* by metathesis.

Proto-Austronesian *kuqəSul: Karo Batak *kuhul*, Tagalog *kuhól* *snail*, Cebuano Bisayan *kúul* *kind of edible bubble shellfish*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 85, *ku^cul; Proto-Hesperonesian).

†200 *kluuʔ (*kind of*) *tortoise*.

A: (Mon) Mon *klao* *large species of tortoise*.

Connect Stieng *blɔ:u* *tortoise shell*.

Sora 'ku(:)lu:-n, Kharia 'kulu *tortoise*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 368).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kuya(S): Malay *kura-kura*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 83, *ku[l]a^c; add Sundanese *kuyaʔ*; Javanese loan word), on account of which Pinnow suggests Proto-Munda *kurɔ or the like.

201 *gliʔ; *glinʔ *kind of bamboo*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng [tə:m] *glei* *small kind of bamboo*, Sre *gle*, Chrau *gle*: *bamboo*, Biat *gle*: *kind of bamboo*; (~?) → Röglai *ale* *bamboo*, North Röglai *ale* *small kind of bamboo*, → Bahnar dialects (a)lē *solid kind of bamboo* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru ʔalây *thornless bamboo*; ~ Bahnar pələ: *thornless bamboo*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **khlēy** *large smooth kind of bamboo*.

Cf. Khasi **sylli**, ***lang-tylli** (contaminated by **tylli** *solid*, ad 209 ***dli?**) *small kind of bamboo*. Connection obscure Vietnamese **tre** *bamboo*.

(BLOOD 1966 172; SMITH 1972 533.)

202 *Gli?; *Gliə?; *Gliəh short.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **khlyy**, Jeh, Halang **ʔle?**.

B: (Mon) Mon **klè?**.

C: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat **gləh**; ~ (***Grliəh** >) Bahnar **kəḍəh** *short, low, to shorten* (contaminated by 2012 ***[s][d]i[h]** *low...*; → Chrau **de:h** *short?*), by back-formation (?) Sre **liah** *short*.

Connection dubious Semelai &c. **jəlě?**, Mah Meri **jəlēt** (South Aslian; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 151).

(SCHMIDT 1905 62; BLOOD 1966 247.)

203 *cla? afraid, to fear.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **chla:** *to run back and forth in fright*; ~ (***cmla?** >) Mon **[phəik] pəla? kamla** &c. *to fear*.

203a *[c][l][ɔ]? bark.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **hla?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hlə?**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **sənlə?** *dry bark*.

204 *[c]nlu[u]? edible grub.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **nhu:**, Bahnar **kənu:**.

†205 *jla? thorn.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy **thli:a**; ~ Old Mon **jirila** /**jərila?**/, Modern Mon **hələ?**, Bahnar **jəla:**, Kammu-Yuan **cərlà?**, Semai **jərila?** (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ (***jpla?** > ***phla:** ~) Khmer **bənlə:**.

Cf. 207 ***t₁/r/la?** *thorny bamboo...*

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 549; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 94.)

Kharia **ju'ra?**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 51).

‡205a *t₁rli? rope, cord.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **tyllai**.

Bahnar **tələy** is ← Indonesian, below.

Proto-Austronesian ***t₂aliS**: Malay **tali**, Cham **tələy**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 129, ***tali**; DYEN 1953 § 97; DAHL 1973 § 9.4, 14.12). See BENEDICT 1975 257.

206 *tli[]? to throw.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kli**, Bahnar dialects **tre?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 227 *sli(ə)? to throw spear?

207 *t₁la? kind of bamboo.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Thin **t(ə)la** female bamboo; ~ (*t₁rla? >) Stieng [**tə:m**] **krəla:**, Sre **kərla** thorny bamboo, Chrau **kəla:** medium-sized kind of bamboo, Biat **rla:**, Sedang **kalá** kind of bamboo, Khasi **tyra** small kind of bamboo, Bengali **nol-bas**.

Thorny bamboo contaminated by 205 *jla? thorn?

(SMITH 1972 557.)

208 *tla? master, owner.

(Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon **tirla** /**tərila?**/, Modern Mon **kəla?** lord, master, owner; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar **tə?ŋla:** master.

(*tla? see also 2077 *tla^h clear; *t₁la? see also 231 *sla? fire... .)

209 *dli? firm, immovable.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric, Khasi) Old Mon **dli'** /**dli?**/ perpetually recurring moment, Modern Mon **kli?** to be firm, immovable, abiding, Khmer (**dɔy-**)**thli:** land, terra firma; ~ (*drli? >) Khasi **tylli** solid.

Connect Nancowry **léy** (< *dlii??) to become solid.

210 *d[n]li? large river, sea.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Khmer **tùənlè:** (large) river, Kuy **thlè:** sea (or *dl-?; → Cham **dale**), Stieng [**dà:k**] **ŋli:**, Chrau [**da:?**] **nle:** (large) river, (?) Central Nicobarese **kəmələ:** sea, Nancowry **kamalé?**.

Cf. further Biat **rla:y** river. Connect Burmese **pañlay** sea?

(SHAFFER 1965 500.)

211 *d₁la? to rob, steal.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **rà?** to snatch from someone (~ **təŋrà?** id. by levelling), Riang-Lang **_ra?** to steal (& by secondary derivation **_pənra?** thief, robber); ~ Mon **hələ?** **d(h)amla** bandit, dacoit (→ Burmese /**dəmya'**/); ~ Mon **hələ?** **damla** to rob, Praok **bre** to steal, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbra?**, Mae Sariang **mbya?** to steal, rob.

Connection uncertain Nicobaric **kəmələ:** thief, Nancowry **kamaló?**, ~ **kaló?** to steal; & dubious Santali **kombro** theft; to steal, pilfer, &c., PINNOW 1959 242.

212 *prle? ear of paddy.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin **prle** [**hɲɔ**], Vietnamese [**lúa**] **gié**.

Hardly connected 1524 *pləy? fruit, > Vietnamese **trái**.

213 *ple[e]? *to rotate.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) (∼ ***pple[e]?** >?) Palaung **ple** [kənleŋ] *spindle* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **ṽple?** *wheel*; ∼ (***pnle[e]?** >) Kontum Bahnar **pəni:** *to reel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), *wind round, bandage*, Central Nicobarese **pomle:-** [ŋəre] *to rotate*, Nancowry **punlé** *to roll, turn over & over*; ∼ (***prle[e]?** >) Biat **rlə:** *to turn [one's body] round*.

214 *pla? *to show, feign.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **pla?** *to show, display* (→ Burmese **pra**), Sre **pla** *image, simile*, Khasi **phla** *to confess, admit*, Vietnamese **trá** *to be false, deceitful*; ∼ (***pnla?** >) Mon **pəna?** *pretence*.

GUESDON 1930 has Khmer **paṅlār** *pretence*, which cannot be confirmed. ∼ **191 *la?** *to spread, extend?*

215 *plaa? *blade, edge.*

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **pla:** *cutting edge*, Biat **pla:** *blade [of knife]*, Bahnar **pla:** *(edge of) blade, spearhead*, Jeh **pla:** *arrow*, Halang **pla:** *arrow, bullet*, Palaung **pla** *blade*, Riang-Lang **ṽpla?** *hoe*; ∼ Thin **hə̃nla** &c. *spade*.

(SMITH 1972 541.)

***216 *bnl[ii?]** *kind of ginger.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **hənòə** *Zinziber barbatum Wallich*, Old Khmer **vanli**, Modern Khmer **pùənlèy** *Zinziber cassumunar* (cf. BEFEO 55:210), Bru **plây** *Zinziber cassumunar*; → Malay **bonglai**.

Proto-Austronesian ***ləqia** or ***ləqəia** *ginger*: Cham **liya:**, &c. (?; cf. DYEN 1975; DEMPWOLFF 1938 96, ***lija**^c; Malay **halia** < ***qəl(ə)ia** (?) by metathesis). Then Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bn-l[ii?]**; if Proto-Austronesian ***-ia**, Proto-Mon-Khmer ***-ii?**; if ***-əia**, ***-ay**. See BENEDICT 1975 359, *pungent*.

217 *ble? *tasteless, insipid.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **bleh**, Riang-Lang **ṽple?**.

(SHAFFER 1965 140.)

***218 *bla?** *shoulder.*

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **plà?**; ∼ Khasi **tabla** *shoulder-piece of animal*.

Cf. Kuy **mpla:** *shoulder-blade*. Connection dubious **100 *pa?**.

Proto-Austronesian ***baya**: Toba Batak **a-bara**, Cham **pìra:**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 19, ***baya**^c; cf. DYEN 1953B; DAHL 1973 § 17.9, 12). See BENEDICT 1975 378-9.

219 *blaʔ *scar*.

- A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung **bla** *to be scarred*, Semang **bālaʔ** *scar* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 37).
Connect Bahnar **kəla:** *scar*.

220 *bləʔ *to patch, mend*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Mon **pləʔ**, Pangan **[ya-]bʼlā** (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 89); ~ (***bmləʔ** >) Praok **blaw**.

221 *bluʔ *latex-yielding plant*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phlū:** **bhlūv** *Ficus septica*, Sre **[che]** **blu** *elastic* (DOURNES 1950). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 139.)

222 *brlu[]ʔ *to mix together*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **vəlu:** **[vələm]** *mixed up*, Sre **bərlu**, Bahnar **bəluʔ**, (?) Jeh **ʔlūʔ** *to mix together* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
Connect Praok **klaw** *to mix*, (— **kləy**) *be mixed* (implying *-uʔ). For Bahnar **bəluk** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see **423 *luk**.

†223 *bluuʔ *thigh*.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **phl̥u**, Chrau **vlu:**, Biat **[tə:m]** **blu:**, Stieng, Bahnar **blu:**, Jeh, Halang **bl̥u:**, Kammu-Yuan **pl̥uʔ**, Palaung **blu**, Temiar **bəloʔ** (BENJAMIN 1976B 138), Central Nicobarese **pul̥:**, Nancowry **pul̥óʔ**, Kuy **l̥u:** *thigh, lap* (by back-formation?); → Thai **pʰlaw**; ~ (***bnluuʔ** >) Sre **mənu**, Bru **nl̥u:**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 37; BLOOD 1966 228; SMITH 1972 429; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 60.)
Sora **bulu:-n**, Kharia **'bhulu**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 145).

224 *mleʔ (& *mle[]sʔ) *to hate*.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon **[k̚das]** **mleʔ** /**mleʔ**/ *to reject, abjure*, Modern Mon **[duh]** **pələʔ**, West Bahnar **adre:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang **[ya'-]** **mālēs** *to hate* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 36).

225 *[m]laʔ *tusk, ivory*.

- A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Biat **la:** *ivory from male elephant*, Sre **bla**, Chrau **vla:**, Bahnar **bəla:** **[ro:ih]**, Semang **bālāʔ** *tusk, ivory* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 126 (a)); probably → Cham **pila:**, Jarai **bla:**, Röglai **bla**, North Röglai **bala**, Rade **mla:**.
***m-** in view of Bahnar, Rade. Cf. **450 *bluk** &c.
(BLOOD 1966 303.)

(***rlaʔ** see 1699 ***rʔal** forehead.)

†226 ***rluuʔ**; ***rlu[u]h** to rest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Sre **rəlou**, Chrau **lu:**, Biat **rlu:**, Palaung **rəlu**, Praok **laə**; ~ Bru **nlù** to rest, Kammu-Yuan **hərlùʔ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaʔdouʔ**, Lawa Umphai **raʔloʔ**, Mae Sarian **yaʔloʔ** to stop, cease.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **rəluh** to rest.

Connect A7 ***[r[uuʔ]** to be at leisure?

(BLOOD 1966 238.)

Sora **lulu:-**, **lu'l'u:-**, (by metathesis?) Kharia **le'ruʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 491).

†227 ***sliʔ**; ***sliəʔ** to throw spear.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **sralɣy** wooden spear (TANDART 1935).

B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon **sale'** [**how pan**] to throw at; ~ (***snliəʔ** >) Literary Mon [**le'**] **sane'** [**the how**] javelin.

Cf. Kuy **liah** to throw; 206 ***tli[]ʔ** to throw.

Sora **le':le:-**, **li'li-** &c. to toss, pitch, fling (?).

228 ***smlīʔ** dressed cotton.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **səmlɣy**, Biat **mli:**; → Kuy **sam li:** by interdialectal borrowing.

~ preceding if this meant originally also to shoot, cf. e.g. Mon [**to**] **kəwɔn** dressed [cotton] ~ **pɔn** (< 905 ***pəpʔ**) to shoot.

229 ***srliʔ** internal organ.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **həlbəʔ** spleen; ~ Khasi **khyllai** kidneys.

Cf. 232 ***slaʔ** spleen; A204 ***leh** kidneys.

†230 ***slaʔ** leaf.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Old Mon **sla** /**slaʔ**/, Modern Mon **hlaʔ** leaf, Old Khmer **slā** areca palm, Modern Khmer **sla:** areca (nut, palm) (→ Stieng **səla:**, Biat **chla:** areca palm; beside **slɣk** leaf: by interdialectal borrowing, cf. **rəŋɣ:k** ad 33 ***rŋaʔʔ**), Kuy **lha:**, **sla:** leaf, Sre **ləha** betel-leaf, Stieng, Chrau, Jeh, Halang **la:**, Bahnar **hla:**, Kammu-Yuan **láʔ**, Palaung **hla**, Riang-Lang **ʔlaʔ**, Praok **la**, Lawa **hlaʔ**, Khasi **sla**, **ʔla**, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **lá**, Kensiu **haliʔ**, Temiar **səla:ʔ**, Semaq Beri **sala:h** leaf; → Cham (ha)**la:**, Jarai **hla:**, Röglai **hala(:)**, North Röglai **hla:ʔ** leaf; ~ (***snlaʔ** >) Sre **nha** leaf, betel- leaf, Biat **nha:** leaf, Bahnar **həna:** leaf of agave used for making mats (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Riang-Lang **səlaʔ** leaf.

Leaf > betel-leaf > areca; so fruit > areca. in various Southeast Asian languages; for betel (- leaf) > areca cf. 1860 ***ml[əw]**.

(SCHMIDT 1905; SHAFER 1965 228; SMITH 1972 539; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 32.)

Sora **o:la:-n**, Kharia **u'la**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 50).

231 *slaʔ; (*slaʔ slaʔ > ?) *slaas fire, to burn.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*snlaʔ >) Mon **hənaʔ** *flame, wick*; (? , by secondary derivation) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) **bənha** *hearth*; ~ (*splaʔ >) Stieng **pla:** [u:ɪn], Biat **pla:** [uɲ], Bahnar **pla:** *flame*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **la** *to burn (v.i.)*, Vietnamese **lửa** *fire*; ~ (*srlaas >, or *slaas slaas > *hlar hlar >) Palaung **rəlar** *conflagration; to burn (v.i.t), to set on fire*; ~ (? , *snlaas >) Praok **gla** *hearth*.

Kammu-Yuan **pərlùə**, Thin **p(h)ruə** *fire* are perhaps ← Vietnamese with secondary prefix. Sre, & Praok **gla**, may rather be connected Kammu-Yuan **təmpɾaʔ** *hearth*; then implying a root *t₁laʔ.

(SHAFFER 1965 499.)

232 *slaʔ spleen.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hlaʔ** [krək] (literally *mango-leaf*, whence by calque Burmese **sarak-rwak**; perhaps by popular etymology for *hlaʔ **krət**, cf. **krət** *intestine* < 844 *k-ruuc), Sre [play] **la**, Vietnamese **lá-[lách]**; ~ (*smlaʔ >) Bahnar **bla:** *kidneys*.

Cf. 229 *srliʔ. Connect Tibeto-Burman *la *kidneys, spleen*, MATISOFF 223.

233 *w[i]ʔ left-hand.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **wèʔ**, Palaung [i]-**ve** (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **weʔ**, Mae Sariang **wiʔ**, Kintaq Bong **wĩʔ**; ~ Old Mon **jwi** /jwiʔ/; ~ (*[]pw[i]ʔ >; !) Kuy **pɛ:ʔ**; ~ []nw[i]ʔ >) Praok **gwɛ**.

Kuy final unexplained. Cf. 1795 *wiil. Connection obscure Khmer **chve:ŋ**; suffixed form, or perhaps by metathesis *Jnw[i]ʔ, > Praok; note Proto-Miao *kwɛŋ ~ *kh[w]iŋ, Proto-Li *viŋ, BENEDICT 1975 327. Cf. further Acehnese (ja-)wiə, Cham i:w, Jarai ia:oʔ, ea:oʔ, Röglai yaw, North Röglai iāu (Proto-Austronesian *uSiau?); → Jeh i:w, Halang iaw.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b).)

234 *wiʔ; *wiiʔ to turn.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəvì:** *to shake [head], to wave, brandish*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Sre **wi** [wə] *swaying e.g. of buffalo's head*, Chrau **wi:** [wə:], (by affective deformation?) Central Nicobarese **wii:-[cəka:]** *dizzy*, Nancowry **wí** *to go round & round, wander (or A?)*; ~ Kuy (kh)wì: *to shake [head], to wave, brandish*; ~ Khasi [sam]tawì *to be dizzy*; ~ Khmer **rəvèy** *to crank, to spin*, Kuy **rwì:** *to shake*, Chrau **rəwì:** [rəwɔ:t] *dizzy*; ~ Mon **kəwoa** *to turn round, twist, screw in (or, less probably, ad 1529 *way), (~?)* Sre **pərwi** *to mix together*.

235 *weeʔ; weh *crooked, to twist.*

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **wɛʔ** *crooked, hooked* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **we** *crooked*; ~ Sre **kue** *bent, crooked*, Biat **kwe:** *bend, meander*, Bahnar **kue:** *lame*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **vèh vɛh** *to slip away, escape* (?), Bahnar **wɛh** *to twist* (v.i.), Jeh **wɛh** *to stop and visit*, Halang **wɛh** *to turn*.

Connect **1529 *wa(a)y(-h)** *to turn?* Note apropos of Sre &c. Tibeto-Burman ***koy** *to bend*, BENEDICT 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210.

(SMITH 1972 360.)

‡236 *waʔ *parent's sibling.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Sre **wa** *father's classificatory brother*, Biat **wa:** *parent's elder brother*, West Bahnar **wā** *parent's elder brother* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **wa:** *parent's elder sister*, Bru **ʔawà** *parent's younger sister*; ~ (***mwaʔ** > ***maʔ** >) Old Khmer (')**mā**, Modern Khmer **mì:ə** *parent's younger brother*, Stieng **ma:** *mother's brother*, Bahnar **ma:** *parent's younger brother*, Khasi **ma** *uncle* (term of address); ~ Palaung **hva** *mother's younger brother* (if correctly glossed; < ***[k]waʔ**); ~ Old Mon **kaṃwa /kəmwaʔ/** *uncle*.

Connection dubious Palaung **va** *classificatory younger sibling*.

(BLOOD 1966 337; cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

Proto-Austronesian ***usua:** Acehnese **wa** *parent's elder sibling*, Cham **wa:** *mother's elder sibling*, &c., Javanese (by contraction; beside (**u**)**wak**) **uwa**, **wa** *parent's elder sibling, parent's elder sibling's spouse*, Proto-New Guinea-Austronesian ***wawa** *term of address to mother's brother*. (MILKE 1965 pp345-6; ~ ***waya** *term of reference*): Motu **vava**, &c. Connection dubious (i) Proto-Austronesian ***ama** *father* (DYEN 1953 § 97; DEMPWOLFF 1938 15); (ii) ***mama** *mother's brother*. (DYEN 1953 § 108; DEMPWOLFF 1938 105); (iii) Cham **miʔ** *father's brother*, Röglai **miaʔ** *mother's brother*, North Röglai **miãʔ** *parent's brothers*. Or can ***mama** be variant of ***usua**? (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 25.)

237 *klwaʔ *bat.*

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **kilwa /kəlwaʔ/**, Modern Mon **kəwaʔ** *bat*, Khasi **kylla[badur]** *flying fox*, Central Nicobarese **aloa:ə** *bat*.

Connect perhaps (***kwaʔ kwaʔ** > ***kwak** > ?) Khasi **khwak** (!) *vampire bat*.

237a *t₁waaʔ *fern, bracken.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **təwáʔ** *fern, cycad*, Palaung **kəva** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_twaʔ** *bracken*.

†238 *rwiʔ; (by arbitrary deformation?) ***rwuyʔ** *fig tree.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **lwi /lwiʔ/**, Modern Mon **wiʔ** (contaminated by **241 *lwaaʔ**), Biat **[tɔ:m] rwi:**, Central Sakai **wik**.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rəvɔy** *sour fig* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 92.)

Sora **rijoi-['ne:b-ən]** *kinds of fig tree*.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***d'abi(S)** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; add Karo Batak **jabijabi** *Ficus retusa*); but Malay **jawi-jawi**, **jějawi** *fig tree* perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer if not ← Tamil **cuvi** *Ficus species* (&c.; BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 2222).

239 *[r]wə[ə]?** *swaying, dizzy.***

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rəv̌:-[rəv̌i:əy]** *delirious*, Sre **[wi]** **wə** *swaying e.g. of buffalo's head*, Chrau **[wi:] wə:** *dizzy*.
Sre, Chrau **w-** phrasal? But perhaps ***w-** ~ ***[]rw-**.

240 *lw[e]?** *kind of bee.***

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ləwe** *kind of bee which swarms*, Khasi **lwai** *wild bee*, Semang **luwē** *bee* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 137 (a)).

†241 *lwaa?** *fig tree.***

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Katuic) Old Khmer **lvā**, Modern Khmer **lv̌i:ə** *fig tree*, Thin **lua** *banyan*, Sakai **lûâ** *fig tree* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 91), Bru **lawàh**; ~ Riang-Lang **lan** **_wa?** *fig tree*.
Cf. 238 ***rwi?** &c.
Sora **'loa:-n**, Kharia **'lu'a**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 47).

242 *swaa?** *monkey.***

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **sva:**, Kammu-Yuan **wa?**, Palaung **hva**, Riang-Lang **_wa?**, Lawa **fua?** (→ Kuy **wùà??**); → Thai **sawǎa**.
Sre **hua** *grey semnopithecus*, Chrau **hwa:** *ape*, Bahnar **hua:** *gibbon* (&c., see SMITH 1972 548) are apparently ← Indonesian, cf. Cham **hawa:** *macaque*, Jarai **kra hua** *gibbon*, Röglai **hua** *grey semnopithecus*, North Röglai **hawa** *ape*, Javanese **uwa-uwa** *large kind of ape, gibbon* (Proto-Austronesian ***[]uqa(Sy)**).
(SCHMIDT 1905 48; SHAFER 1965 199.)

243 *si?** *fine, comminuted.***

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **che:** *fine, comminuted*, Jeh **[ta?] si?** *small*, Halang **[to?] si?** *a little*; → Röglai **se** *fine, comminuted*; ~ Khmer **sme:** (!) *fine and close together*; ~ Sre **nse** *fine, comminuted*; ~ (***[s]rsi?** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔasai?**, Lawa Umphai **rase?** *powder*.

†244 *sii[?]** *hand, arm.***

A: (Viet-Muong) Muong **thay** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **tay**.
Originally arbitrary variant of 66 ***t₁ii?** For tone cf. 31 ***t₂ɲii?**.
Sora **sʔi:-n**, (compounding form) **si:-n**, Pareng **si:** *hand* (at PINNOW 1959 K 428c treated as cognate with forms cited under the entry ***t₁ii?**, but no other example of the alternance is given).

245 *see? *Caryota species.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***smeə?** >) Mon **hməe?** *Caryota sobolifera* Wallich, (?) Khmer **smae** *tree of shore forest, Ceriops species*, (or ~ ***snmee?** >?) Sre [**che**] **səmay** *very fibrous creeper yielding sewing-thread* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (***snsee?** by dissimilation >?) Khmer **ʔənsae**, **tùənsae** *Caryota urens*, (HENDERSON 1952) *Caryota mitis*.

(***sa?** see 253 ***cha?** to flame up.)

246 *ks[i]?; ***ksih** *string, cord, rope, thread.*

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **khsae** *string, cord*, Kuy (**k**)**sai**, Stieng **ce:i** *string, cord, rope*, Sre **che** *cord, thread*, Chrau **che:** *rope, string*, (or Tai →, cf. below?) Thin **sai**, **sae**, Khasi **ksai**, '**sai** *thread*, Nancowry **héy** *fibre* (*-ii?); ~ Khmer **krəsae** *lineage, filiation*, Biat **rche:** *cord*, Jeh **kase:y** *string*, Halang **kəse:** *rope*; ~ (***kns[i]?** >) Sre **ɲhe** *quantifier for threads, straws*. Connection uncertain Kuy (**k**)**se:?** *string*, Bru **kasi:?** *to string together*.

- B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chỉ** *thread*.

Bahnaric vocalism post-dental? Khmer suggests secondary diphthongization to *-əy?. See BENEDICT 1975 257 (Thai, Nung, Dioi, Kam-Sui; so Thin, Khasi perhaps ← Tai).

(SHAFFER 1965 250; BLOOD 1966 180; SMITH 1972 538.)

246a *ksa? *chestnut.*

- A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **cha?** **khyā** *Malay chestnut, Castanopsis Javanica* De Candolle, Kammu-Yuan **khá?** *oak, chestnut*.

247 *tsə?; ***tsəh** *lung.*

- A: (Mon, Palaungic; ~ ***tnsə?** >?) Mon **kəsə?**, (by dissimilation, or ~?) Lawa Bo Luang **hmau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hmo?**.

- B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre [**klə:m**] **soh** (DOURNES 1950), Biat [**klə:m**] **chəh**; ~ (***tnsəh** >) Stieng **nsəh**, Chrau [**khlə:m**] **rəsəh**, Bahnar **dəsəh**, Bru **səh**.

Khmer **su:ət** is hardly connected.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFFER 1965 542; SMITH 1972 377.)

***248 *drs[e]?** *to persuade, conspire.*

- A: (Mon) Old Mon **dirse'** /**dərse?**/ *to conspire*, Modern Mon **kəse?** *to persuade, conspire*. Sora '**pu(s)se:-** *to persuade, incite, instigate* (< ***pu-dse:-**; cf. with variant vocalism '**pudsu:-**; also **o(b)'sej-** *to induce*).

248a *prsaʔ; by metathesis ***prʔas** *child's spouse*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **prəsa:** *child's spouse*, Kammu-Yuan **pərhá:** (!) *son-in-law*, Khasi **pyrsa** *child's spouse, sibling's child*.

B: (Mon) Mon **həəh** *daughter-in-law*., Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuan-ʔuaŋ/nʔuay** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N178).

249 *rsiʔ *bamboo, rattan*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **rəsry** *bamboo* (& **rùhsry** by popular etymology, cf. **rùh** *root* < 1927 ***ris**), Stieng **[tə:m]** **rəse:i** *very small kind of bamboo*, Bahnar **hrɛ:**, Jeh **re:y**, Halang **re:** *rattan*; ~ Old Khmer **ransi** *bamboo*; & connected Kuy **rài** *rattan*, Bru **karay**.

Connect perhaps Proto-Philippine ***taRisi** *rattan* (ZORC & CHARLES); & as suffixed form **782 *rsiəŋ** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 454; SMITH 1972 528.)

249a *[]rsiiʔ *nerve, sinew, vein*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **rsai** *vein*, Central Nicobarese **ihe:** *nerve, sinew, vein*, Nancowry **ʔihé:** (probably ~) Khmer **sə:say** **sarsai** *nerve, vein*.

(*hiʔ see 1 *ʔiʔ *we*.)

250 *hiiʔ *to cease, be over*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **hoa** *to cease, die down, be over*, Palaung **hi** *to be finished, 'over'*.

Add as derivative **259 *bhiiʔ** *sated...?*

251 *haʔ; (*haʔ haʔ > ?) ***hah** *to open [mouth]*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer, Kuy, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:**, Vietnamese **há** (& with expressive lengthening Mon **ha**, Sre **ha:**; → Chrau **ha:ʔ** ?); (?) → Burmese **ha** *to open [mouth]*, Lahu **há-gôʔ**, Akha **a-hà** *to yawn* (BENEDICT 1972 33 n. 107); ~ Sre **rəha** *open*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **há** *to open [mouth]*; ~ Bahnar **jəhah** *small and gaping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar dialects **dəhah** *gaping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; ~?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 20; BLOOD 1966 294; SMITH 1972 547.)

252 *kh[ii]ʔ *this, he, they*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Sre **khay** *3rd person pronoun*, Chrau **khəy** *pronominal plural particle*, Thin **khi** *this, here, now*, Semai II **ke:ʔ**, Semelai **kəh** *he* (with **k-** by dissimilation).

Cf. **26 *ge(e)ʔ** *deictic & 3rd person pronoun*. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 53.)

253 *chaʔ to flame up.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **cha:** *to fry*, (— **-chol**) *to burst out angrily*, Kuy **cha:** *to flame*, Biat [**up**] **cha:** *to flame up, burn*, by affective deformation (***jhaʔ** >; ?) Kammu-Yuan **háʔ** *burn out, hot*, Praok **ha** *to scorch, be hot*, Lawa **haʔ** *to burn*.

Or separate Khmer, Kuy; Biat &c. < ***saʔʔ**

254 *jhooʔ; *jhəəʔ; *jheeʔ tree, wood.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **chu(ʔ)** /**chuʔ**/ *tree*, Modern Mon **chuʔ** *tree, wood*, Kensiu **ʔihũʔ**, Temiar **jəhũʔ** *tree*, Teressa-Bompoka Nicobaric **chio:** *wood*, (**yi:ə-** —) *tree*; with secondary prefix ~ Praok **khaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **khauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **khoʔ** *tree*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Old Khmer **jhe**, Modern Khmer **chɿ:**, Stieng **cwi:**, Chrau **chə:** *tree, wood*, (?) Shom Pe Nicobarese **hɿɿ** *wood* (=) **həə** *tree*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Sre **chi**, Biat **chi:** *tree, wood*, Kammu-Yuan **həʔéʔ** *firewood*, Palaung **he** *tree, wood, firewood*, Central Nicobarese **ci:ə** *tree, wood*; ~ Riang-Lang **ʔkheʔ** *tree, wood*, Praok **khi**, Lawa Bo Luang **khəiʔ**, Lawa Umphai **cheʔ** *firewood*.

-B-C secondary (but is Khmer &c. vocalism regular in context?); note doublets in Waic.

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***kaSiu:** Malay **kayu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 72, ***kaju**^c; cf. DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 9.3).

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 264, 301, 453; BLOOD 1966 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 211 (a).)

255 *thoʔ to rub, massage.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **tho** *to rub, massage* (→ Röglai), Biat **tho:** *to rub, clean, wash*, Central Rölöm **thaw** *to rub* (BLOOD 1976), Palaung **the** *to push against friction* (contaminated by Burmese **thui:** *to thrust*).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **thoa** *to rub, anoint*; whence perhaps Stieng **tha:**.

256 *[t]h[uə]ʔ to throw (away).

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon **thoʔ** ?/**thoʔ**/, Modern Mon **thoʔ** **thwaʔ** &c. *to throw away*, Khasi **thew** *to throw away, take aim at*.

***257 *[p]heʔ husked rice.**

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **phe:i**, Sre **phe**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **phe:**, Jeh **phery**, Halang **phe:**.

(SHAFER 1965 98; BLOOD 1966 178; SMITH 1972 526.)

(?) Kharia **pɛʔ** *cooked rice* (PINNOW 1959 155).

258 *phuu? *to accompany, conduct.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **phao** *in company with*, Riang-Lang **phu?** *to conduct, lead, send*.

Separate Praok **hu**, Lawa Bo Luang **həu**, &c. *to go*, < ***har** or the like.

†259 *bhii? *sated, full.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **phoa**, Bahnar **phi?**, Jeh, Halang **phi?**, Thin **bi**, Semai **bahe:** (TAUERN 1914), Central Nicobarese **paha:e**.

Cf. Vietnamese **phè**; Khasi **pi-e**. ~ **250 *hii?** *to cease, be over?*

(SMITH 1972 295; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 75.)

Sora **b?e:-**, Santali **bi**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 319).

260 *bhe? *otter.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **phe?**, Old Khmer **bhe**, Modern Khmer **phè:**, Stieng **bi**; Chrau **phi:**; apparently → Cham **phày**, Jarai **p^hhai**, Röglai **bəhay**, North Röglai **buhai**, → Bahnar **phəy** *otter*, Sre **[pi]** **bəhay** *civet cat*.

Connect Semang **bāho'** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 64); perhaps Vietnamese **rái**; & cf.

A50 ***[b]hii[ŋ]**.

***261 *bha?** *to frighten.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **phè?** (!) *to frighten, scare*, Vietnamese **phạ** *to be afraid, fear*, Nancowry **pahuá?**.

Mon register affective, or contaminated by **pəhòik** *fear*. (ad **880 *bh[i]c**) &/or derivatives of Sanskrit $\sqrt{bhī}$ *to fear*.

Proto-Austronesian ***(q)əNba**: Iban **emba** *to (seek to) frighten, threaten*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 334, Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively ***q-**).

262 *bh[uu?] *cooking-hearth.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **phao** *cooking-hearth, kitchen* (→ Burmese **phui**), Khmer **[coŋ]-phəu** *cook* (→ Kuy **coŋ phəu**).

Or ***-aw**. But connection dubious Shan **pháu** *to roast, burn*, → Palaung **phəv** *to burn [lime, bricks]* (MILNE 1931), ~ Palaung **rəphəv** *kiln*; &c. (< ***ph[r]aw**, BENEDICT 1975 244, *burn, roast...*; Sek **phraw**).

(***mrh[e]?** see 186 ***[s]mr[e]?** *straw*.)

263 *[] [m]ha? *different.*

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **mha:**, (~?) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pha:**.

(SMITH 1972 544.)

264 *m[h][ʷə]ʔ; *m[h][ʷə]h evening, night.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **mɔ̃:u**, Sre **mho** *evening*, Chrau **maw**, Central Rölöm **mhɔ̃**: *afternoon*, Palaung **hmɯ** (~ **rəhmɯ**) *night*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **miet** *night*.

Connection uncertain Jeh **sèʔ** *afternoon*, Halang **sèʔ** *evening* (but if connected, *s/m/). (BLOOD 1966 206.)

265 *ʔiək (part of) arm.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔiək** *fin*, Palaung **iəʔ** *arm*.

Distinguish 269 *kʔi(ə)k &c. *armpit*; but cf. A12 *ʔaak *shoulder-blade*. Connection uncertain Bodo-Garo ***dyak** *arm, hand*, < Tibeto-Burman ***g-lak** (BENEDICT 1972 34 n. 109), or the cognate Archaic Chinese **ḍiək**, Ancient Chinese **ḷək** 翼 *wing* (ib. 171 n. 458).

†266 *ʔaik bow.

(Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer **ʔaek**, Kuy **ʔe:k** *sound-producing bow attached to kite*, Stieng **a:k** *cotton-beating bow*, Sre **a** *bow of crossbow*, Chrau **a:ʔ** *crossbow*, Palaung **aʔ**, Riang-Lang **ʔak**, Praok **ak** [po], Lawa **ʔak**, Semang **āg** *bow* (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 353).

(SHAFFER 1965 276, 283.)

Santali **aʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 6).

267 *ʔuk; *ʔuuk; *ʔuək; *huk to pour out.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar **uk** *to fill, to pour out, empty out*, Jeh **ùk**, Halang **uk** *to pour out*, Kammu-Yuan **ùk** *to flow out*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pənʔùk** *to pour out*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **o:** *to empty [pot]*, Riang-Lang **ʔuk** *to pour away, to spill*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **ɔʔ** *to pour out*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **hok** *to spill*.

Connect Thai **hòk** *to be spilt*, probably → Kuy **hɔʔ**, Bru **tahɔʔ**; & cf. 480a ***[t]hək**. (SMITH 1972 267.)

268 *ʔuək to drink.

A: (Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **uak** (& Khmuic **ʔuak**, Thin **ʔuək** (!)), Temiar **ʔɔ:k**.

Cf. (i) Mường **óng** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **uống** (then ***ʔuəŋkʔ**); (ii) SMITH 1972 325, ***uʔ**, perhaps contaminated by 63 ***ɲuuʔ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 166.)

(*ʔuək see also 475 ***huək** *brain*.)

*269 *kʔik; *kʔiək; *kʔaik *armpit*.

A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan kəlʔək.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔa:k (!), Danaw k'ă ʔyèək; ~ (*klʔiək >) Khmer kliək, Kuy (kh)thi:ʔ.

C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar [bək] a:k; by contraction → Cham paa:ʔ, Jarai pʔaʔ, Röglai poʔa:, North Röglai paʔa:ʔ; ~ (*knʔaik >) Vietnamese nách.

Distinguish 265 *ʔiək (*part of*) *arm*.

Proto-Austronesian (*kilə(S)ik > ?) *ki(S)əlik?: Javanese kèlèk, Malagasy helika (so Proto-West-Indonesian; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 referred to *kilik ...to carry in arms); & note *(q)irək (BLUST 1971 no. 338; Proto-Hesperonesian); *kili(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 80, *kili[ʔ]).

Connected further Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 410, *tickle*... (II), (V); Tibeto-Burman *(g-)yak, Archaic Chinese zjak, Ancient Chinese jāk 腋 (BENEDICT 1972 167 n. 448).

270 (*ʔaak ʔaak &c. >) *kʔaak; *kʔaik *crow, to caw*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) (A) Mon [oik] aik *kinds of gourd* (= Burmese kyī: 'ā, literally *crow-caws*), Kuy kʔa:ʔ *crow*, (A/B) Bahnar a:k *to croak*, (se:m —) *crow*, Palaung aʔ *to caw* (MILNE 1931), Central Sakai ök-ak *crow*; → Cham, North Röglai a:ʔ, Jarai [ci:m] a:ʔ, Röglai a:, Acehnese aʔ-aʔ *crow*; ~ (*klʔaik &c. >; A/B) Old Mon kil'āk /kəlʔaik/, Modern Mon hədaik, Sre kənda, Chrau kənda:ʔ, Biat nʔa:k, Kammu-Yuan kəlʔa:k, Palaung kəʔaʔ, Praok lak, Lawa Bo Luang laʔak, Lawa Umphai raʔŋak *crow* (& Riang-Lang ʔuk ʔak by metathesis; Stieng kənaʔt by assimilation), (B) Khmer khʔaek.

Onomatopoeic. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 260.

(SHAFFER 1965 279; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 277.)

*271 *kʔək (& *kʔəkʔ) *to cough*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer khʔək (< variant, or with secondary lengthening), (~?) Jeh kaʔok, Halang kəʔok *to cough*, (?) Riang-Lang kəʔok *to caw*; ~ Kuy ŋhaʔ, Palaung kənʔəʔ *to cough*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang ʔmoak, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔmauk *to cough*; ~ Khasi jyrhoh *cough, to cough*.

Onomatopoeic.

(SMITH 1972 281; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 22.)

Sora kə(k)'kə-(n) *cough, to cough*, (compounding form) kə-n *cough*, Kharia khu(?), &c. (PINNOW 1959 236).

(*cʔa(a)k, *cʔə(ə)k see 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ *to hiccough, belch*.)

‡272 *cʔuk; *cʔuuk; *[c]ʔuək; *chuək *corner*.

A-C: (Palaungic; ~ *crʔuuk >) Riang-Lang səduk; by secondary derivation ~ (C) Palaung kəndʔ; (A) Praok daok.

D: (Mon, Khasi) Mon chok; by metathesis ~ (*knhuəc >) Khasi kynhoit.

Cf. further Khasi kyndah; Khmer chù:ŋ *corner, inlet*; 689 *jruŋ *corner, angle*. Kammu-Yuan sɔ̌:k *elbow* is probably ← Lao sɔ̌k.

Proto-Austronesian *t'[ə]uk: Cebuano Bisayan suuk *corner*, Malay s/ěr/ok-an *inlet*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151, *t'əluk; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 219, *angle*... .

†273 *t₂ʔiik; *t₂hiik *to sob, draw breath noisily*.

A: (Mon, ?Khasi) ~ Mon həoik *to sob voicelessly*, (?) Khasi kyn-ih *to crow*; ~ Literary Mon gam'ik *sighing noise*.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kənhiʔ *to sob* (MILNE 1931).

*t₂- in view of Sora, below; connected perhaps as loan word West Bahnar rəsi:k [rəsi:m &c.] *to sob* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Contaminated by 480 *thak &c. *to pant, sob*?

Sora 'saŋe- *to be breathless, to sigh deeply*.

273a *tʔɔ̌k *scabies*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Chrau ɔ̌ʔ *kind of scaly skin disease*, Biat ɔ̌:k *scabies*; ~ Khmer trəʔɔ̌:k *kind of skin disease, (?) scabies*.

†274 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔaak > *ɗaak, Pre-Khmer *[ɗ]ik *water*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon ɗāk /ɗaik/, Modern Mon ɗaik, Old Khmer ɗik, Modern Khmer tuək, Kuy ɗiaʔ, Bru ɗəʔ, Stieng ɗà:k, Sre ɗa:, Chrau ɗa:ʔ, Biat, Jeh, Halang ɗa:k, Bahnar ɗa:k, Mường ɗác (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nước, Semelai dak, Central Nicobarese ɗa:k, Nancowry riák.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 32; SHORTO 1872; BLOOD 1966 288; SMITH 1972 287; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 30.)

Sora ɗʔa:-n, (compounding form) ɗa:-n, Kharia ɗaʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 2).

(*pʔɔ̌k see 481 *phɔ̌k *fish-paste*.)

275 *prʔɔ̌k *thorn*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng, Biat lɔ̌:k *thorn, fish-bone*, Sre lɔ̌ʔ *thorn, thorn-bush*, lɔ̌: *thorn-bush*, Chrau lɔ̌ʔ, Palaung pərʔɔ̌ʔ *thorn*.

(BLOOD 1966 73.)

†276 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***riʔaak** > Pre-Khmer &c. ***riik**; ***rʔaak**; ***riʔaan** > ***raan** to open, unfold.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **ri:k** to rise, to unfold, open (→ Stieng **ri:k** to swell, rise), Kuy **ri:ʔ** to bloom, to unfold.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṽdak** flower (not connected Thai **dòk**, on which see BENEDICT 1975 298-9, *fruit...* (III); → Khmer **dək**).

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **ràŋ** [flowers] to open, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ra:ŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **rà:ŋ** flowers; ~ (***rilʔaan** > ?) Biat **da:ŋ** [flowers] to open.

Connect 606 ***pa[a]ŋ** to open?

(SCHMIDT 1905 48, 54; SMITH 1972 153.)

Sora **rʔa:-**, Kharia **raʔ** to blossom, &c. (PINNOW 1959 9).

277 ***lʔək** rice-bran.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**lùʔ**, Stieng **lok**, Sre, Chrau **ləʔ**, Biat **lək**, Bahnar **dək**, Rongao **lək** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **haləʔ**, Jarai **hlək**, Rōglai **ləhə**, North Rōglai **hləʔ**, Acehnese **lhəʔ**; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **kəntùək** rice-bran, Khasi **kyndeh** ground rice, maize-flour.

Add perhaps Sakai **lihok** skin (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 235 (b)). POU & JENNER 1975 no. 43 compare Malay **dědak**, &c. (Proto-Austronesian ***d_[1]ək d_[1]ək** to pound; bran; cf. BLUST 1972 no. 9, ***dekdek**; DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***dəḍək**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

277a ***lʔək**; ***lʔək** cloudy, opaque.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **lʔək** (A), Kuy **lʔa:ʔ** (B) *turbid*; (probably ~) Khasi **lyoh** cloud, mist; ~ Khmer **lùmʔək** to muddy, make turbid.

Khmer (& Kuy?) **lʔ-** by levelling.

277b ***lʔuk**; ***lʔuuk** wet, soaked.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **luk** soaked, wet through.

B: (Mon) Mon **dək** to be wet, damp, sappy, green.

Cf. 954 ***lʔuət** &c.

(***kaik** see 496 ***kaŋ** transverse, to branch... .; ***kək** see 17 ***kəʔ** neck; ***kə[]k** see 498 ***kəŋ** ring-shaped artefact; ***kək** see 17 ***kəʔ**.)

278 ***k[oo]k** kind of diving bird.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Sre [**klaŋ**] **ko:** osprey (DOURNES 1950), Vietnamese **cốc** cormorant.

Arbitrary variant of 280 ***ku(ə)k** egret? Cf. further Khmer **rəŋi:əv kə:k** kind of kingfisher.

278a *kuk; *kuuk raised platform, shelter.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **ku?** *hunter's hide*, Alakong Bahnar **ku?** *field shelter* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ku:** *field shelter on piles, crop-watcher's platform*.

279 *kuk; *kuuk; *kuək; *kək to call.

A: (Palaungic; ~ *[p]nkuk >) Praok **gaok** *to invite*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer, (!) Kuy **ko:k**, Biat **ku:k** [kwal] *to call out to*; ~ Khmer **bəŋko:k** *to call out to*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **kək** /kək/, Modern Mon **kək** *to call*.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khmer) Praok **kək** *to call*, Lawa Bo Luang **kək**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kək** *to call, invite*; (?) ~ Khmer **bəŋkùək** *to call out to* (TANDART 1935; !).

Connection dubious Sora **gu:-** *to call, to invite, summon*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

280 *kuk; *kuək egret.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kək** *heron, egret*, Biat **kək** *egret*.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau **kə?** *cattle egret*, Bahnar [kla:ŋ] **kə:k** *generic term for egrets &c.* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); probably → Cham **kə?**; Vietnamese **cò**.

Connected further Acehnese **blōkə?**, Javanese **bləkək** *kind of heron*; & cf. 278 *k[oo]k *kind of diving bird*.

281 *t₁rkak prong, spike.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon [paŋ] **dakak** *snare*, Palaung **kərka?** *prong* (MILNE 1931).

281a *geek to tickle.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (cə:-) **gɛ:k**, Biat [cək] **gɛ:k**, Riang-Lang [kuk] **kɛək** (→ Palaung **kə kɛ?** (MILNE 1931)?).

282 *gak to bite (on).

A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung **ga?**, Riang-Lang **_kak** *to bite*, (~, or =?) Palaung **ga?** *bridle*, → Shan **kāk**, → Riang-Lang **ʔkak**; ~ (*[g]ngak >) Mon **kəhèak** *to bite*; ~ Mah Meri **negək** *to bite*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 229.)

283 *[]guk to sit, remain, dwell.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng **gu:k**, Chrau, Biat **gu?**; ~ Semang **nguk** *to sit, dwell* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 221).

If Khmer **kək** *to sit dozing* is cognate, *[t]guk.

(BLOOD 1966 167.)

284 *tɕɔk kind of hornbill.

- A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khmer [sat kaɛŋ] kɔ:k *small hornbill* (TANDART 1935), Bru kùəʔ, Riang-Lang [ˈklaŋ] ˌkɔk *large hornbill*, Khasi *koh-[karang &c.] hornbill*, with voicing metathesis, Proto-Semai *d̥kuuk *helmeted hornbill*, *Rhinoplax vigil* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(*[t]guk see 283 *[]guk to sit... .)

285 *ŋa[i]k baby.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Middle Mon [kwon] nāk *young child, baby*, Modern Mon [kon] ṇàik *child*, Khmer (? , by dissimilation) ṇaet, Riang-Lang [ˈkuan] ˌŋak (with tone by phrasal assimilation) *baby*.
Bahnar ṇe: is hardly connected.

286 *ŋɔk; (*ŋɔk ɲɔk >) *kɲɔk bent, crooked.

- A: (Palaungic, Katuic) Riang-Lang ˌŋɔk *to be curly*, Bru ɲəʔ *crooked, winding*; (&/or variant) → Shan ɲɔk *bend, to bent*, ɲɔ̃k *to be crooked*.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon ɲɔk *to be bent, crooked*, Khmer khɲɔk *hooked, hook-shaped*, Kuy ɲəʔ *winding, twisting, misshapen; to turn*; ~ Khmer krəŋɔk *from side to side*, (krəŋɔk —) *tortuous*.
Cf. 458 *wɔk bent round.

287 *ŋuk; *ŋuuk; *ŋək (& *ŋəək?) to bow head, nod.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer ɲuk *to bow head* (TANDART 1935), Kammu-Yuan ɲuk-[kəŋɲuk &c.] *nodding up and down*, (or B?) Khasi [koh]ŋuh *to nod, to acknowledge, to obey*; ~ Khmer phɲok *to nod, to shake head in affirmation* (TANDART 1935); ~ Kammu-Yuan cəŋúk-cəŋúk *nodding one's head*.
B: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer ɲò:k *to bend forward, to nod off*, (or A?) Rəngao ɲu:k *to incline head, bow head* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer ɲùək (!; TANDART 1935 also ɲèək), Central Nicobarese [ko]-ɲə:k-[hətə] (< *ŋəək?), [ko:]-ɲəkə-[ko:ire] *to nod*, Nancowry ɲúk *to bend down*, kuŋúkri *to nod*; ~ Riang-Lang ˌkəŋək (< *-ə(ə)k) *to nod, wag [head]*.
TANDART has further Khmer ɲè:k *to wag [head] sideways* (→ Cham ɲet), probably A secondary formation unless : Thin ɲek *to lean over*, Bru [laŋùʔ]-laŋè:ʔ *swaying as one sits*. Note also (i) Mon həpòik *dhañik, gañik*; həpòk *dhañok, gañok &c. to bend [head] forward, nod*; (ii) Malay lenggok *to sway head and body from side to side, bow right and left, wobble*; Javanese lənggèk-lənggèk *to hang head wearily*. Cf. 288 *lɲəək &c. *to bend head back*.

(*kɲɔk see 286 *ŋɔk bent, crooked.)

‡288 *lɿəək; *lɿaak; (?) *lɿiək to bend head back.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Biat ɿə:k to raise [head], Bahnar ɿə:k to bend head back, look disdainfully over someone's head; ~ (*lɿəək >) Literary Mon *lanik* to look upwards, Khasi *lyngngeh* [to sleep] with the head thrown back; ~ Literary Mon *lamuik* to look upwards; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan *təkɿə:k* [bent, looking] up, Bru *taɿɿ:ʔ* to look up, turn face up.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) (?; or A) → Malay *lěngk* to throw back the head and look up; ~ Mon *təɿàik* to look up, (~?; *lɿaak >) Khmer *phəa:k* to fall over backwards, Vietnamese *ngườc* to bend [head] back, look up; ~ Kammu-Yuan [*təkɿə:k*] *təkɿà:k* [bent, looking] upwards.

C: (Khasi) Khasi *lyngiah* with head back to one side; (?) → Acehnese *linjəʔ* posing coquettishly, Javanese *lèngèk-lèngèk* with head thrust forward; ~ Khasi *lyngngiah* [to sleep] with the head thrown back.

Khasi *-iah* perhaps by hypercorrection for *-eh*. Note further Khmer *crəɿɿok* to stretch upwards, *crəɿɿək* rising up, [to sit] with neck stretched; (< A by dissimilation?) ɿɿ:t, ɿɿ:p to raise head; Vietnamese *nghech* to raise [head]; *ngẩng* to raise, lift [head], to look up, *ngừng* to bend [head] back, *ngưỡng* to look up, admire.

(BLOOD 1966 412.)

Proto-Austronesian *l[]-(s)əNgak: Malay *lěnggak* = *lěngak*; &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləngak; if Fijian to draw a bow not cognate, Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; without prefix in Chamic: Cham (a)ɿu:ʔ to bend head back, &c.).

‡289 *ciik tooth.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *ci:k*, Sre *si:*, Chrau *se:c*, Biat *che:k*.

(BLOOD 1966 38.)

(?) Sora *ʃi:n*, (compounding form) *ji:n*.

290 *cak body.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *caʔ*, Sre *saʔ*, Chrau *saʔ* [nə:m], Biat *chak* (& Stieng *ca:k*, perhaps contaminated by Khmer *sa:k-səp* or Vietnamese *xác* corpse).

(BLOOD 1966 373.)

‡291 *caak; *caik; *ciək; *ciik; *c[ə]k (or *cik?); *cak to separate (v.i.t), split.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *cāk* /*caik*/ to be parted, Modern Mon *caik* to tear, be torn, Khmer *ca:k* to leave (A), *caek* to divide up (B), Chrau *sa:ʔ* to go, (or F?) Central Sakai *châk* to chop, Pangan [ya]-*chag* to tear (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai *càak* to be separated from, Shan *sāk* to split (v.t.); ~ (*kc- >) Kuy *se:ʔ* to hoe up [weeds] (B), Kammu-Yuan *cá:k* to tear (v.t.); ~ Kuy *jce:ʔ* to distribute.

- C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Stieng **ciək**, Bahnar **tse:k** to divide up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or < ***siək**, ad 465 ***saik**), Riang-Lang **siək** to chop, (or B?) Khasi **siah** to cut, pare, shave off, Nancowry **síak** side?; → Shan **sīk** tear, to tear.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Sre **si:** to split into fibres; ~ (***crniik** >) **səni:** parcel of swidden field.
- E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **sék** to cut off.
- F: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **sak** (beside **sa:k** < A/B) to go, return; → Thai **càk** to cleave, split...; ~ Biat **rnaʔ** parcel of ground.
- D, E secondary. Cf. 404 ***craak**; 465 ***saik**; A53a ***[c]əc** to diverge; A71 ***caat**; 1982 ***ci(ə)h**; & Khmer **caen** to divide up; Palaung **sa** to chop.
(SCHMIDT 1905. 26; BLOOD 1966 330.)
- Sora **sa:-** to rend, to pare [nails]; Kharia **ca'caʔ** torn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 296, Proto-Munda ***cagcag**; ad A, B); Sora **'pansi:-n** split wood (ad D).
- Proto-Austronesian ***k'agk'ag**: Javanese **di-chachag** chopped small, Ivatan **sagság** to chop (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***cok** see 525 ***c[o]ŋ** to make into a bundle.)

*292 ***cuk**; ***cuuk**; ***cuək**; ***cak**; ***ciik**; ***c(i)ək** to prod, pierce.

- A: (Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy **coʔ** to thrust into, ?Nancowry **sōk** index finger.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **cək** to touch, collide, push with horns, Stieng **cu:k** to damage or cut up with mattock, Biat **chu:k** to put in, push in, Central Nicobarese **[ok]-ʃək-** (or C?), **ʃo:kə-** to pick [teeth]; ~ (***cpuuk** >) Khmer **cbo:k** fish-spear; ~ Mon **həcək** splinter; ~ Khasi **tyrsuh** to poke; ~ (***pcuuk** >) Mon **phyək** to touch one object with another, Khasi **bsuh** to push in, to intrude.
- C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **sək** to fight with horns, toss (MILNE 1931), Semai **cək** to stab.
- D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **cak**, Jölong **tsak** to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **sək** to prick, Khasi **sah** to ram in, drive home, to punch, to elbow, Kensiu **ceg** to stab, Central Nicobarese **ʃa:k-[hətə]** to spear, Nancowry **sák**; → Thai **sək** to puncture, prod, tattoo; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cák** to touch, poke, pick.
- E: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cək** to peck, [snake] to bite, Vietnamese **chích** to prick.
- F: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **speh** spike, goad.
- E (& F?) secondary. Cf. 295 ***kco(o)k** to prick... .
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'ukt'uk: Tagalog *suksók* to put into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 156; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; ?) *t'ut'uk: Toba Batak *susuk* pricked, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159; if Batak ← Malay Perhaps = i); (iii) *tut'uk: Malay *tusok* to pierce, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) *t'akt'ak: Javanese *sasak* to penetrate obliquely, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147; Proto-Hesperonesian); (v) *t'ugt'ug: Tagalog *s/al/ugsóg* thorn, sliver, in hand or foot, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 412; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 358, 397-8. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 46 (a).)

293 *c[u]k (to bear) fruit in clusters.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi *soh* fruit, to bear fruit, to cling, adhere; ~ Mon *həcak* cluster of fruit.

Or *cok.

293a *.cak correct.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *ṭcak*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *ṇāk* correct, to hit the mark.

294 *ʔciik astringent in taste.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) East Bahnar *tsi:k* disagreeable in taste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *cí:k*, Palaung *sik* [çik], *swiʔ* [s'ɪʔ], Riang-Lang *ṭcik* astringent, Kuy (ʔa:) *ce:ʔ* astringent; medicine, Bru *ɲcik*.

Cf. Sora *pi'siŋ*-, *'pi'siŋ*- (beside *pi'sa:ŋ*- &c.; contaminated by *ə'sa:ŋ*- bitter, ad 553 *kt₂aŋ?); & 989 *pəət bitter, astringent.

‡295 *kcok; *kcook to prick, puncture, to provoke.

A, B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Biat *co:k* to peck, [snake] to bite (B), (A) Sre *cok* to prick, to provoke by pricking buttocks, Thin *cōk* to insert drinking-tubes in liquor jar, (A/B) Palaung *cəʔ* to prick (→ Shan *sōk*), Vietnamese *chọc* (!) to pierce, puncture, Nancowry *cók* to prick (?); ~ Khmer *kəmcəok* to provoke, to fan [flames]; ~ (? , *krco(o)k by metathesis >) Riang-Lang *cəɾək* to prick. Cf. 292 *cu(u)k &c. to prod... .

Proto-Austronesian *k'əugk'əug or *k'uəgk'uəg: Röglai *cok* to prick (or ← Sre), Malay *chuchok*, *chochok* to pierce, prick (→ Acehnese *cucoʔ* pin), Javanese *chochog* to get pricked (& *chuchuk* beak, to peck..., ← Malay ?), Cebuano Bisayan *sugsúg*, *s/ul/ugs/úl/ug* to tease, pester (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 358.

296 *kcuk; *kcuuk; *kcuək to stop up.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *cok* to stop up, plug, cork, Sre *cùʔ* to insert, fill hole (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Mon) Mon *chək khyuk* to confine, imprison, (*nèa* —) to be constipated; → Burmese *khyup*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy *sa:ʔ* to stop up, plug, cork; ~ (k)sa:ʔ stopper. (Cf. BLOOD 1966 155.)

*297 ***cəcak**; ***cəcək** *house lizard, Hemidactylus*.

A: (Mon) Mon **həcək**.

B: (Khmer) (Old Khmer **cicok** *insect?*), Modern Khmer **cəcək** *house lizard*.

Onomatopoeic; cf. Thai **cīŋcòk**, → Khmer **cì:ŋ cək** (POU & JENNER 1973).

Proto-Austronesian ***k'ək'ak**: Malay **chichak** (!), &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86-7; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 49.)

298 *[p]**ciək** *to cough*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng **ciək**, Biat **chiək** *to cough*, Semang **yik** *slight cough* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 249); ~ Sre **bəsia**, Chrau **nsiə?** *to cough*.

(BLOOD 1966 103.)

*299 ***pc[ɔ]k** *summit, tip*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **cək** *point, tip, end, summit, sprout*, (by assimilation) Praok **choc** *summit*.

Or ***pcwək?** Cf. 529 *[?]cu(u)ŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***puk'uk**: Malay **puchok** *shoot, upper tip*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 121; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***pu(N)k'ak**: Malay **punchak** *summit, top*, &c. (ib.; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Cf. further Proto-Austronesian ***pu(N)k'u(S)** (ib.; Proto-West-Indonesian).

300 ***jiik**; ***jiək** *to break ground for cultivation*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **jik** /**jik**/, Modern Mon **còik** *to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate*, Old Khmer **jyak**, Modern Khmer **cì:k** *to dig (over)*, Stieng **ji:k** *to hoe*, Sre **ji:**, Chrau **ji:?**, Biat **ji:k** *to grub up weeds*, Jeh, Halang **jìak** *ricefield*, Rōngao **je:k** *to plough, prepare for cultivation* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **cuək**, Lawa Umphai **chuək**, Mae Sariang **c(h)ik** *irrigated field*; ~ (***jniik** >) Chrau **ni:?** *weeding-tool*, Bahnar **?ni:k** *harrow, mattock, used to break ground*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **ciək** *to dig, break ground by digging*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 214; SMITH 1972 241, 270.)

†301 ***jak**; *[j]u(u)**k**; ***juək** *to tread, to step out, set out*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Middle Mon **jak**, Modern Mon **cèək** *to march, set out*, Sre **ja?** *to tread on, trample*, Bahnar **jak** *to go away*, Riang-Lang **_cak** *to put on, wear [shoes...]*, Khasi **jah** *to absent oneself*, Central Sakai **jak** *to tread on*; → Acehnese **ja?** *to go (away), set out*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **iuh** *to tread on, trample*.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **cuək**-[lɔre &c.] *to negotiate [stair, ladder]*, **cuəkə** *to step*, Nancowry **cuák** *steps*; (?) → Cham **cwà?**, Jarai **ju:a?**, Röglai, North Röglai **jua?** *to tread on, trample* &c., → Bahnar **jua?**, **juə?** *step on*.

Back vocalism obscure; contaminated by 462 ***swa**[a]**k** to walk...?

(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 202.)

Sora **na:-** to walk, march, to tread, thresh by treading.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'agd'ag** to get a foothold: Javanese **jajag**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***d'əgd'əg** to get a foothold: Malay **jějak** to tread, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; if Fijian *thigh* not cognate, Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) ***i(N)Zak** to tread, dance (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, ***i(ń)d'ak**; Proto-Hesperonesian; note Javanese **idak** to tread & add Karo Batak **m-édak-édak** to gad about...; Toba ← Malay); & prefixed forms, cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 (***k-**, Proto-West-Indonesian), 118 (***p-**, Proto-West-Indonesian), 137 (***t-**, Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***əN[Z]ak**: Malay **ěnjak** to step on, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 126, ***əŋzak**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

302 ***juk**; ***juuk** creeper, material for tying.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **juk** /**juk**/, Modern Mon **cək** creeper, cord (B), (A) Bahnar **juk** kind of aquatic plant yielding fibre; vegetable fibre, (A/B) Central Sakai **chōk** rattan; ~ Serting **jēmōk** climbing rope (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d)); ~ Central Sakai **chěenchōk** creeper.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (a-b).)

(***kjək** see 52 ***kjə?** heavy.)

303 ***tik**; ***tiək**; ***tək** deaf.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:c**, Sre (→ Röglai) **ti?** deaf, Chrau **ti?** blocked up, (— **to:r**) deaf.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **điếc** deaf.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat **tək** [**to:r**].

(BLOOD 1966 147.)

304 ***tik**; ***tiik** to pull along, lead.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Old Khmer **tik**, Modern Khmer **drk** to lead [animal], to cart, Kuy **tr?** to lead [animal], to cart, to drag [e.g. net].

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:k**, Sre **ti:**, Chrau **te:c** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **te:k** to lead by a rope.

(BLOOD 1966 39; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 30.)

†305 ***tiik**; ***tiək** to lie down, sleep.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **de:k**, Kensiu **tik**, (or B?) Semnam &c. **tæg**; ~ (probably originally hypothetical) Old Mon **stik** /**stik**/, Modern Mon **toik**; ~ Mah Meri **gətik**, (~?) Semelai **jətek**, by metathesis Jah Hut **tice:k**.

B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **thiah**, Central Nicobarese **iteak**, Nancowry **?itiák**.

Cf. Bahnar **tə:p**. Bru has **?atəy?** to put to bed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 250 (a-b).)

Santali **gitiʃ**, &c (PINNOW 1959 295a; Proto-Munda *-tik?).

(*t₁iək see 319 *tr(-)t₁iək ear.)

306 *t₁ak to put in place.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **tək** to build, erect [dam, hut], to assume [cross-legged] position, to let down [net], to rule [line], Khmer **ḍak** to place, put, site, Palaung **taʔ** to lay out [mat &c.]; → Cham **ḍak**, (!) **tàʔ ḍak** to arrange; Shan **tāk**; ~ Middle Mon **tamnak** pavilion, Modern Mon **pənek** camp, Khmer **dəmnak**, **təmnak** halting-place, encampment; → Thai **sāmnák** house, lodging, → Khmer **səmnak** halting-place.

Connect 317 *kti(i)k to put (down)?

307 *t₁ak; *t₁ək to remove.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre, Chrau **taʔ**, Biat **tak** to remove, Bahnar **tak** to open, lift lid, to uncover, remove cover, to move [object] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (A/B?) Nancowry **ták** to leave, **ʔuktákɲicaʔ** to wean, to pull out.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Old Khmer **tok**, Modern Khmer **ḍo:k** to pull out, pull off, uproot (? , with secondary lengthening), Biat (→ Central Rölöm?) **tək** to remove (beside **ḍo:k** to uproot ← Khmer), Riang-Lang **tək** to uproot, extract.

A contaminated by preceding?

(BLOOD 1966 271; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 36.)

308 *t₁aik spear.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **daek-[so:l]** javelin, Chrau **ta:ʔ** (→ Sre), Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **ta:k**, Sedang **tea** spear.

(SHAFFER 1965 326; BLOOD 1966 334; SMITH 1972 289.)

*309 *t₁ək to cohere.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **tək** (!), to adhere to, Praok **tok** to be fastened together; ~ Mon **hətak** cluster, bunch; ~ Literary Mon **datuik** to cluster.

Sora **'rutta:-n**, (RAMAMURTI 1938) **'runta:-n** cluster, bunch.

*310 *tə[ɔ]k to copulate (with).

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **tək**, Nancowry **tuák**.

Note Kuy **təʔ**, Bru **tə:ʔ**.

Sora **to:-**, **tu-**, Kharia **tu**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 369).

311 *t₂uk cloud, mist.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **tuʔ**, Biat **tok** cloud, Bahnar **tuk** ground mist, dew; ~ Stieng **atuk** dew, mist (?); ~ Jeh **kasùk**, (~?) Halang **siksuk** cloud.

Separate Palaung **tuuk** smoke.

(SMITH 1972 268.)

312 *tuk going on foot, by land.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Middle Mon **tok** /**tuk**/, Modern Mon **tak**; ~ (***tmuk** >) Thin **mūk** on foot.

313 *t₁uk *t₁uuk to tie.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **tūk** *lashing, to tie*, Palaung **to?** *to tie*.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ˀtuk** *to bind, tie, tether*. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 79.)

***314 *tuək; (*tək tək > ?) *[k]tək drip, drop.**

A: (Mon) Mon **tok** *drop*.

B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **tək** *sound of dripping* (& by secondary formation **tətək** *to drip*, **təmnək** *drop, falling drop*, **bəntək** *drop, dot*), Nancowry **ták** *to drip*.

Cf. 814 ***tuuc** &c. *drop, to drip*.

Proto-Austronesian ***titik** *drop, dot*: Malay **titek**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 98, *(Ct)i(Ct)ik; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Note also ***riNtik** *speckles*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 104 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 37.)

315 *[ʔ]tuuk; *[ʔ]t[u]k, by metathesis *[]kut; *[ʔ]təək to scoop up, root up.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon **tuk** /**tuk**/ *to draw [water]*, Modern Mon **tək** *to scoop up, to root up*, Khmer **taok** *spoonful* (TANDART 1935), Stieng **tu:k** *to remove [pot from fire, rice from pot]*, West Bahnar **to:k** *to root up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry **ʔuktúak** *to pull up, to draw water*.

B: (Katuic, Khasi, South Bahnaric) Bru **tu?** *to dip into*, Khasi **thoh** *to take with tip of finger* (or < *-**uək**), by metathesis Chrau **kut** *to dip out into*.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar Bru **tu?**, **tu:k** *to root up, lever up*.

***316 *[k]ti[]k to tickle.**

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ktik** (!)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kitik**: Malay **kitek**, **kitik**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 216; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***gitik**: Malay **g/ěl/itek**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65; Proto-West-Indonesian).

317 *kt₁ik; *kt₁iik to put (down).

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ce?**, Biat **te?** *to put*.

B: (Khmuic, ?Palaungic) Thin **tik** *to put (down)*, (or 320a ***[p]tiik** *to pull off* > ?) Praok **tik** *to abandon, get rid of*.

Connect 306 ***t₁ak** *to put in place?*

(***[k]tək** see 314 ***tuək** *drip, drop*.)

***318 **[j]təək* to strike, beat.**

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon *tik* /*tək*/ to beat, Modern Mon *tak* to discharge [artillery], (— *tət*) to strike, coin [money], Stieng *tək* to hit, Central Sakai *chətək* to beat [drum]; → Burmese *tuik* to come, bring, into violent contact, to fight, → (i) Palaung *taik* to fight; (ii) Shan *tuik* to fight, → Palaung *tuik* to fight, Riang-Lang *tuik* to wage [war]; ~ Bahnar *hatək* to clap, applaud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Connect Kammu-Yuan *sənták* (< *-t₁-) to dash against, throw to the ground, to hit the ground; but connection uncertain Bahnar *ti:k* to collide, strike against (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Cf. 322 **[l]tak* to hammer...; 558 **jt₁uŋ* &c. to strike, beat... . Proto-Austronesian **təktək*: Malay *tətak* to knock, rap, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 145, **təktək*, Proto-West-Indonesian; **t₁əkt₁ək*, DAHL 1973 § 14.9, rests on an uncertain Formosan comparison).

319 **tr(-)t₁iək* ear.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer *trəciək* ear, Riang-Lang *kətiək* outer ear, lobe of ear. Perhaps **t₁iək*, Khmer < derivation, Riang-Lang *kə-* part-of-body prefix; add then Khmer *kənciək* ear-piece of dancer's headdress (TANDART 1935). But separate Aslian forms at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 6 (a), = Temiar *gentək*, &c., ad 554 **k₁təŋ* to hear. (SHAFFER 1965 319.)

320 **nt₁aak*, **l(n)t₁aak* tongue.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon *kətaik*, (Khmer *ʔənda:t* by assimilation), Kuy *nta:ʔ*, Kammu-Yuan *hənta:k*, Riang-Lang *ˀtak*, Praok *ɗak*, Lawa Bo Luang *tak*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *ndak*, Kensiu *lətig*, Temiar *lənta:g*; ~ Palaung *kətaʔ*, Central Nicobarese *kəleta:k*, Nancowry *kaliták* (with part-of-body prefix?). **l-* secondary, **ln-* (certainly attested only in Aslian) by interdialectal contamination? (SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFFER 1965 277; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 165.)

***320a **[p]tiik* to pull off.**

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Chrau *ti:ʔ* to husk [maize], Biat *ti:k* to husk, to pick over, (or 317 **kt₁iik* to put (down) >?) Praok *tik* to abandon, get rid of. South Bahnaric vocalism suggests *.t-. Proto-Austronesian (i) **pətik*: Malay *pətik* to pick, pluck, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118, **pətik*); (ii) **putik*: Toba Batak *putik* to pick, pluck, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 123, **puṭik*; Oceanic to pluck [feathers &c.]). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, loan source not obvious.

321 **ptəək* temples.

A: (Khmer, North & Central Aslian) Khmer *taək gills*, *taək taək*, Semang *pətök* temples (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 228).

‡322 *[l]tak (& *tlak by metathesis?) to hammer, drive home.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tak** /tak/ to drive in, to fasten especially by driving in, Modern Mon **tək** to strike, hit, beat, (? by metathesis) Palaung **laʔ** to hammer, hammer; ~ Old Mon **tnak**, Modern Mon **nək** stake, peg, Palaung **hlaʔ** stake for tethering cattle (MILNE 1931).

Cf. 318 *[j]təək to strike, beat (Cf. SHAFER 1965 144.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *laNtak: Malay **lantak** to drive in, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92);

(ii) *[qS]əNta[kg]: Malay (**h**)**ěntak** to jab downwards, thump, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, *hən[t]ak; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(*lt₁aak see 320 *nt₁aak tongue.)

323 *[s][n]tuuk kind of jar.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **səto:ʔ** water-jar, Bahnar **səto:k** kind of jar.

324 *dak intertwined.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer **təək** tangled, intertwined; ~ (*pdak >) Literary Mon **bdak** to bring together, Jölong **dak** to make a net, spin a web (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !); ~ (*prdak >) Late Middle Mon [**chuik** to be near] **padak** to be well versed, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon [**chak**] **pətəək** to be skilled, Khmer **prətəək** intertwined, to intertwine; ~ (*dnak >) Bahnar **nak** net, to make net, spin web, Jeh, Halang **nak** net; (?) ~ Khasi **ktah** to touch.

= following?

(SMITH 1972 275.)

325 *dak to bind.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **dak** /dak/ to bind, harness, Modern Mon **təək** to tie, tether, link..., Khasi **teh** to bind, fasten; ~ (*d.nak >) Mon **hənəək** **danak** noose, snare, jess for poultry.

= preceding? Distinguish (but Mon **der**. x?) 330 *đak (to) trap.

326 *dak viscous.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang [**tam**] **tak gur**, Vietnamese **đặc** to be viscous, thick, to coagulate.

327 *daik; *diik outstretched.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon **tàik** to branch, be turned outwards, Central Nicobarese **ta:k** broad, wide, Nancowry **ták** flat; ~ Khmer **kəntək** bifurcated; ~ Central Nicobarese **təma:kə** fathom.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ndi**: (great) breadth.

Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c.

328 *[c]duuk staff, cudgel.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [lèʔ] tək (→ Burmese *du*) *cudgel*, Khasi [*dieng*]-*duh* (!) *staff, walking-stick*; ~ Khasi *shanduh*, Sakai *chenduk walking-stick* (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 452).

Connect obscure Khmer *thùək cudgel* (TANDART 1935), Vietnamese *thước*.

329 *ɗik; *ɗiik; *ɗiək slave.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre diʔ *slavery*, Stieng di:c, Biat ɗuk (& Chrau ɗic by interdialectal borrowing), Bahnar ɗic *slave*.

B: (Mon, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon ɗik /ɗik/, Modern Mon doik, Bahnar di:k *slave* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or A?).

C: (Mon) Dvaravati Mon ɗek ?/ɗek/ *slave*.

Cf. Thin de *I (respectful)*.

(BLOOD 1966 134; SMITH 1972 239.)

(*[ɗ]ik see 274 *diʔaak water.)

†330 *ɗak trap, to trap.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer tək *to trap*, Stieng, Biat ɗak, Sre, Chrau ɗaʔ *trap*, Bahnar ɗak *projectile trap, to set traps*, Jeh, Halang ɗak *spear trap*, Riang-Lang ɗak (*to*) *trap*, Semai ɗa:k *trap* (TAUERN 1914); → Cham tàʔ (& hataʔ!) *trap for birds*; ~ Khmer ʔontək *trap, snare*; ~ Khmer thnək *decoy, lure*, Bahnar ʔnak *projectile trap*.

Distinguish 325 *ɗak *to bind*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 327; SMITH 1972 274; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 200A.)

Sora ɗa:-[ʔtul-ən] *trap*.

331 *ɗak; (*ɗaik ɗaik > ?) *[k]ɗ[ai]k to break, snap.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon ɗek ɗak [pruʔ] *to snap, make snapping sound*, Central Nicobarese ɗak-[ŋə] (& by assimilation ɗaŋə) *to split, break* (v.i.).

B: (Khasi) Khasi *kdiah* *to break, snap* (v.t.).

(*ɗaak see 274 *diʔaak water.)

332 *[ɗ]ək to stand up, to go up.

A: (Bahnaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm ɗək, Biat ɗək *to stand (up)*, Jeh ɗək *to go up*, Halang ɗək *to ascend*, (~?) West Bahnar nək *to go upstream, take up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 116.)

Distinguish 334 *ɗuk *to mount, ride*; & separate also Sora ɗaj-, dai-, Santali deʔ *to mount, ascend, climb*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 333), which require *-c.

Hardly all ← Röglai [dɔ]-dək, North Röglai dək to stand, < Proto-Aceh-Cham *dɛŋ.
 North Bahnaric senses perhaps by attraction Cham di:ʔ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *naSik (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107, *na^cik).

‡333 *dɔ[]k to hammer.

A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon dək to hammer, Praok tək to nail (or ← Shan tǝk < Tai *took, cf. BENEDICT 1975 228, beat, drive in... (II)), Nancowry karuák knock on door, kumruák to knock on door (& Riang-Lang krək to knock; so *kd-?).

Proto-Austronesian *d₁akd₁ak: Toba Batak dakdak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 38, *dakdak; cf. DAHL 1973 § 14.5).

Onomatopoeic. Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *tuk to cut, knock, pound, BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 387: inter alia > Garo dok ~ dak to knock, pound, Dimasa do to knock, ...hammer down.

334 *duk to mount, ride.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon duk /duuk/, Modern Mon dak to mount, ride (on, in) (& Old Khmer duk, Modern Khmer tük to put, put away, put on one side, keep by semantic transference from causative?); ~ Old Mon -pduk to embark, take up, Modern Mon dak also to load, Khmer phtük to load; (~?) → Thai pràthúk to load with; ~ Khmer bəntük load; → Thai bant^húk to load with; ?Nancowry rúk to arrive, ranúk vehicle rather : Bru tət to come?

Distinguish 332 *[d]ək ...to go up. Sre di: to mount, ride is ← Röglai di: < Proto-Austronesian *naSik (ib.), perhaps contaminated by *duk.

335 *duk; *duək; *dək full, complete.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon duk /duuk/ to be perfect, complete, Middle Mon dok, Modern Mon dak [pɔiŋ full] to be complete; ~ Praok naok, Lawa Umphai nauk to be full.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung nɔʔ to be full.

C: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Old Mon dik /dɔk/ to be perfect, complete; ~ Riang-Lang nək to be full.

335a *duuk; *[d]uun (kind of) monkey.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng du:k, Sre dou, Chrau do:ʔ, Biat do:k, Bahnar dɔk, Jeh, Halang dok monkey.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung [ə]duŋ large long-tailed kind of monkey, Proto-Semai *dɔ^g pig-tailed macaque (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?; if so, *d-) Central Nicobarese duē Macacus cynomologus.

North Bahnaric vocalism apparently post-dental, cf. 70 *ktuuʔ, 396 *ruuk, 467 *suuk, 667 *ruun[], 685 *cruun, 728 *luun, 744 *t₁luŋ, 892 *dkuun, 1005 *tuut, 1062 *ruut, 1738 *bt₁uul, 1744 *duul, 1763 *tb[uu]l. Connection dubious Vietnamese dộc ape; or Khmer tò:c gibbon.

(BLOOD 1966 2; SMITH 1972 278; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 129.)

336 **ɗuuk*; **ɗuk* boat, canoe.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer *tù:k*, Kuy *thù:ʔ*, Bru *tùəʔ*, Stieng *ɗu:k*, Chrau *ɗu:ʔ* *boat*, Biat *ɗu:k* *canoe* (& Sedang *tuk* *ship*, or as Bahnar?); → Bahnar *ɗu:k* *boat, ship*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *nôc* *canoe*.

Connect Malay *bidok* *canoe*.

(SHAFFER 1965 325; SMITH 1972 271.)

337 **kr[ɗ]a[a]k* palm, sole.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kəta:k*, *kəltá:k*, Thin *kəɗak*, Lawa Bo Luang (?a) *nduak*, Lawa Umphai *rathuak*.

(**[k]ɗ[ai]k* see 331 **ɗak* to break, snap.)

338 **[c]ɗak* to cough, splutter.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (**[c][r]ɗak* >) Mon *həɗək*, Petchabun Nyah Kur *càɗək* to cough, Proto-Nyah Kur **ɕhəɗək* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V34; favours **s-*), Central Sakai *sladík* noise of hawking; ~ (**[c]ndak* >) Chrau *ndaʔ* to choke in swallowing, cough, Bru *santùʔ* to choke.

338a **[c]ɗaak*; **[c]ɗaik* to fry.

A, B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Khasi *sɗieh* (B); ~ Kuy *nthiaʔ* to fry, parch [rice] (A; ~?, A/B) Riang-Lang *kəɗək* to fry, ?Nancowry *harát*.

339 **ɗiək*; **[t]ɗik* wet.

A: (Mon, Kuy) Middle Mon *tɗək* /*tɗək*/, Modern Mon *deak*; ~ (**tpɗiək* >) Kuy *pri:ʔ*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *tətùk* (perhaps contaminated by *tùk* water, < 274 **diʔaak*).

340 **ɗək* dirt.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *tɗ(u)ik* /*tɗək*/ [*lɛn*] impurity, defilement; ~ (**tnɗək* >) Biat *ndək* filth, dirt (→ Chrau *kəndəʔ* particles of dirt).

Add perhaps West Bahnar *kəɗi:k* sediment, mud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (then < variant **t/r/ɗi[i]k*), & to derive Mon *hənoik* power, dust, Nyah Kur *ndɣk* power, dust.

341 **t₁ɗ[o]k* slit-drum, bamboo rattle.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy *tə:ʔ tə:ʔ* cowbell; ~ (**t₁nd[o]k* >) Mon *hənək* slit-drum, (— *kləa*) cowbell; ~ (**t₁rd[o]k* >) Khmer *trədaok* cowbell of bamboo with seeds inside which rattle (& probably colloquial rather than < simplex, *tədaok*, *dədaok*, TANDART 1935; → Biat *kɗo:k* rattle), Chrau *tələ:ʔ* slit-drum (& by arbitrary variant *tələ:ʔ* small bamboo slit-drum), Riang-Lang *kərdək* bamboo rattle.

Perhaps *-u(u)k/-uək. Cf. 903 *kđiŋ, *kđuŋ *bamboo-joint*.

342 *tnək *step of stair*.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thnak**, Vietnamese **nấc**.

343 *[t]rnuk *troubles*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **kanuk** [*kanāy*] *troubles, disasters*, Khmer **dranuk** *sorrow, trouble* (GUESDON 1930).

Khmer **d-** by attraction **tùk** *sorrow*, ← Pali **dukkha-**, or Mon **k-** by phrasal assimilation?

344 *dn₂ək; *dn₂ak *ladle, hood of cobra*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **dnāk** *hood of cobra*, Modern Mon **nòk** *hood, ladle*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **lak** [*keəŋ*] *spoon*, Riang-Lang **lak** *ladle* (& **həŋ lak** [*hood-snake* =] *cobra*); → Shan **lāk** [*lám*] *ladle*.

Variation obscure.

345 *pək *to fan, [wind] to blow*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **puik** *to blow*, Modern Mon **pak**, Old Khmer **pak**, Modern Khmer **bək**, Kuy **pə?**, Bru **ʔapw?**, Stieng **po:k** *to blow, to fan*; ~ Middle Mon **pnik**, Modern Mon **noik**, Khmer **bhnak'** *fan* (GUESDON 1930); ~ (***prnək** >) Literary Mon **panik** (?), Stieng **prənɔ:k** *fan*, Bru **ranù?** *fan*.

Add perhaps Khasi **peh** *to winnow* (< ***kpək?**). Stieng **-o:k** post-labial, cf. 1025 ***kpət**; 1040 ***cət**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 22; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (b).)

346 *pək; *pəək; *pu[u]k *to open*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **pə?**, **pə?**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **pek**, Modern Khmer **baək** (→ Kuy **bə:??**), Sre **pə:**, Biat **pə:k** *to open*, Chrau **pə:?** *to take off, lift*; (or A?) → Cham **prk**, North Röglai **po?** *to open*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi **phuh** *to flower*.

C secondary. Connect 353 ***[l]pək** &c.; & cf. also 2029 ***puh** &c.; Proto-Austronesian ***bu(N)ka**: Malay **buka**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***buka**^c; add Madurese **bungka?**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 322; BLOOD 1966 414.)

(***pək** see 371 ***gəək** *to chop, hoe*.)

*347 *pɔ̀k to peel.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Old Khmer *pak*, Modern Khmer *bɔ̀k* to peel (→ Kuy *bua?* to peel ?), Stieng *bo:k* to remove [mollusc] from shell, Mường *póc* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *bóc* to peel, Thin *pək* bark, rind (or by back-formation ~ *həmpək* bark, rind, < 466 *s/mp/ɔ̀k); → Thai *pòk*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) **puak* to remove: Cham *pɔ?* to untie, unharness, remove (& to remove bark from, contaminated by or ← Mon-Khmer?), Jarai *pək*, Karo Batak *puak* to remove, Cebuano Bisayan *puwak* to tonsure (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; by metathesis?) *(q)u(N)pak: Tagalog *upak* bark, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, **u(m)pak*; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 9.)

348 *puk; *puuk to swell, be inflated.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *puk*, Sre *pu?* to swell, Biat *pok* swollen.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Jeh *pu:k* wind on stomach, Halang *pù:k* to want to defecate, Central Nicobarese *fɔ:k* blister.

Cf. 101 **poo?* &c.; & Nicobaric *puk-oəl* to swell (< **b-* or **ḡ-*).

(**pu(u)k* see also 355 *[l]puk to dash against.)

†349 *t₁paak to pace, step.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *twek* /*twaik*/ to walk, pace, Modern Mon *kwaik* to walk, Mường *puốc* (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *bước* (to) step.

**t₁*- in view of Sora.

Sora *'dapa:-n* step.

Proto-Austronesian **tapak*: Malay *tapak* palm, sole, footprint, step, Tagalog *tapak* to tread on, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 131).

*350 *tpuuk heap, to heap up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer *pūk* to heap up, Modern Khmer *bo:k* to heap up; hump, Palaung *po?* [earth] bank (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *puk* hill, hillock, raised ground, (dry) land; to be convex; ~ Khmer *dəmbo:k* hillock, mound, anthill, (— *kò:*) hump; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *bəmno:k* heap, mound.

= following? Cf. also 369 **ḡu(u)k*.

Proto-Austronesian **tuNpuk*: Malay *tompok*, *tumpok* small hill, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 101, *(Ct)uṅpuk; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 nos. 20 (a), 22.)

351 *tpuuk; *tpuək to add, calculate.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *bo:k*.

B: (Mon) Mon *tok* to calculate (< Old Mon **twok*, as *toŋ* castor-oil tree < *twoñ*); → Burmese *twak*, → Palaung *tuə?* to count, add.

= preceding? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 27.)

†**352** ***lpak**; ***lpaak**; ***lpaik**; ***lpiək** to be broken, split in two.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **bak** (→ Cham **ḥak**), Stieng **pak** to break (v.i.), Sre **paʔ** to break (v.i.t), Chrau **paʔ** to snap, break off, Rōngao **pak** [cord &c.] to break (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **pāk** to break (v.t.); ~ (***lnpak** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **pəup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbək** to break off; ~ (***tlpak** >) Rōngao **təpak** to break (v.i.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **təlpak** v.t.; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəmbək** v.t.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon **pāk** /**paik**/ to be shattered, Modern Mon **paik** to split, (C) Khmer **baek** broken, Kuy **bɛ:ʔ** to separate (v.i.), (B) Sre [**tam**] **pa:**, (B/C) Chrau **pa:ʔ** (→ Biat **pa:ʔ**) to share out, Jeh **pa:k** to split (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pá:k** to crack, split (v.i.), (~?) Praok **pak** half, part; ~ Old Mon **lunpek** either of two sides, Modern Mon **kəpaik** also half, part; by secondary derivation ~ Mon **həpaik** to divide, sever, separate, Khmer **bəmbaek** to break, to divide, separate; ~ Mon **həpaik** cleft, Khmer **prəbaek** fork, confluence, junction; → Cham **pabek** fork, confluence, junction; ~ Middle Mon **panāk** [**sat**], (B) Khmer **prəna:k**, Kuy **mna:ʔ**, (B/C) Stieng **brəna:k** areca shears.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khasi **phiah** to split (or C?); (by metathesis ***pliək**, or by secondary derivation ~ ***pn₂iək**, >) Riang-Lang **ṽpliək** (to) crack.

Connect (probably, by metathesis) **446** ***pla([a])k** side; perhaps **B33** ***pəək** to break...; & cf. further **356** ***[b]iək** to tear apart; **364** ***tbaik** to cleave.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 328; BLOOD 1966 316.)

Sora **pa:-** to split (v.t.).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***yi(N)pak**: Iban **rimpak** notched, chipped..., &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 267; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***ra(N)pak**: Malay **rapak** fragile, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101-2); (iii) ***rəNpak**: Javanese **rəmpak** shattered, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***piqak**: Javanese **piyak** to give way, to push apart, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118-119, ***pijak**; DYEN 1953 § 45; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 2. See BENEDICT 1975 272, divide.

353 ***[l]pək**; by metathesis ***plək** to open.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **pok** /**pək**/, Modern Mon, Rōngao **pək** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang [**ya'**] **pəg** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 41 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **plək** to open (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **ṽplək** to burst open, split open (& by back-formation **lək** to open (v.i.t), to reveal, to be revealed).

Connect **346** ***pək** &c.

354 *lpok to pull out, uproot.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **-puk, pok /puuk/** to withdraw from socket, to unearth, Modern Mon **pak** to pull up, pluck out, Kuy **bɔʔ** to pull out, up, Bru **bɔʔ** (!) (separate?), Biat **pək** to be uprooted (beside **pak** to pull up [weeds]); ~ Old Mon **[sjak] lupok** to withdraw, Modern Mon **kəpak** to tear out, to be torn out, uprooted.

***355 *[l]puk; *[l]puuk to dash against.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **bok** to pound, crush, ram (contaminated by 370 ***[k]bok** to pound...); ~ Mon **kəpak** to strike, dash, launder by beating on stone.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pu:** to beat.

Perhaps ***pu(u)k, *l.-puk** in view of Austronesian, below; not ***kp-** (> Mon **kw-**).

Proto-Austronesian ***pukpuk**: Tagalog **pukpók** hammering, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 121; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 227-8.

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (a).)

***356 *[b]iək to tear apart.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **biəʔ** to destroy, tear apart (MILNE 1931); ~ (***on[b]iək** >) Praok **bi:ək** to convulse.

Cf. 364 ***tbaik** to cleave; 352 ***lpak** &c. ...split in two.

Proto-Austronesian ***biqak**: Tagalog **biyák** to spilt, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 30, ***bijak**; DYEN 1953 § 49; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 272, divide.

(***b[ee]k** see 365 ***[m]b[ee]k mud.**)

***357 *bək; *buuk; *buək to bind (round).**

A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) Middle Mon **buik** to encircle, Modern Mon **pək** to put round [e.g. waistcloth], Temiar **bəg**, Semelai **bək** to bind.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **puk**, Lawa Umphai **phuk** to tie, bind.

C: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mường **puộc** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **buộc** to bind, Central Nicobarese **pɔ:k-[hətə]**, **pɔ:kə** to bind, tie, fasten, Nancowry **pók** (***-uk?**).

B, C secondary. Connect 621 ***bəŋ** ...to bind round.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 213.)

Proto-Austronesian ***bæg'bæg'**: Malay **bəbat** to wrap [girdle, puttees], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; Proto-Hesperonesian).

358 *bo[]k belly.

(Katuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Kuy **[pla:] phò:ʔ** lower part of belly, Khasi **'poh** (~ **kpoh**) belly; ~ (***bpo[]k** >) Central Nicobarese **pofwa:k** intestines, Nancowry **pufuák**.

Cf. besides 624 ***buŋ[]** &c. (i) Nahali **po(:)po(:)**, PINNOW 1959 K 115; (ii) Tibeto-Burman ***pu·k** ~ ***bu·k**, BENEDICT 1972 77 no. 358; Archaic Chinese **pjōk** 腹, ib. 165-6.

†359 *[]buk; *[]buuk *dust*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Mon **həpək** *thabuik* &c. *fine powder or dust*, Biat **[neh]rbuk** *sand*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **habu:k** *dusty [road]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 2034 ***buh** &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bu(k)buk**: Javanese **bubuk** *powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 33, ***buk**°; omitting words meaning *weevil, mildewed*, for which see 369 ***ḃuk**); (ii) ***qabuk**: Malay **(h)abok** *dust, powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, ***abuk**); (iii) ***yabuk**: Tagalog **gabok** *dust, powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 57; DAHL 1973 § 13.12; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***d₃abuk**: Javanese **dawuk** *grey [horse]*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41-2, ***d**°; DAHL 1973 § 14.7).

Perhaps Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, but none of these are attested in Mainland Austronesian See BENEDICT 1975 222-3.

360 ***[b]uk; *[b]uuk** *to be drowned*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bu?**, Biat **[da:k]** **buk** *to be drowned*, West Bahnar **buk** *to be wrecked, drowned* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar **bəbuk** *to wreck* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **mbuk** *to immerse*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **bəmpò:k** *to flood with*; ~ Chrau **təmvu:?** **[da:ʔ]** *to drown*; ~ Central Nicobarese **henpo:k-[həʃe]** *to drown*.

Connect Central Nicobarese **pɾək-ŋə** *to be to drowned*, Nancowry **púakŋa** *to drown oneself*.

(BLOOD 1966 166; cf. SHAFER 1965 132.)

†361 ***[b]uuk** *head*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Stieng **bu:k**, Sre **bou**, Chrau **vo:ʔ**, Biat **bo:k**, Orang Běnua **buj** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 50).

(BLOOD 1966 1.)

Kharia **-bɔʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 206; Proto-Munda ***bək**).

362 ***buək; *buuk** *group, company*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon **b(w)ok** /**bok**/ *sect*, Modern Mon **pòk** *company, group, sect*, Old Khmer **vvak**, Modern Khmer **pù:ək** *company, group*, Palaung **bək** *group* (MILNE 1931); → Thai **p^huak**.

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **buk** *sect*.

Connect Malay **kobok**.

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 20 (b).)

363 ***jbɔək** *food-tray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Khmer **svok**, Modern Khmer **spò:k** *wooken tray for serving food*; ~ Mon **həpòk** *dining-table in form of large round tray with short legs*.

*364 ***tbaik** (& ***tbiək**?) *to cleave*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon **tbək** /**tbaik**/ *to slash*, Modern Mon **pàik** *to slash, cut (down), fell*, Stieng **be:k** *to break*, Chrau **va:ʔ**, Biat **ba:k** *to notch*, Khasi **piəh** *to cut in two* (or < variant), Sakai **bak** *to split* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 395); → Toba Batak **bak** *to be easily split* (Proto-Austronesian ***bak**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, falls); ~ Kontum Bahnar **(h)aba:k** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Jölong **səba:k**) *cleft of hoof*.

Cf. 352 ***lpak** &c. ...*split in two*; 356 ***[b]iək** *to tear apart*. Kuy **baʔ**, Kammu-Yuan **bák** *to notch* are ← Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975, below).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tə(N)bak**: Toba Batak **tombak** *to clear forest*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***t'ibak**: Malay **sibak** *to part, cleave*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 402; Proto-Hesperonesian). Rather than : ***təbək** *to pierce*, as SHORTO 1971 Cf. BENEDICT 1975 263, *cut down/off*... (III).

365 ***[m]b[ee]k** *mud*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **(ʔa:)phèʔ**, Sre **mbe:**.

If Kuy **phèʔ**, Biat **bəʔ** *wet* are cognate, root rather ***b[ee]k**.

366 ***r[b]ak** (& ***r[b]aik**?) *brittle, fragile*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rəpəək** *brittle kind of rattan*, Chrau **rəvaʔ**, Biat **rbak** *fragile*, (or variant > ?) Sre **rəba** (!) *brittle*.

Cf. Proto-Austronesian ***ra(N)pak**, **rəNpak** (under the entry 352 ***lpak**).

367 ***ʔək** *to draw [water]*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bə** (!), Biat **bək**, **bək**, Riang-Lang **ʔək**.

With Sre final cf. A19 ***tntək**; -əʔ is expected. Connection obscure Central Nicobarese **fuk**-[**da:k**].

(BLOOD 1966 114.)

*368 ***ʔuk**, (***ʔuk ʔuk** >) ***kʔuk**; ***[b]huk** *rotten, mouldy*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **pùk** *rotten* (***ʔ**-), Bahnar **buk** *rotten, mouldy* (***kʔ**-), Bru **ʔabəwʔ** *decayed, rotten of wood*, Vietnamese **mốc** *mould, mouldy* (? → East Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **muk** *rotten, mouldy*).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **phoʔ** *rotten*, Bahnar **phək** *mouldy* (& intensives **phok**, **phuk**) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***b.ʔuk**/***b.huk**.

Proto-Austronesian ***bukbuk**: Malay **bubok** *weevil*..., Fijian **vuka** *to be mildewed*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 33, in part, cf. 359 ***[]bu(u)k**). With EAST BAHNAR cf. the variant *(**q**)ə**muk** *weevil*: Cham **məʔ**, Röglai **moʔ**, North Röglai **mōʔ**, Tagalog **umok** (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian; note here Cham **pəʔ** *rotten [wood]*, North Röglai **[bu] ʔoʔ** (!) *termite-eaten*. See BENEDICT 1975 339-40; 367.

369 *ḡuk; *ḡuuk to heap up.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **vu?**.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **pù:k**, Kuy **phù:?** (& **phò:?**), Stieng **bu:k**;
→ Cham **bu:?**.

Old Khmer has **vak**; from a variant? *ḡ- in view of Cham Cf. 350 *ṭpuuk.

369a *kḡḡḡk white, grey.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kuy **bua?**, Sre **bo:**, Chrau **və:?** *white*,
Stieng **bo:k** *white, grey*, Biat **bo:k** *grey [soil]*, Bahnar **bo:k** *off- white; white [hair]*,
Mintil **bəyeik**, Temiar **bəyu:g** *white*; ~ (*kḡḡḡk >) Stieng **kənbo:k** *white, clean*,
Jeh **tabo:k**, Halang **dəboak** *white*.

Add perhaps Palaung **blə?**, < *kḡḡḡk by metathesis (otherwise ad 436 *kl[uə]k).
Connection obscure 116 *kboo? *white*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 98 (b).)

370 *[k]ḡok to pound; mortar.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **bak** *small mortar*, Khmer **baok** *to beat against a
stone &c.* (contaminated by 355 *[l]pu(u)k *to dash against*), Sre **bo?**, Chrau **və?** *to
pound, bray*.

(*kḡuk see 368 *ḡuk *rotten, mouldy*.)

‡371 *ḡḡḡk to chop, hoe.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon **bək** *to chop, hoe, to peck,
to slit open*, Bahnar **bək** *to hollow with adze, dig with hoe &c.*, Jeh **bok** *to hoe*,
Halang **bok** *to cut through, carve*, Thin **bək** *to chop down*, Khasi **kboh** *to scratch*,
Sakai **bigbög-[té]** *to dig* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 107 (b)); → Shan
wōk *to hoe slash* (rather than as BENEDICT 1975 263, *cut down...* (III)), (?) →
Riang-Lang **mək** *to cut with swinging motion, hew*; ~ Mon **həbək** **khaḡāk** *hoe*.

Earlier *ḡḡḡḡḡ, cf. Sakai; perhaps connected 375 *ḡḡḡk *to hook*. Rieng-Lang may
reflect a variant of 866 *[]wə(ə)c *to cut...*, which compare. Connection obscure
(*ḡək >) Sre **po?**, Biat **pək**, Temiar **pəg** *to dig*; as with Khasi **puh** *to dig, peck, bite*
(< *bu(u)k); Chrau **po:?** *to split wood, split off bark*.

(SMITH 1972 277.)

Proto-Austronesian *tib[ae]g: Malay **tebak** *heavy cutting or chopping blow, to dig out
[earth] with hoe*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 130, *(CtT)-; Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡372 *[c]ḡuk froth.

A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **sboh** *to be thick, scummy* (=) **syboh** *adhesive froth*, Central
Nicobarese **puk** *bubble*, Nancowry **púk** *to boil* (v.i.).

Connect 2038 *ḡuh &c. *to bubble, boil*.

Proto-Austronesian *bug'aq *foam*: Tagalog **buláq**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32,
*bug'a[h]).

373 *tɓak to snap at, snap up.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*tɓak >) Mon **həmək**; ~ Khmer **trəbak** (with -b- by levelling on unattested *tɓak?).

Connect Palaung **hmaʔ** to snatch?

374 *[d]ɓak; *[d]ɓaak to bestride, to be bestriden, have hanging down e.g. round neck.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer **pèək** to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride, Kuy with secondary lengthening **phà:ʔ** to put on, wear, Sre **baʔ** to carry in a shawl on one's back (→ Röglai), Chrau **vaʔ** to carry [baby] on back, Biat **baʔ** to carry [person] on back, Bahnar **ɓak** to wear round neck, Thin **ɓək** to mount, ride, be astride, (or B) Palaung **baʔ** to ride, drive, Khasi **bah** to carry on back or shoulders; → Cham **pàʔ** to carry on back; ~ (*[d]bɓak >) Mon **həbək** to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck, Kuy **baʔ** to hang up, Bahnar **təbək** to hang over something (with -b- by levelling), (or B) Khasi **tabah** to throw, hang, across shoulder; ~ (*[d]nɓak >) Lawa Bo Luang **pok**, Lawa Umphai **mbok** to ride; ~ (*tn-ɓak by secondary derivation >?) Bunör **m̄mak** to hang up (→ Sre **maʔ** to carry in a shawl on one's back), Biat **mbak** to carry on a yoke.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm **ba:ʔ** to carry [baby] on back, Central Nicobarese **pa:k-[hətə]** to carry on shoulder; ~ Stieng **nba:k** to carry [hoe] dangling, (~?) Vietnamese **vác** to carry over shoulder; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Stieng **cemba:k** to hang over horizontal support; (~?) Proto-Nyah Kur ***lɓək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V42; points to *l-).

Hence Kachin, Rawang (Mutwang dialect) **baʔ** to carry on back (< *bək, BENEDICT 1972 19 n. 71; so ≠ Tibeto-Burman *ba)?

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; BLOOD 1966 277, 358)

375 *dɓək to hook.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thpùək** to hook towards one, Khasi **boh**, Vietnamese **móc** to hook; ~ Khmer **tùmpùək** (& **tompùək**!) hook, crook, hooked stick for picking fruit; ~ (*drɓək >) Literary Mon **thaɓək** ankus; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **bnoh** hook, hooked stick; to hook.

Connect perhaps 371 *gɓək to chop, hoe.

376 *mak; *ma[a]k to like, love.

A: (Kuy) Kuy **màk** to love.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **mək** to hanker [after], Lawa Umphai **mak** to like, love.

†377 *mək; *mæk ox, cattle.

A, B: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **_mək**, (B) Palaung **muək**, (A) Lawa Bo Luang **məup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mək**.

(SHAFFER 1965 159.)

Santali **mĩhũ**, Ho **miu** *calf* (PINNOW 1959 K 541).

†378 ***mək**; ***mək** to *emerge*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **mək** /**mək**/ to *appear*, Modern Mon **mək** to *appear, emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax*, Bahnar **mək** [*paddy*] *beginning to form grain*, (or B?) Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mọc** [*plant, hair, nails*] to *come up, grow, [sun] to rise*
- B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **mək**, Modern Khmer **mək** to *come, come near, approach*, Nancowry **muák** to *appear*.
 Kharia **mu?** to *come out*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 109; Proto-Munda ***mu[k]**).

379 ***mək(mək)**; ***mək(mək)** to *sit still*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **mək mək** *quietly*, (or B?) Palaung **mək** to *sit*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **məmo** *quiet, inactive*.
 Add perhaps (B) Riang-Lang **_mək** to *place, put*.

380 ***mək** to *take [rice] in fingers*.

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **mo** to *take [rice] in fingers* (→ Röglai **mop?**), Biat **mək** *mouthful*, Bahnar **mək** to *take [rice] in fingers*, Bru **mək**; ~ Mon **kəmək** to *scoop up; handful [of rice &c.]*.
 Connection dubious Vietnamese **bốc**.

†381 ***muək**; ***muək** *hat*.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **muək**, Biat **mo:k** *hat*, Jölong **mo:k** *European headgear* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **muk** *hat*.
 B: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer **mùək** *hat*, Khasi [**tap**] **moh** *hat, [woman] to put on headdress*; → Thai **mùək** (→ Kuy **mùək**), Lao **mùək**, Sek **muək** *hat*; ~ (***muk muək** > ?***kmuk** > ?) Kammu-Yuan **muək** *hat, cap*, Palaung **hmək** *woman's cap*.
 POU & JENNER 1973 61 derive Khmer via Tai from Archaic Chinese **mæg**^w 帽 *headpiece*. Connection dubious Middle Mon **kamhok** *wide-brimmed conical helmet*, Modern Mon **həmök** *Shan hat* (→ Burmese **khamok**); perhaps infixed form of **khok** *cup*, ↔ Burmese **khwak**; to refer it with Palaung to ***kmhuək** is semantically improbable. Atayal (?)**umuk** to *cover (head), wear on head*, ~ **a?umuk** *cover, lid*. (BENEDICT 1975 259, *cover...*, which compare)

382 ***t₁muk**; ***t₁muək** *cheek, jawbone*.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **tmoh** *chin*; ~ Riang-Lang **_mək** *cheek*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [**soh**] **muh** (compounding form) *bearded*; ~ Sre **tərmou**, Chrau **təmo?** *cheek*.
 Connection uncertain Bahnar dialects **təbək** *bearded* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

382a *smək dirty.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **srəmɔ:k** *covered with dirt* (with secondary lengthening), Mnong Gar &c. **rəmɔ:ʔ** *dirty* (→ Jeh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) **ramaʔʔ**), by metathesis Kuy **mphr̥ʔ** *dirty, stained*; ~ (***spmək** >) Sre, Bunör **ḥəʔ**, Lawa Umphai **saʔmək** *dirty*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **_pək** [**cəʔ**] (with phrasal low tone) *to be disgusting, dirty*.

(BLOOD 1966 385, 386.)

Proto-Austronesian ***k'əmæg'** = ***k'əməd** (DEMPWOLFF 1938)

383 *ya[a]k to pound.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **yek** /**yaik**/, Modern Mon **yàik** *to pound [paddy]*, Sakai **ɛjək** *to pound to pieces* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 202).

384 *yək; *yək to take.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **ïoh** *to obtain, receive, have* (or B); ~ Biat **chək** (?), Bahnar **ʔyək** *to take*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **yək** *to take, bring, get, accept, receive*.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **okai**, **okɛ**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

385 *yuk (& *yuək?); *yək; *yək to lift.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **yuk**, **yok** /**yuk**/, Modern Mon **yək** *to lift, to carry in arms*, Palaung **yur** *to rise, to raise*, Praok **yaok**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **yuak** (!) *to lift*; → Shan **yùk**; ~ Khasi **kynjuh** *to dandle, weigh in arms*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Muong, ?Palaungic) Khmer **yùək** *to lift up*, Bru **ʔayəʔ**, (~?) Muong **giắc** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **nhấc**, **nhấc** *to lift, raise*; (or C) ~ Riang-Lang **_pəkcək** *to erect, set upright*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **jurk**, Sre **yə:** *to lift*, Chrau **yə:ʔ** *to take off, lift*, Bru **ʔayə:ʔ** *to raise, lift*; → Cham **ya:**.

Vocalism at least in part contextual, cf. 538 ***jung**; Lawa suggests ***yuək**; C perhaps contaminated by 425 ***lək**. Cf. Biat **io:t** *to carry*. But Central Sakai **jujúk** *to carry on head* is ← Malay **junjong** (< Proto-Austronesian ***d'uŋd'uŋ**).

(BLOOD 1966 427.)

386 *yuuk vigorous, healthy.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon [**thət**] **yək** *to be in good health*, Bönöm Bahnar **jo:k** *in good health* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon **yiryuk** /**yəryuk**/ *vigour*; ~ East Bahnar **hio:k**, West Bahnar **hpo:k** *easy, happy, pleasant, to make easy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

387 *[,y]aak bold.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **cha:** *to be bold*, Palaung **yaʔ** *to be bold*, Riang-Lang **-yak** *to be bold, to dare*; a secondary derivation → Röglai **jəma:**.

388 *kyaak *ghost, supernatural being.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon **kyāk** /**kyaik**/, Modern Mon **caik** *sacred being or thing*, Stieng **cia:k** *bloodsucking male witch*, Sre **ca:** *evil spirit*, Chrau **ca:ʔ** *demon*, Biat **cia:k** *ghost*, Bahnar **kiak** *corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts*, Jeh **kaya:k** *to die*, Halang **kəya:k** *corpse*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 286.)

389 *tya[a]k *sambhur deer, large forest mammal.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kiek**, Khmu' **tya:k** *tiger* (or separate?), Kammu-Yuan **təyá:k**, Palaung **caʔ**, Riang-Lang **ṭtyak**, Lawa **cak** *sambhur*.

(SHAFER 1965 343.)

(*riik see 276 *riʔaak *to open, unfold*.)

390 *riək *to pluck, harvest.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Katuic) Central Rölöm **riək**, Bunör, Biat **rək** *to reap*, Lawa Umphai **riak**, Mae Sariang **ɣiak** *to break (off)*, Khasi **riah** *to pluck [e.g. herbs]*, Bru **riʔ** *to harvest*.

(BLOOD 1966 95.)

391 *r[a]k *to love; beloved, dear.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **rək** *dear, kind* (TANDART 1935), (— - **tək**) *friendly*, Thin **rək** *to be beloved, dear, to love*, Kammu-Yuan **rak**, Palaung **rək** (!) *to love*; ↔ Thai **rák**, Shan **hāk** *to love*; ~ (*rmr[a]k > ?) Khmer **mrək** *girl's friend of same sex, man's friend's wife*, Kuy **mmrək** *girl's friend of same sex*; ~ Palaung **kərrək** (!), Riang-Lang **ṭərrak** *to love each other*.

391a *raak *white ant, termite.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **[ruk]** **_rak**, Khasi **[ʔniang]** **rah**.

†392 *raik (& *raak?) *to call out, shout.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **rək** *to call out* (GUESDON 1930), Stieng **ra:k** (< *raak; or loan word?), Chrau **ra:ʔ** *to curse*, Biat **[tə:m]** **ra:k** *to call [one another] names*, Riang-Lang **_rak** *to call out*, Praok **rək** *to cry, moan*; ~ (*[c]raik >) Khmer **sraek** *to cry out*, Serau **cerik**ⁿ *to shout* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 10; or Malay, below?); ~ Old Mon **trāk** /**traik**/ *to shout, cheer*.

Sora **rui-** doublet of **ken-** *to sing*, **ber-** *to speak*, Santali **raʔ** *to cry, call, sing, weep, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 57).

Proto-Austronesian ***t'urak** *to cheer*: Malay **sorak**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157). See BENEDICT 1975 260-1.

393 *[]r[ɔ̌]k frog, toad.

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, North Bahnaric) Bru ʔaròʔ *large kind of toad*, Thin rōk *toad*, Riang-Lang rōk *frog, toad*; → Shan *ruak *frog*, Nung *ruak, Dioi ruk *tadpole* (BENEDICT 1975 298, which compare); ~ (or =?) Palaung ərōk *frog, toad*; ~ Bahnar [kʷɛ:t] adrōk (Gölar kɪt hədrōk) *toad*, Khasi hynroh *frog*; → Jarai ʔrɔʔ *toad*, Röglai [kieo] adro *buffalo toad*.
Or *-uuk (Bahnar), *-uək.
(SHAFER 1965 220.)

394 *ruk; *ruuk forest.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung ruʔ *outside*, (?) Praok [caoŋ] raok *beach, shore*, (junction-form; or ~ *jr- >) Lawa Bo Luang [piʔ]doak, Lawa Umphai [pheʔ] ʔrauk, Mae Sariang [phiʔ] ʔyauk *forest*; ~ Old Khmer sruk, Modern Khmer srok *inhabited area, country*, Kuy soʔ *village*, Temiar sərōk *forest*.
B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang rōk *forest*.
Cf. for semantics 181 *briiʔ.
(SHAFER 1965 534; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 231 (b).)

395 *ruk; *ruuk; *ruək to force in, cram in.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer rōk *to cram in, to force one's way into*, Chrau ruʔ *to insert*; → Thai rúk *to penetrate by force*; ~ Mon prak *to put in, pack in, cram in*, (or C) Khasi phroh *[bird] to feed [young]*; → Malay pərok *to stuff into a drawer anyhow*; ~ (*jnruk >) Sre jərok *gluttonous, intemperate*; (or C?) ~ Riang-Lang prōk *to crowd in on, press, throng, to force one's way in*; ~ Khmer rənōk *bar, bolt, catch, latch*.
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ru:k *to force in, force under*; ~ Biat ndrū:k *gluttonous, intemperate*, Khasi jynruh *things lying in a disordered manner*; ~ Stieng rənu:k [kəplu:ŋ] *ramrod*.
C: (Nicobaric, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Central Nicobarese yu:ək-[həŋə], yu:əkə *to load [boat], fill [pot]*, Nancowry ʔukyúak; ~ Kuy tra:ʔ *to pour into narrow-necked vessel* & Bru trɔ:ʔ (< *crɔ:k?); (~?) Bahnar srɔ:k *to pour grains into small opening* = Gölar hrɔ:k *to push rice into bamboo tube*.

396 *ruuk ox.

- A: (Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang rōk; ~ (*kuən ruuk by contraction >?) Sre kənrou, Biat ndrō:k.
For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *đuuk.
(BLOOD 1966 8; SMITH 1972 283.)

397 *ruuk; *ruək; *rəək to shake, tremble.

- A: (Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Besis **krūk** to tremble, shiver (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 228); ~ Khasi **kynruh** to rinse, churn, rumble, shake.
- B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric; *ruək ruək >) Bahnar **rəhrək** to tremble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Central Nicobarese **nyək** to shiver.
- C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rək rək** trembling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **rəhrək** to tremble; ~ Old Khmer **kamrek**, Modern Khmer **kəmraək** to move, shake, tremble; ~ (*s[b]rək >) Mon **hərak** to shake (v.t.).

398 *krak heartwood, hard wood.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **krək**, Khmer **krak** heartwood, Biat [chi:] **krak**, Bahnar [ʔlɔ:ŋ] **krak** ebony, Riang-Lang **krak** heartwood.
- Stieng **kraʔ** heartwood, Sre **kra** hard [wood], Vietnamese **trắc** species of hard wood, all appear to be interdialect loans.

399 *krək adapted, ready, suitable.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **krak** to suit, be s.able, Khasi **khreh** to prepare, to be ready.
- Connection uncertain Sora **ira:-** to be agreeable, favourable.

400 *[k]ruk to fall.

- A: (Khmuic, South Aslian) Thin **kruk**, Semelai **gərək**; ~ (*[k]rruk >) Kammu-Yuan **kərúk**.

401 *grik to sift, sieve.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **krək**; ~ Khasi **kynric**.
- Cf. West Bahnar **həri:ŋ** &c. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

‡402 *criək to be split lengthwise.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **criək** to split (v.t.); → Thai **krìak** to split (v.t.); ~ (*cbriək >) Mon **kəreak** to split, slit open; ~ (*cnriək >) Mon **kəreak** part split off, slat, sheet, piece, Khmer by dissimilation **cəmriək** part split off, West Bahnar **jədre:k** slice cut lengthwise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Cf. 404 *craak &c. to tear, divide. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)
- (Proto-Austronesian *t₂ərak: ?) Paiwan (Formosa) **min-tsərak** split (BENEDICT 1975 391, which see).

403 *crak; *criək to incise, engrave.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **sek sak** to draw, draw a line, cross out, Biat **crak** to engrave.
- B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **cre:k** to draw a line, groove, engrave.
- B probably by secondary palatalization, cf. 487 *cʔaŋ &c. Connect Vietnamese **rach** to make incision, groove. (< *[]raik?); but Sre **saraʔ** written matter is ← Röglai **haraʔ** < Proto-Austronesian *t'urat₁.

404 *craak; *craik; *criik to tear, divide.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon **saik** *srāk* to tear (in two, up), (—**thon**) to be born, (A) Khmer **cra:k** to divide up (TANDART 1935), to share expenses, (B) Khmer **crè:k** (!) to part [e.g. curtains], (— **pùh**) cut way through, Mường **réch** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **rách** torn.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **cere:** to tear.

Hardly by metathesis ***cr-caak** &c. (cf. 291) in view of Austronesian, below. Cf. also **402 *criək** to be split lengthwise; **465 *saik** &c. to split, cleave, tear.

Proto-Austronesian ***t'arak**: (i) Malay **sarak** to separate the sexes, Tagalog **salak** to chop, slice, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Acehnese **criə?** to unravel [fibre], to pull to pieces, Malay **charek** to tear bits off, Iban **charik** torn, perhaps rather < Proto-Austronesian ***k'ari** []ək than ← Mon-Khmer in view of vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 375, *separate(d)*.

(***c** []raak see **1581a *cgaar** to fence, enclose.)

405 *[c]r[ə]k to take shelter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **cruk** ?/**crøk**/, Khmer **crò:k** (!)

Khmer chest register perhaps secondary, but lengthening unexplained; cf. here **694 *tr[ə]ŋ**.

406 *[c]rək to drip.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic). Khmer **srək**; ~ (***[c]brək** >) Literary Mon **tarāk** to lead off [water] by a gutter, Khmer **səm̄rək** to let drip, Bru **rə?** to let in water; ~ (***[c]nrək** >) Mon **kərək** gutter.

Cf. **842 *ruc** &c.

407 *crək to plant upright, stick in.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **crok** /**crək**/ to plant upright, Modern Mon **sək** also to place on finger, Khmer **crò:k** to put in, fill, load, to place on finger, Stieng **cə̀rò:k** to put in, fill, load, Biat **crò:k** to load [gun].

Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic contaminated by **395 *ruk** &c. ...to cram in.

408 *trak; *tra[i]k; *triək buffalo.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **shynreh**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **trá:k**, Lawa Bo Luang **khvak**, Lawa Umphai **krak**, Mae Sariang **khyak**, (or A?) Palaung **kra?**.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **tri:?**.

With Palaungic initials cf. **410 *t_[ɪ]r[ʷə]k**.

(SHAFFER 1965 88; & cf. 458.)

409 *traak lead.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Stieng) **tra:**, Chrau **tra:ʔ**; ~ (***tnraak** >) Biat **ndra:k**, Tölo Bahnar **adra:k** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbrak**; → Röglai **təmra**, North Röglai **tumra:ʔ**.

‡410 *t_[1]r[ʷə]k ribs.

(Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan [**cəʔá:ŋ**] **trúak**, Mnar [**ʃʔyʔaŋ**] **ʃruʔ** (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Khasi [**ka shyieng ka**] **shruk** bone; ~ Central Nicobarese **tenyua:k**; ~ (***t_[1]pr[ʷə]k** >) Palaung **pruʔ**, Riang-Lang **phrok** side of body.

Khasi **sh-** by phrasal deformation? But with these Palaungic initials cf. **408 *trak** &c. (By metathesis) Proto-Austronesian ***yut'uk**: Malay **rusok**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 59).

‡411 *prə[]k to injure.

(Mon) Old Mon **prik** /**prək**/ to injure, harm; ~ Modern Mon **pərak** to molest, attempt to injure.

Sora **'pa'ra:-** to be hurt, wounded, **'pa:ra:-n** wound, injury (& with variant vocalism **'poru:-** to overlook, cast evil eye?).

412 *prɔk squirrel.

(Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian). Sre **pro** (→ Stieng **prɔhʔ**), Chrau **prɔ:ʔ**, Biat, Bahnar **prɔ:k**, Jeh **pro:k** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **prɔ:k**, Palaung [**ə**] **prɔʔ** (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese [**con**] **sóc**, Sakai **prōk**ⁿ (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 136 (c)); → Lao, Ahom ***rook** (BENEDICT 1975 226, *bat...*); Cham, Jarai **prɔ:ʔ**, Röglai **proʔ**, North Röglai **pro:ʔ**.

Cf. Khmer **kəmprok**, apparently < ***ko:n prɔ:k**, for which cf. Vietnamese; → Thai **krarɔ̌k** (with **kr-** by hypercorrection) at early stage; with vowel metathesis & irregular shortening. For Stieng **-h** < ***-ʔ** (here borrowed) in animal names cf. **39 *ciiʔ**.

(SHAFFER 1965 334d; BLOOD 1966 75.)

413 *brək brək disorderly, untidy.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **həprək** [**həprùi**] to have unkempt hair, Praok [**sibroy**] **sibruk** refuse.

414 *br[ɔ̌]k water-dipper.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **prək brək** water-dipper, Sre **bro** gourd container or dipper; apparently → Röglai **bro** gourd container or dipper, Acehnese **bruəʔ** coconut-shell, dipper &c. made from coconut-shell, Javanese **běruk** coconut-shell used as dipper or rice measure.

Acehnese, Javanese cannot be cognate. Connection uncertain Palaung **bruʔ**, **bluʔ** to dip up.

415 *brok to go.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **broʔ**, Bahnar **brək**.
(SMITH 1972 272.)

†416 *mraik[] peacock.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **mrek** (& **mreñ**) ?/mraik/, Modern Mon **pəràik**, Sre **bra**, Chrau **vraʔ**, Biat **bra:k**, Palaung dials. **phraʔ**, **braʔ** (Mon; → Riang-Lang **prak**), Bru **riàʔ** (< *-aak; loanword?); → Cham (a)mraʔ, Jarai **amraʔ**, Rōglai **amra:**, North Rōglai **amraʔ** *peacock* (→ Bahnar **amraʔ**, Gölar Bahnar **həmraʔ** *peacock, pheasant*); Malay **měrak** (probably → Central Sakai [chîm]-mëra'), Acehnese **möraʔ**, Javanese **měrak**.

Old Mon has similar orthographic variants; ad 417 *c-liik[] pig, 1051 *tmaat[] vulture; perhaps /mraik/ or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 321, 532; BLOOD 1966 281.)

Kharia **ma'raʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 27).

417 *lik[]; *liik[] pig.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **leʔ**, Riang-Lang **lek**.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central & South Aslian) Kuy (?a:)liʔ, Praok **lik**, Lawa Bo Luang **lɛic**, Lawa Umphai **leic**, Mae Sariang **leic**, (or A) Sakai **lũ** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 78); ~ Old Mon **clik** (& **clīn**) ?/clik/, Modern Mon **kloik**, (or A) Bera **jalo'** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 83); (?) → Javanese **chèlèng**, Madurese **cheleng** *wild pig*.

On Old Mon variants, cf. preceding; perhaps /clik/ or the like. Connection dubious Khmer **crù:k**.

(SHAFER 1965 332.)

†418 *l[a]k to hoe.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **lɔʔ** (!) *to hoe*, Riang-Lang **lak** *to dig, to peck*; ~ Palaung **klɔʔ** *to peck*; ~ Jeh **hlak**, Halang **təlak**, Palaung **kəɔʔ** *hoe*.

Sora **lo:-** *to hoe*, Mundari **laʔ** *to adze, to hoe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 304).

419 *lak to inlay.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **lak** /lak/ *to set with gems*, Khmer **lèək** *to groove, incise* (contaminated by 403 *crak? also lə:k); → Cham **lak** *to groove, incise*.

420 *lak weapon.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **lèək** [nèək] (→ Burmese **laknak**); ~ (*lnak >) Mon [lèək] **nèək** *weapon*, (~?) Bahnar **rənak**, **hənak** *weapons for defence* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*lak see also *[d₁]lak *good*.)

‡421 ***laik**; ***lak**; ***liək**; ***lik**; ***liik**; ***lək** to *unfold, to open eyes*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **la** to *unfold, spread* (→ Röglai **la**; so not < 191 ***la?**, which compare, but perhaps merging it); ~ (*[l]m**laik** >) Mon **pəlaik** (**la**)**m̄lāk** to *open [eyes]*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ləml̄aak** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V50), Khmer **rūml̄ək** to *spread out and divide up, separate*; → Röglai **bla**; North Röglai **bla?** to *open [eyes]*; ~ West Bahnar **təla:k** to *peel (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang **plak** = to *open [eyes]*, Praok **plak** to *reveal*.
- B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre **la?** = **la**, Chrau **la?**, Biat **lak** to *spread out*; ~ Kuy **mpla?** to *spread open, unfold*.
- C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **lə:k** to *skin, peel, to show [teeth]*, Rōngao to *spread*, Bru **lia?** to *peel*; ~ Bahnar **tələ:k** to *peel (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ **plək** to *open [someone else's eyes, mouth, &c.]*.
- D, E: (South Bahnaric) Sre **li:** to *open [eyes]*, to *spread, open*, Chrau **li?** *opened out*, by sandhi **li:n** [**mat**] to *open [eyes]* (E), (D) Biat **li?** *unfolded; to open [hand]*.
- F: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **lək** to *spread, unroll*.
(BLOOD 1966 379)
Proto-Austronesian ***bəlag'**: Malagasy **velatra** to *spread out, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27, in part). See BENEDICT 1975 393.

421a ***laik** *fluttering creature*.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **lak** [lɔŋ] *flying fox*; ~ (*l**m**laik >?) Riang-Lang **rəlak**, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang **mblak**, **mbrak**, Lawa Umphai **mblak** *bat*; ~ Khasi **slieh** *flying squirrel*; ~ **syllieh** (beside **syllih**) *flying squirrel*, (probably ~, but cf. 408 ***trak** &c.) Palaung **kər̄la?** *butterfly*.
Cf. 431 ***laik luk** &c. *flashing...*, 444a ***pliik** &c. to *flash, flicker*. Chrau has **lu?** *bat*.

422 ***laik**; ***liək**; ***liik** to *dissolve, fall into dissolution*.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng **lə:k** to *melt (v.i.)*; ~ Old Mon [**rlam̄**] **rlāk** /**rlaik**/ to *be in ruins*, Modern Mon **lāik** to *fall into ruin, fall away*.
- B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **lə:k** to *dissolve, melt (v.i.)*.
- C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **li:k** to *melt (v.t.)*, Sre **li:** to *dissolve, melt (v.i.)*, Chrau **le:c** to *crush, pulverize*, Biat **lə:k** *dissolved*.
Old Mon **rl-** by phrasal attraction, or contaminated by 861a ***rlaac** to *collapse...*? Cf. 718 ***la(a)ŋ** to *destroy*; 927 ***lən** to *be destroyed...*.
(BLOOD 1966 34.)

(***laik** see also 431 ***laik luk** &c. *flashing, lightning*.)

‡423 *lək; *luk; *luuk; *ləc to overturn, capsize, sink, be immersed.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, ?Mon, Palaungic) Kontum Bahnar **la:k** [vehicle, boat] to overturn (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[l]nlək >) Bahnar **glək** to be drowned; ~ (*prlək >) Kuy **lɔʔ** immersed in, Chrau **pələʔ** to turn around, Biat **rləʔ** back to front, against [the wind], Stieng **prələ:k**, Sre **pərləʔ** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **hələk** to turn upside down; ~ (*bl- >; or B) Mon **plək** to sink, be submerged, inundated, (or C) Praok **pluk** [plək] to be transformed; ~ (*tnlək >?) Biat **ŋkləʔ**, **ŋklɔʔ** to overturn, to knock down.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Kuy **lùʔ** to mix, Bru **luʔ** (!), Bahnar **luk** to overturn, to mix together (contaminated by 222 *brlu[]ʔ); ~ (*[l]nluk >) Praok **nok** to sink, Khasi [*tyllep*] **pluk** (!) [water] to cover; ~ Kuy **phlùʔ** to topple over; ~ Bahnar **bəluk** = **luk** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **phlù:k** to overturn, capsize (v.i.); ~ **bəmphlù:k** to overturn, capsize (v.t.) (GUESDON 1930), to cause to crash.

D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lật** to turn upside down; ~ (*lmlək >?) Biat [**mbla:c**] **blər** [blər] upside down; ~ **plac** to turn upside down; ~ Sre **pərlac** to turn (v.t.).

Add perhaps Riang-Lang **ləc** to sink, be drowned (then < *[c]ləəc; otherwise < 854 *ləəc, which compare). But Palaung **lək** to be transformed is ← or contaminated by Shan **lək** to separate, be separated, (— *khàp*) slough skin. Cf. further 1079 *lət to be extinguished; 721 *lɔŋ to be immersed.

(BLOOD 1966 410; SMITH 1972 265.)

Proto-Austronesian *balik: Malay *balek* behind, to go back, *těr-balek* inverted, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 22); → Semang *bilē'* to turn round, over, &c. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 255).

424 *lək; *l[ə]c to sleep.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer **lùək** to be asleep, Stieng **la:k** to lie down, sleep; ~ Bahnar **hlək** to sleep heavily, Temiar **sələg** to sleep; ~ (*[s]rlək >) Vietnamese *giấc* to sleep.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic) Thin **lɔ̀ik**, **lɔ̀ic** to sleep, go to sleep; ~ Kuy **slec**, **hleec** to fall asleep.

Cf. B66 *[l]aac &c. to lie abed; originally probably *lək ≠ *laac, with mutual contamination

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 249.)

425 *ləək to lift, raise.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lɔ̀:k**, Kuy **lɔ̀:ʔ**, Stieng **lù:k**, Biat **lə:k**.

Cf. 385 *yuk &c.

426 *lɔk; (*lɔk lɔk >) *klɔk container.

- A: (Palaungic, Aslian, Katuic) Kensiu, Temiar *lɔg*, Semelai *luuk* *quiver*, Bru *ʔalɔʔ* *section of bamboo (container)*; ~ Palaung *səɔʔ* *cup*, Lawa Umphai *ralok* *skull*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Middle Mon *tlɔk* /*klɔk*/ [*tinder-*] *box*, Modern Mon *klɔk* [*pɔn*] [*lime-*] *casket*, Khmer *khɭak* *small tubular container with lid*, Riang-Lang *ʔklɔk* *cup, bowl*, Praok *klɔk* *valley*, Mường *tróc* *head* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207), Mah Meri *hluk* *quiver*; → Thai *klàk*, Shan *kɔk* *cup, bowl*, → Praok *kɔk* *cup, bowl*; ~ (**kmlɔk* >) Kuy (*k*)*blɔʔ* *brains, fontanel*, (~?) Bahnar *kəɔk*, *kəɔʔ* *container made from split bamboo-joint* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Stieng *rəklɔ:k* *brains*.
 Cf. Khasi *khlieh* *head*, with unexplained vocalism (but note Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., *khlou*). ~ B34 **[pɔ]k* *quiver*. ?Connect Iban *telak* *bamboo cup with lid*.

427 *lɔ[]k tadpole.

- A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *[kon]* *lòk lɔk*; ~ (**.nlɔ* []k >) Vietnamese [*con nòng*] *nọc*.
 Cf. Palaung *əglo* (MILNE 1931).

428 *lɔk; *lɔk to dye.

- A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Middle Mon *lɔk*, Modern Mon *lòk* *to paint (on)*, (B) Kuy *là:ʔ* *to dye*; ~ (A/B) Middle Mon *lwɔk* *dyed material*; ~ Literary Mon *calɔk*, (A) Khmer *crəlùək* *to dip into liquid, dye*.
 Connection obscure Riang-Lang *_ruak* *to dye, paint*.

(**lɔk* see also 855 **lɔc* *penis*.)

429 *luk stone.

- A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre *lu* (!), Biat *luʔ*; ~ Semang *bālog* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 462).

430 *luk; *luuk to have a hole in, make a hole in.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon *lɔk* *to be torn, punctured*, Bru *luʔ* *to be torn, have hole in*, Nancowry *kalók* *to pierce*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Biat *lo:k* *to make a hole in*.
 Connect 2069 **luh* *to pierce*?

431 *laik luk; *laik luuk; *laik luək flashing, lightning.

- A, B, C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *lɔɔʔ* *sheet lightning* (MILNE 1931) (C), Riang-Lang *_lak _lɔk* (*flash of*) *lightning* (A), by vocalic assimilation perhaps following metathesis Khasi *leileih* *lightning*, by inversion (B) Biat [*ko:ɲ*] *lo:k* [*ko:ɲ*] *la:k* *firefly*; so ~ Lawa Umphai *pluk plak* *lightning* (& Mae Sariat *puk plak*, Lawa Bau Luang *puk pleak*).
 Connect 444a **pliik* &c. *to flash, flicker*; & cf. 421a **laik* *fluttering creature*.

432 *luuk; *luək to touch, explore manually.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **l̥ək** to touch, come in contact with, collide with, Khmer **l̥ək** to reach out one's hand, Chrau **luːʔ** to grope in holes for [fish] (contaminated by **438 *gl[ɔ̌]k**?).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **l̥ək** to grope in holes for [fish]; → Cham **lwaʔ** to insinuate (oneself); ~ Stieng **cə̀lək** to try temperature of water with finger. (SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

433 *klak blocked, blind.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Mon **klək** to be filled in, closed, blind, Kammu-Yuan **luək** to be blind, Riang-Lang **ṽklak** to be hard, stubborn (?), Khasi **[mat]lah** (compounding form) blind [person].

Connect perhaps Jeh **ʔloək**, Halang **ʔloak** blind (< *k/p/luək?). But connection dubious Praok **duk** blind; or Bahnar **klik** deaf. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

434 *klək navel.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kloʔ**, Chrau, Biat **kləʔ**, Bahnar **klək**; → Stieng **klə** by interdialectal borrowing.

(SHAFFER 1965 334c; SMITH 1972 280.)

(*klək see also **426 *lək** container.)

435 *klək to spill over.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ Khmer **krələk** to spill over, be displaced; ~ (*kplək > ?) Khasi **phaloh** to spill, splash over (& by secondary derivation **kynphlok** (!) to spray [water]?).

Connection dubious Mon **kələk** to splash about, be scattered.

436 *kl[uə]k white.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **kl̥ək**, Bateg Nong **halək**; ~ Palaung **bləʔ** (?), < *kml[uə]k; or ad **369a *kḁək**; ~ Kuy **pluːʔ** grey [hair], Bru **pluaʔ** (< *-ḁək?).

Add perhaps Khasi **lieh** (then compounding form, < *klək with secondary lengthening).

437 *gnlak uneven [ground].

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[hələk]** **hənək**, Khmer **[kùənlək]-kùənlək**.

438 *glək to insert hand into or remove from hole.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **klək** **glək** to take out with hand, insert hand, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khlək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V51), Riang-Lang **klək** **[ṽthəŋ]** to pluck out, gouge out (→ Shan **khək** to pry out), Khasi **kloh** to push hand into hole.

Cf. Stieng **glu:k** (< ***glæk**) *to uproot tree for transplanting*.

439 *gluk to tap repeatedly.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **klok** *to tap, rap*; ~ Old Mon **girluk** ?/gərlu:k/ *to beat [drum]*, Khmer **krəlùk** *to pat in, knead*.

440 *cla[a]k piece of roofing material.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Old Mon **clāk** /claik/ *shingle*, Modern Mon **klaik** *wedge*, Bahnar **hla:k** *quantifier for pieces of thatch, fields, flat things*, ? Bru **sule:ʔ** *wall of bamboo twill* (then *-aik); ~ (?; ***cmla[a]k** > ?) West Bahnar **məna:k** *piece of thatch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

441 *jlək (& *jlæk?) to be choked, stifled.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Aslian) Mon **klāk** *to be stifled*, Khmer **chlùək** *to be choked, suffocated*, (?; then variant >) Semelai **jələ:k** *smoke*.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 300.)

(***tlak** see 322 ***[l]tak** *to hammer... .*)

441a *t₁la[a]k intestines.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:k**; ~ Chrau **təla:ʔ**.
(SMITH 1972 288.)

442 *t₁luk; *t₁luuk; *t₁luək; *t₁lək dirty.

A: (Khmuic, Khmer, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **rùk** (!) *dirt*, perhaps Khmer **thlok** *puddle*, Kuy **loʔ** *wallow*.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru **nlò:ʔ** *mud*, Bahnar **tro:k** *mud* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***t₁bluuk** by levelling > ?) **tətro:k** *to get mud on, soil* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **ruak** *dirt, to be dirty, foul, unclean*; ~ (***t₁bluək** by levelling >) Riang-Lang **təkrual** *to defile*, (or ~ ***t₁mluək** > ?) Vietnamese in compounds **trọc** *to be impure, muddy*.
D: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klak** *to be dirty, dusty*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khlək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V53); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prəlak** *soiled, to soil* (~ ***plak** < ***t₁plək**).

Cf. Mon **hlak** *to be dirty*, probably contaminated by **hlak** *mud* < 482 ***lhək**.

443 *[d₁]lak good.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Jeh **lak** *healthy* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **laʔ**, Riang-Lang **rak** *to be good*.
Or ***lak**, if Riang-Lang contaminated by 391 ***r[a]k** *to love... .* Distinguish 193 ***ləʔ**.

444 *dlɔk kind of creeper.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [cɔk] klòk *Willoughbeia edulis* Roxburgh, Khmer thlò:k
Parinarium species, with edible nut.

444a *pliik; *pliək to flash, flicker.

A: (Khmer) Khmer phle:k bright, twinkling.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang [puk] pleak lightning, Khasi phliah sparkle of fire.

Connect 431 *laik luk &c. flashing, lightning; & cf. 421a *laik fluttering creature.

445 *pliik; *klip (& *kliip?) shoulder.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *pnliik >) Stieng pəli:k, Sre pəni, Chrau pəni:?, Biat mli:k.

B: (Palaungic) Praok klip (< *kliip?), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang klep.

Direction of metathesis undetermined.

446 *plak; *pla[a]k side.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese in compounds trắc.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ̀plak side, direction, fraction, Praok plak side, direction, half; perhaps by back-formation ~ Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang lak side.

Probably by metathesis 352 *lpak &c. ...split in two; cf. there Praok pak; Old Mon lunpek.

*447 *pla[a]k sole, palm.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ̀plak.

Proto-Austronesian *palag' palm: Toba Batak palak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 350.

(*plək see 353 *[l]pək to open.)

448 *pluk pigeon.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng pluk large wild pigeon, Chrau plu? kind of small bird (→ Sre [ntə:p] plu pigeon?), Bru [cɛ:m] plù? pigeon; ~ (*kuən pluk by contraction >) Khmer kəmphlɔk pigeon.

(SHAFFER 1965 334.)

449 *[blak] blak nightjar.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [həcem] əplək nightjar, Khmer pəplək kind of nocturnal bird.

450 ***bluk**; ***bluək** *tusk, ivory*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **phlùk**, Stieng **bluk**, Lawa Umphai **phlok**.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **phlùəʔ**.

Cf. **225** *[**m**]laʔ. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 126 (a).)

451 ***rlaak**; ***rlaik** *to split, divide*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **làiik** *to split [bamboo] into fibres*, Khmer **rəlè:k** *to divide up, share out* (B; → Cham **ralaik**), Biat **rla:k** *to divide up*, (~?) Khasi **thlieh** (B) *to split*; ~ Sre **tərla:** *piece of bamboo from which fibres have been split* (DOURNES 1950; A).

452 ***sliaək** *to put round lower part of body*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **sliaək** *to put on [lower garment]*; ~ (***snliaək** >) Bahnar dialects **sənək** *(to put on) man's lower garment* (GUESDON 1930).

Connection dubious **453** ***sl[u]k**.

452a ***snlak** (& ***snlaak**?) *joint*.

A: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **sənlak** *joint*, Central Nicobarese **henla:kə-** *[shoulder] joint* (& **okla:kə** *joint*; < variant?).

Connection uncertain Biat **rpak**.

***453** ***sl[u]k** *to put on, wear*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **sluk**, **slok** /**sluuk**/, Central Sakai **lok**; → Karo Batak **seluk**.

Connection dubious **452** ***sliaək**; but cf. **762** ***sləəŋ**. Note also Bahnar **hruk** & Bru **saruəʔ** (perhaps < ***srluuk**); ← Indonesian?

Proto-Austronesian ***t'a[y/r]uk** (Mon-Khmer implies *-y-): Malay **sarok** *putting one's foot down into [sarong]*, &c. (BLUST 1972 no. 70).

454 ***wik**; ***wək** *to shake, wave*.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer **vùk** *to s. up, mix up, stir*; (or B) ~ Mon **kəwak** *to wave*; ~ Mon **həwək** *to wave, wag, shake, worry*, Khmer **gravik** *to shake, disturb* (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **vuk** [**vət**] *to shake*; ~ Khasi **kaweh** *to wave, wag, fan, sway*.

455 ***wiik** (& ***wiək**?) *nightjar*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **wè:k** *kind of parrot*, Sre **wi:**, Bahnar dialects [**sɛ:m**] **wik** (& **wè:k**, < variant?) *nightjar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Khmer **khvaek** *night heron, Nycticorax griseus* is onomatopoeic & not connected. (BLOOD 1966 225, owl; correct to *fern-owl*, i.e. *nightjar*?)

456 *[]waik *ladle, spoon*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Khmer *vè:k ladle, dipper*, Kuy (ʔa:)wè:ʔ *ladle*, Bru ʔawè:ʔ *spatula*, Stieng *ue:k spoon*, Chrau *ua:ʔ wooden spoon*, Bahnar *wa:k to draw, dip up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang *āweg spoon* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 397); (?) → Cham (a)wa:ʔ, Jarai *awaʔ*, Rōglai *awa:*, Acehnese *awöəʔ rice-ladle*, perhaps → Vietnamese *vá*; ~ Biat *rwa:k ladle, dipper*; ~ Stieng *kua:k*, Sre *kua to remove mash from empty wine-jar* (DOURNES 1950).

Vocalism against Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, so if Cebuano Bisayan *luwag, lúwag ladle* &c. are connected, Austric!

457 *waik *larva, worm*.

A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *wà:k (intestinal) worm*, Palaung *vaʔ insect, caterpillar, grub*, Praok *vək worm*, Lawa Bo Luang Lawa Umphai *wuak kinds of insect*, Khasi *wieh earthworm*.

(*[]wək see 866 *[]wəc to cut, reap.)

458 *wək *bent round*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [wèn] *wòk to be crooked, deformed*, Praok [kək] *vək to be crooked*, Riang-Lang *wək to be curved, slightly bent*, Khasi *woh to hook, fasten with a hook*, Tembi *wṣṣkⁿ bent, crooked* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (c)); ~ Khmer [krəvək]-*krəvək zigzag*, Bahnar *gəwək to be hooked, to hook*, Palaung *kəvəʔ iron hook* (MILNE 1931), Khasi *kyrwoh link, ring*.

Cf. 286 *(k)ṇək *bent, crooked*; B35 *p[u]k *lame, crippled*.

(*[]w[uə]k see 866 *[]wəc to cut, reap.)

459 *kwak *to hang (up)*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *kwak v.i.t.*, Modern Mon *kwək*, Kammu-Yuan *wak v.t.*, Palaung *hvaʔ v.i.*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *wok*, Mae Sarian *wuk*, Khasi *wah* (& *tawah* by secondary derivation), Mường *quắc v.t.* (BARKER 1966 18); → Cham *waʔ to hang [hammock]*; ~ (*kmwak >) Vietnamese *mắc v.t.*

Connected further Vietnamese *ngoặc hook*.

460 *kwuuk; *kwuək *to claw*.

A: (Mon) Mon *kək to stick one's nails into* (< Old Mon **kwūk*, as *toṇ castor-oil tree* < *twon*; → Burmese *khup to strike with paw*?).

B: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy *wəʔ to scratch, claw*, Bru *kuwəʔ* (implies *-ək!), Khasi *khwoh to pull with hook or claws*.

(*t₁rwiək see 774 *t₁rwiəŋ *potsherd*.)

461 *twa[a]k *kind of palm.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **twa:ʔ** *fan-palm*, Bahnar **tua:k** *kind of palm* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

If Khmer **thva:k** *curving outwards* is cognate, *-aak.

462 *swa[a]k *to walk, travel.*

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung **vaʔ** (!) *to pass by, through, over*, Semelai **suwak** *to walk*, ?Nancowry **ʔukwák** *to step on*.

Cf. **A83 *cwaat** *to step*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 43.)

463 *saak *form, characteristic.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **sāk** /**saik**/ *colour*, Modern Mon **saik** *colour, kind, sort*, Khmer **sa:k** *shape, form*.

†464 *saak; *saik *to skin, peel.*

A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kuy **sa:ʔ** *to remove [bark &c.] by prying up* (A), Bahnar **tsa:k** *to peel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **tườc** (A) *to skin, peel*, Praok **hak** *skin, leather*, Lawa **hak** *skin*; ~ (***spaik** >) Khmer **sbaek** (→ Kuy **sbe:ʔ**, Stieng **səbe:k**) *skin*; ~ (B) Khasi **snieh** *skin, leather*.

Cf. **466 *sɔɔk**.

(SHAFER 1965 334a.)

Sora **sa:-** *to peel off* (v.t.), **sʔa:-** v.i.

465 *saik; *siək *to split, cleave, tear.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **tách** *to split, divide*; ~ Old Mon **snāk** /**snaik**/, Modern Mon **hnaik** *two-edged sword*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Jeh **siak** *to tear* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); (or A?) ~ Khasi **shniah** *chisel*.

Add perhaps (i) in part Mon **saik** *to tear* (*in two, up* (**sāk**; otherwise < **404 *craak** &c.); (ii) Bahnar **tsɛ:k** *to divide up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), otherwise < **291 *ciək**; (iii) Riang-Lang **hak** *to break, split, smash* (v.i.), otherwise < **472 *haak** &c.

466 *sɔɔk *to peel.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **sɔk** *to peel, skin*, Khmer **sɔ:k** *to peel, remove bark, to slough*, Kuy **sa:ʔ** *slough, to slough*; ~ Mon **hənok** *peel, rind, bark, shell, slough*, Khmer **sɔmmɔ:k** *slough, [onion-] skin, [bamboo-] sheath*; ~ Khmer **sɔmbɔ:k**, (→?) Kuy **mphùəʔ** *skin, bark, shell, husk*, Kammu-Yuan **həmpɔ:k** *bark*; ~ (***smɔɔk** >) Chrau **mɔ:ʔ** *bark*, Bahnar **hmɔ:k** *thick bark of certain trees*; ~ (***srsɔɔk** >) Biat **rchɔ:k** *[egg]shell*; ~ (***sɔk** >) Bru **sɔʔ** *to peel*.

Cf. 464 *saak &c.; 347 *pɔək. Note also (i) Khasi *khoh* to skin, peel, perhaps ← Tibeto-Burman (*kwāk, BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 342 & n. 229; cf. e.g. Lushei *khok*), but conceivably < *skɔək by metathesis < *ksɔək < *sɔək sɔək; (ii) Karo, Toba Batak *suak* broken off, *uak* to come away, peel away; suggesting Proto-Austronesian *(t'-)[]uak ~ *p-[]uak = *puak : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pɔək. (SCHMIDT 1905 14; cf. SMITH 1972 293.)

†467 *suk; *suuk; *suək; *sək hair.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Old Khmer *suk* (or D?), Sre *soʔ*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar *sək*, Jeh *suk* (!), Halang *sok*, Palaung *huʔ*, Riang-Lang *huk*, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *hawuk*, Lawa Umphai *hawuk*, Kensiu *sək*, Temiar *so:g*, Semelai *suk*; ~ (*snuuk >) Danaw *ɲok*, Khasi *shñiuh* /ʃnuʔ/, *ñiuh*.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon *sok* /sok/, Modern Mon *sok*, Stieng *sɔ:k* (or D?; beside *cɔ:k*, see there), Praok *haək*, Vietnamese *tóc*; ~ Chrau *sənɔ:ʔ* body hair (contaminated by A24 *tpn[ɔk]); ~ (? , *srsuək by metathesis > *sruək >) Central Nicobarese *yɔ:k*, Teressa-Bompoka, Chowra *he:ək* hair.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer *sək* (→ Chrau?), Kuy *sɔʔ*, Biat *chək* (→ Stieng, rare, *cɔ:k*?), Mường *thắc* (BARKER 1966 18).

Sre vocalism apparently post-dental (as North Bahnaric, cf. 335a *đuuk); Praok suggests secondary *suək.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 252; BLOOD 1966 269; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 1.)

Sora *uʔu:-n*, (compounding form) *u:-n*, Kharia *sɔ(?)*- (PINNOW 1959 143; Proto-Munda *sok).

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *buSuk (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, *bu^cuk; cf. DYEN 1965; BLUST 1969 p. 91 n.; SHORTO 1976 n. 10).

468 *suk; *suuk; *suək placenta.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *sok*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon *sək*, Sre *so:* (→ Röglai).

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *sɔ:ʔ* womb; ~ (*srsuək >) Biat *rchɔ:k* [kɔ:n] placenta.

Cf. Khasi *sieh* (< *sək?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

468a *trsik; *trsək kind of cucurbitaceous plant.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *rəsi:k* small yellow kind of cucumber, Chrau [rəpuŋ] *sic* musk-melon, Biat [plai] *rchiʔ* water-melon.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *trəsək* cucumber.

469 ***[t]sa[a]k** to wash.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **tsāk** to wash [clothes] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa **sak** to wash; ~ (***[t]psa[a]k** >) Palaung **pha?** to scour with sand (MILNE 1931), Praok **phak** to wash [cups], Lawa Bo Luang **phak** to wash.

470 ***hak**; ***haak** to vomit.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ha?** vomiting, Bahnar **hak** to vomit.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang **ha:k** to vomit.

Cf. 474 ***hɔk**; 473 ***hə(ə)k** sated; 476 ***khaak** &c. to hawk and spit.

(SMITH 1972 273; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

471 ***hak**; (***hak hak** >) ***khak**; ***hək**; ***khək** to catch, stick, to have something stuck in throat.

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **khək** to snag on, catch, stick, stick in mud, Palaung **ha?**, **hak** to lodge [thorn] in, to have [bone] stuck in throat (MILNE 1931); ~ (***.lhak** >) Bahnar **hlak** to be caught, stuck.

C, D: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **khək** to have sth. stuck in throat, choke, Kuy, Bru with secondary lengthening **ha:?** to have [bone] stuck in throat & 474?

472 ***haak**; ***haik**; ***hiək**; ***hiik** to tear, split.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Northern Aslian, ?Palaungic) (B) Khmer **haek** to tear, to lacerate (→ Stieng **hɛ:k** to tear, cut), Kuy **hɛ:?** to tear, to force open, (A) Sre **ha:** [wood] to split, (A/B) Biat **ha:k** to split (v.i.), Bahnar **ha:k** to split (v.t), pull apart, open wide (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **hak** (or < 465 ***saik?**) to break, split, smash (v.i.), Semang **haek** to tear (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai **hɛ̀ək** to break through, force open, Shan **hāk** to be broken across, to break across; North Röglai **ha:?** ripped; ~ (***ch-** >) Mon **chàik** (!) to claw, scratch (with chest register by expressive deformation), (B) Khmer **chaek** to cut up; forked, split, cut up (→ Thai **chʰɛ̀ək** indented, serrated, bifurcated), (A) Vietnamese **xước** to be scratched; ~ (B) Kuy **rhɛ:?** to be torn, (A/B; ~?) Chrau **təha:?** to split, divide; → Cham **taha:?** torn, Röglai **trəha** to split, to get torn; ~ Riang-Lang **hakhak** to break in pieces, smash (or ad ***saik**).

C: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **hɛ:k** to tear; ~ Chrau **təhɛ:k** torn, worn.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **hɛ:c** (? → Bahnar **hɛ:c** broken in pieces (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)), Biat **hɛ:k** torn; ~ (***hiik hiik** > ***khiik** >) Biat **khe:k** torn, Praok **khik** [phuay] pieces, fragments.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 28; SHAFER 1965 329.)

473 ***hək**; ***həək** sated.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **hɔ?** [hə:m].

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **hu?**.

Connect following & 470 ***ha(a)k** to vomit? Cf. 1424 ***həəm**.

‡474 ***hɔ̀ɔk** to vomit.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat **hɔ̀:k**, Chrau **hɔ̀ʔ**.

Cf. 470 ***ha(a)k**; & preceding; 271 ***kʔɔk** to cough.

(BLOOD 1966 72.)

[Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[aə]k:] Malay *m-uak* nauseating, revolting, Rōglai **oʔ** to vomit, &c. (cf. BLUST 1971 no. 340; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***huk** see 267 ***ʔuk** to pour out.)

475 ***huək**; ***ʔuək** brains.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hɔ̀ʔ**; ~ (***huək huək** > ***khuək** >) Riang-Lang **khuak**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Vietnamese **óc**; ~ Biat **ɲɔ̀:k** (or A?), Bahnar **ʔɲɔ̀:k**.

Cf. Khmer **khuə** *khuər* [kba:l]; by interdialectal borrowing from unrecorded source? (SMITH 1972 292.)

(***khak** see 471 ***hak** to catch, stick... .)

476 ***khaak**; ***khaik** to hawk and spit.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon **khaik**, (B) Khmer **khaek**, (A) **kha:k**, Kuy (!), (A/B) Bahnar **kha:k** to hawk, clear the throat; → Thai **kʰàak** to hawk and spit; ~ Khmer **kəmha:k**, **kəmhaek** phlegm, (A/B) Kammu-Yuan **kəmhá:k** phlegm, to hawk and spit; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Biat **runha:k** phlegm (~ ***rha:k** < **krh-**); (ii; A) Khasi **kyrkha** phlegm, to clear the throat.

Bahnar **gahak** to spit in disdain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) & Vietnamese **khạc** to spit are ← Cham **kàha:k** < *[g]aqa[kg], a Proto-West-Indonesian variant (cf. Karo Batak **kahak** phlegm) ?Contamination by Mon-Khmer of Proto-Austronesian ***daSak** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, ***da^cak**). Onomatopoeic. Cf. 470 ***ha(a)k** to vomit; & see BENEDICT 1975 257, cough, which compares Proto-Austronesian ***kukak**. (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(***khək** see 471 ***hak** ...to have something stuck in throat.)

477 ***chaik** wet.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **jhie** (& **jhih**); ~ (***cnhaik** >) Riang-Lang **ɲak**.

Connect by metathesis 795 ***kʔaac**.

478 ***chɔ̀ɔk** rice straw.

A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon **chɔ̀k** **chǎk**; ~ Kuy **ɲcha:ʔ**.

479 *[c]huk; *[c]huək to go up.

- A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *xóc* to lift [prone person], set on feet, (~?)
 Praok **haok**, Lawa Bo Luang **hoak**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **haok** to go up.
 B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **həʔ** to go up.
 Palaungic **h-** (suggesting *jh-) also ad **253** *chaʔ.

(*chuək see **272** *cʔuk corner; *t₂hiik see **273** *t₂iik to sob... .)

480 *thak; *thək to pant, sob.

- A: (Mon) Literary Mon **thak** [kluɪ cuip] [to come] in haste; ~ (*tnhak >) Mon **kəhək** to pant.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat [ɲum] **thək** to sob, to swallow the wrong way; ~ (*tnhak >) Literary Mon [yuim] **samnuik** (!; implying *kəhak) to breathe audibly, pant, Khmer **dəŋhək** to be out of breath.
 Originally probably onomatopoeic. Cf. **273** *t₂iik &c. to sob... .

480a *[t]hək to pour (out).

- A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Kuy **thəʔ** to pour, tip out, Bru **thn:ʔ** (implies *-ɔək?), Stieng **tɔ:k!** to pour, Biat **tɔʔ!** to pour out, water (contaminated by **2002** *tuh &c.), Palaung **thəʔ** to pour (or, as Riang-Lang **thək**, ← Shan **thɔk?**), Khasi **theh** to pour, spill.
 Cf. Proto-Southwestern Tai *thook (BENEDICT 1975 358, pour out; not Thai); & **267** *ʔuk &c., *huk.

481 *phɔək; *pʔɔək fish-paste.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric; ~ *prhɔək >) Mon **hərək** fish-paste, Khmer **prahak** grey fish-paste (GUESDON 1930; usually **prəhok**, **prəhùək!**), (by expressive deformation *mrhɔək >?) Kuy **mphrà:ʔ**, Stieng **brəhɔ:k** fish-paste.
 B: (Khmer) Khmer **phʔɔ:k** milder-smelling red kind of fish-paste; ~ **pra'ak** fish-paste (GUESDON 1930).
 B perhaps contaminated by **275** *prʔɔək thorn (Stieng, Biat fish-bone). Khmer **prəhùək** < *prhək? **prəhok** obscure; cf. perhaps Vietnamese **mắm ruốc** (< *prhuək?). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 23.)

(*[b]huk see **368** *ʔuk rotten, mouldy.)

482 *lhək mud.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **lhuk** /lhək/, Modern Mon **hlak**, Proto-Nyah Kur *ləhuk (DIFFLOTH 1984 N226; implies *-[u]k?); ~ Stieng **ləmhɔ:k**; ~ (*lphək > ; or =?) Khmer **phùək** (→ Thai **pùak**; rather than : **A26** *[b]ɔk).
 (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 23; BENEDICT 1975 277, earth... .)

(*ʔiŋ see **492** *diʔuŋ house.)

482a *ʔiəŋ *happy, well*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **iaŋ** *happy*, [a]ʔiəŋ [*un*]*happy, homesick*, Biat [lbut] **iaŋ** *homesick*, Khasi **eng-eng** *sound and healthy*.

483 *ʔeəŋ *self, oneself*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon **ʔiŋ** *oneself*, Khmer **ʔaəŋ** *self, oneself, this very*, Kuy **ʔe:ŋ** (*one*)*self, alone*, Stieng **i:ŋ** *oneself, alone, individual* (≠ *other, different*, < 490 *[c]ʔiŋ), Biat **e:ŋ** *in person, alone*.

Distinguish I (e.g. Bahnar **iŋ**), for which see 2 *ʔiiʔ.

†484 *ʔaəŋ *to open [mouth], to gape open*.

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **à:ŋ**, Palaung (MILNE 1931), Praok **aŋ**, Riang-Lang **ʔaŋ** *to open [mouth]*, Khasi **ang** *to open, to crack*, Besis **ang** *to gape* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (a)), Central Nicobarese [tom]-**a:ŋ**-[hələ] *to open mouth*, Nancowry **ʔáŋ**, **tumʔáŋ**; ~ Sakai **rě-ang** *mouth* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (c)); ~ Khasi **kyr-ang** *to crack*; ~ **rynghang** (& **ryngheng**) *open, ajar*.

Connect 605 *paəŋ *mouth, opening?*

Sora **a(:)ŋ**- *to open [mouth, eye]*.

485 *ʔuəŋ; *ʔuəŋ; *huəŋ; *huəŋ *wasp, hornet*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **oŋ** *wasp*; (probably, rather than C) → Jarai **ho:ŋ**, Röglai, North Röglai **hoŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Biat **ɔ:ŋ** *hornet*, Chrau, Bahnar **ɔ:ŋ**, Jeh **o:ŋ**, Halang **oəŋ** *wasp*, Kammu-Yuan **ɔ:ŋ** *kind of wasp*, Palaung **ɔŋ**, Riang-Lang **ʔuəŋ** *fossor wasp*, Vietnamese **ong** *bee, wasp*.

C: (Mon, Aslian) Mon **haŋ**, Central Sakai **hōⁿk** *hornet*.

D: (Katuic) Kuy **ha:ŋ** *kind of hornet*.

GUESDON 1930 has Bahnar **(h)o:ŋ** *hornet, wasp*; ←/ contaminated by western Malayo Polynesian? Connect 886 *kʔaiŋ &c. (*kind of*) *wasp*.

(SMITH 1972 168; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 135.)

486 *kʔəŋ (& *kʔəŋ?) *knee*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*knʔ- >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋəŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ŋoŋ**, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese [ko:l]-**kəno:əŋ**, Nancowry **kúykanuáŋ** (referred **kuáŋ** *to be supported*); ~ (*k[p]ʔəŋ >) Old Mon **kəon** /**kəŋ**/, Modern Mon **bəŋ**.

Röglai **taʔuŋ** is probably < Proto-Chamic *t[ai](S)uŋ *shin* contaminated by Proto-Austronesian *tusud₁ *knee* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144, *[t]u^cud).

(SHAFFER 1965 387.)

487 *cʔaŋ; *cʔaaŋ; *chaŋ; *chain; *cʔiəŋ *chiəŋ to expose to heat.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **ʔaŋ** to roast, to warm oneself, Kuy **ʔaŋ**, Bru **ʔaŋ**, Stieng **aŋ** to grill, Chrau **aŋ** to broil, roast, Khasi **s'ang** to roast, toast; ~ Mon **həeŋ** to warm, dry, at fire, to toast; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **[rəmʔòk] rəmʔàŋ** burnt, scorched.
- B: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[oŋ]-a:ŋ** to cook [meat, fish], Nancowry **ʔuŋʔáŋ** to boil, **ʔuŋsəŋ** to cook (or 524?); ~ (***cnʔaaŋ** >) Mường **náng** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **nướng** to roast, toast.
- C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[əŋ]-[hələ]** to reheat [food].
- D: (Katuic, Bahnaric) ~ (***cnhaiŋ** >) Kuy **ŋhe:ŋ** to put close to fire, Biat **nhaiŋ** dried [fish]; ~ (***cphaiŋ** >) Bahnar **pha:ŋ** to warm, dry, at fire, to roast; dry season, Jeh **pha:ŋ**, Halang **pəha:ŋ** to roast; by back-formation (?) ~ Jeh **ha:ŋ** to feel heat of fire (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
- E: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ (? , ***crʔiəŋ** >) Biat **cre:ŋ** to warm oneself [in sun]; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **təe:ŋ** to warm in sun or at fire (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- F: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **təhe:ŋ** to warm oneself at fire (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- E-F by secondary palatalization, cf. 403 ***crak** &c. Besis **cho'ong** to burn, bake (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)) is probably rather < 524 ***cəŋ** to set light to.
- (SMITH 1972 158.)

†488 *cʔaaŋ; *cʔaiŋ; *cʔi[]ŋ bone.

- A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Khmer **[chʔɿŋ] chʔaəŋ** (bare) bones (B), Kammu-Yuan **cəʔá:ŋ**, Palaung **kəʔaŋ**, Praok **siʔaŋ**, Lawa **saʔaŋ**, (B) Khasi **sh'ieng**, (A) Vietnamese **xương**, (A/B) Temiar **jəʔa:k**, Semelai **jəʔaŋ** bone; ~ (***cnʔ-** >) Kuy **ŋha:ŋ** (A), Palaung **kənʔaŋ**, Riang-Lang **ʔənʔaŋ** bone.
- C: (Khmer, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **chʔɿŋ**, Khasi **sh'ing**, **'ing**, Kensiu **ʔiʔiŋ**, Central Nicobarese **[oŋ]-eŋ**, Nancowry **ʔuŋʔiŋ** (referred **ʔiŋ** hard).
- C secondary.
- (SHAFFER 1965 277a, 370; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 336.)
- Sora **ə-ja:ŋ-ən**, Kharía **jaŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 7).

489 *cʔaiŋ to shine, be light.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Stieng **a:ŋ** light, to shine; light (n.), Biat **a:ŋ** light, to shine, Sre **a:ŋ**, Bahnar **à:ŋ** light (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **ánh** beam, ray, ?Nancowry **heŋ** sun; (— **sang**) light; ~ (***c[r]ʔaiŋ** >) Chrau **səla:ŋ** light, Danaw **tă_ʔa:ŋ** sky.
- Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Kuy **je:ŋ**, Bru **je:ŋ**, Chrau **yà:ŋ** gold; & cf. 523 ***caŋ** to glitter, 535 ***scaiŋ** to shine.
- (SHAFFER 1965 367; BLOOD 1966 275.)

490 *cʔa[i]ŋ; *[c]ʔiiŋ *other*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *cʔāñ* /*cʔaiŋ*/; ~ Modern Mon *həaiŋ*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *i:ŋ*, Biat *e:ŋ*; ~ Biat *rʔe:ŋ*.

B secondary, but not regular, cf. preceding; perhaps contaminated by *alone, individual* < 483 *ʔeeŋ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

491 *t₂ʔɔŋ *tree, wood*.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *səʔɔ:ŋ wood*, (*tu:t* —) *tree*; ~ (*t₂ʔɔŋ >) Kuy (*ʔa:*)*lù:ŋ wood*, Sre *lon* (!; BLOOD 1966 *lɔ:ŋ*), Stieng, Chrau, Biat *lɔ:ŋ firewood*, Bahnar *ʔlɔ:ŋ tree, wood*, Jeh *ʔlɔ:ŋ*, Halang *ʔloaŋ*, Semelai *dəlɔ:ŋ tree*.

(SHAFFER 1965 229; BLOOD 1966 74; SMITH 1972 167; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207.)

492 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔuŋ > *dʊŋ, Pre-Khasi *ʔiŋ *house*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy *dʊŋ*, Bru *dɔŋ*, Khasi *üŋ*, Central Sakai *dök*, Semai *dʊŋ* (TAUERN 1914).

Kuy excludes *d₂uŋ. Cf. Laqua *nd[ia]ŋ *house*; proto Thai *thiaŋ *hut*..., BENEDICT 1975 319.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (a).)

493 *[b]ʔooŋ; *[b]hoŋ *dry*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Semang *ba'ong* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 177); ~ Biat *nʔo:ŋ to dry [over fire]*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *hɔŋ to be dry, dried, to dry*, Riang-Lang *ṭhɔŋ to dry v.i.*; → Shan *hón* *to dry v.i.*

493a *mʔuŋ; *mʔəŋ *to await, expect*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Röglai) *moŋ to intend to, be about to*, Palaung *mʊŋ* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *mɔŋ to hope (for), expect*, Praok *maŋ to look up*; → Shan *mɔŋ to hope (for), expect* (& *mʊŋ to look for, watch for*?).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer *ɔŋ to wait, rest, briefly*, Kuy *mùŋ to expect*, Biat *mʔəŋ to intend to, be about to*; (*tɔ:m* — *nap*) *facing*.

(*riʔaaŋ see 276 *riʔaak *to open*... .)

494 *lʔiəŋ(?) (& *lhiəŋ(?)) *to slant, be skewed*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Khmer *lʔiəŋ out of the vertical, sloping* (→ Thai *iaŋ*), Khasi *r'eng propped up on one side*, (variant >?) Vietnamese *hiếng to squint*, Bru *ʔi:ŋ leaning against* (< *-iŋ?); ~ (*lnʔiəŋ >) Mon *həeaŋ*, Vietnamese *nghiêng to be out of the vertical*.

Cf. Khmer *kŋiəŋ bent to one side*; & 759 *sliŋ &c. *to be tilted, to squint*.

‡495 *k[]uɔŋ kiəŋ *small hornbill*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Sre **kiouŋ kian** *small hornbill*, *Anthracoceros albirostris* (→ Röglai ?), Chrau **ku:ŋkiəŋ** *kind of hornbill*, Bru **rake:ŋ** *Anthracoceros albirostris*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **kəŋiaŋ** *small hornbill*.

Sre **kiouŋ** by chiming deformation? Connect Khmer **kɔ:ŋ ke:ŋ**, **ke:ŋ kɔ:ŋ** *kind of hornbill*; North Röglai **balakiak** (< *-ŋ) *kind of hornbill*.

(Proto-Austronesian *k/al/iŋkiŋ >) Malay [**burong**] *kēlengking*.

‡496 *kaŋ; *kaaŋ; *kaiŋ[]; *kiəŋ; *kaik (& *kaak?) *transverse, to branch, stretch horizontally*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Nancowry **kāŋ** *to (form a) cross*; ~ Old Mon **knañ** /**knaŋ**/ [**ko'**] *collar-bone*, Modern Mon **neŋ** *crosspiece*; ~ (*crkaŋ >) Kuy (c)**kaŋ** *purlin*, Sre **rəkaŋ** *roof-timber, roof*, Biat **rkaŋ** *breadth; transverse, across*.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **ka:ŋ** *to spread [wings], stretch [arms] sideways*, Kuy **ka:ŋ** *to stretch out (v.t.)* (B), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **kaŋ** *side; to spread*, (C; ~?) Mường **kenh** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **cánh** *wing* (also **canh**, BARKER & BARKER 1976; & Mường **kènh**, BARKER 1966 20, Vietnamese **cành** *branch*, by arbitrary differentiation?); ~ Middle Mon **knāñ** (beside **tnāñ**, which separate; merged in) Modern Mon **naŋ** *branch*, Khmer **khnaeŋ** (C) *in the shape of a cross; side-shoot, bud, twig* (GUESDON 1930), (?) Sakai **kěning** [**luukⁿ**] *branch* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **ngang** *to be horizontal. level, to be wide; across* (B), Vietnamese **ngánh** (& **ngành**!; C) *branch (of river &c.)*; ~ Khmer **chka:ŋ** *to crucify* (B), Stieng **cⁿka:ŋ** *cross*; ~ Chrau **təka:ŋ** *main beam*.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **pyngkiang** *crosswise*.

E: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Palaung **ka?** [**he**], Riang-Lang **ʔkak**, Praok, Lawa **kak** *branch*; ~ Vietnamese **ngách** = **ngánh**; (? , *knaak >) Khasi **knañ** (!) *cross-stick in bird-trap, scaffold*.

(SHAFFER 1965 344.)

Proto-Austronesian ***kaŋkaŋ**: Malay **kangkang** *straddling...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 74; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note ***t'ə(N)kaŋ** *crossbar*, BLUST 1971 no. 397; ***t'akaŋ** *bow-legged, straddling*, ib. no. 373; ***t'ikaŋ** [*legs*] *wide apart*, ib. no. 404, Proto-Hesperonesian. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 62.)

Cf. with E Tibeto-Burman ***kaⁿk** *fork, branch*, BENEDICT 1972 71 no. 327.

496a *[]kaŋ (& *[]ka[a]ŋ?) *to demarcate, fence*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **ka:ŋ** (& **taka:ŋ**, **ta-** reciprocal; < variant?) *to demarcate ricefields*, Biat **kaŋ** (— **nhar**) *to demarcate*, (— **rdɔl**) *to block [path]*, Bahnar **kán** *field boundary marker* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **kán** *to block [road]*; ~ Bahnar **cəkán** *to demarcate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Add perhaps (***krnaŋ**, originally n., >) Middle Mon **kanan** *square compartment, to divide into square compartments*, Modern Mon **kənɛŋ** (*line in*) *check pattern. To block by attraction* 785 ***ghaŋ**, which compare.

497 *kaaŋʔ chin, jaw.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre, Chrau **ka:ŋ jaw**, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:ŋ chin, jaw**, Mường **cáng chin** (BARKER 1966 25); → Jarai **ka:ŋ**, Rōglai **kak**, North Rōglai **ka:k jaw**.

Connect Kuy **khì:ŋ chin** (contaminated by 1318 ***dgaam**, which compare?); South Nicobarese **ka:ŋən tooth**. Thai has **kʰaaŋ chin**, with cognates widely distributed in Thai-Kadai (BENEDICT 1975 321, *jaw*; ***g-**); cf. here Rōglai **bələw khaŋ beard**. (BLOOD 1966 299; SMITH 1972 154.)

498 *kɔŋ; *kɔɔŋ; *kɔ[]k ring-shaped artefact.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kɔŋ**, Kuy **kaŋ**, (→?) Biat **kɔŋ wheel**, Sre **koŋ ring**; ~ Kuy **ŋkaŋ bracelet**.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer **kan** (&/or A?), Modern Khmer **kɔ:ŋ bracelet, anklet, circle, ring; to make a circle**, Stieng **kɔ:ŋ (rim of) wheel**, Sre **ko:ŋ bracelet**, Biat **ko:ŋ bracelet, ring**, Chrau, Bahnar **kɔ:ŋ bracelet, metal collar**, Jeh **ko:ŋ bracelet**; → Cham **kɔ:ŋ**, North Rōglai **ko:k bracelet**, Rōglai **ko:k ring**; ~ Halang **həkoaŋ bracelet**.

C: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kək bracelet, anklet**, Palaung **kɔʔ waistbelt of silver rings**. Connect Lawa Bo Luang **kuaŋ ring**; Biat **khɔŋ spinning-wheel, winder**. Cf. 500 ***koŋ bent**.

(BLOOD 1966 80; SMITH 1972 170.)

499 *kɔɔŋ copper.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ko:ŋ copper** (→ Rōglai), Bahnar **kɔŋ copper, brass, bronze** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Chrau **kaŋ** (contaminated by ***kaŋ** > Sre **[glah] kaŋ small copper cooking-pot?**). (SHAFFER 1965 53.)

***500 *koŋ bent.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **kaŋ to be arched, bent; ribs of boat** (→ Burmese **kuiñ:**), Khmer **kaŋ to bend** (→ Thai **koŋ**), Kuy **kɔ:ŋ bent, crooked**, Palaung **koŋ to droop** (MILNE 1931), Khasi **khong[dong] angle, zigzag**, Vietnamese **cong to bend**.

Cf. further (i) Khmer **koŋ bent**; (ii) 498 ***kɔŋ** &c. *ring-shaped artefact*; (iii) Bahnar **kək bent, humpbacked** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), intensive **kok**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:k curved, (lying) coiled up**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bə(N)kuŋ**: Malay *běngkung* *bent out of shape*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26-7); (ii) ***lə(N)kuŋ**: Acehnese *lōngkong* *curved, arched, curled round*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (iii) ***li(N)kuŋ**: Malay *lengkong* *circular*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 96; Proto-Western-Indonesian). For Proto-Austronesian ***dəkuŋ** see 892 ***kuŋ**. See BENEDICT 1975 231-2.

501 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ *village, settlement*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **kúŋ** *village*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **kuŋ** *town, state*.

(***kuŋ** see also 890 ***k[i]ŋ** *work*.)

502 *kuəŋ; *kwaəŋ *male animal*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **kuəŋ** *male animal*, Palaung [ə]kəŋ *male [bird]*, Mường [kà] *kông* *cock* (CUISINIER 1951); ~ Biat ŋkwəŋ (→ Chrau kwəŋ) *male [animal]*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **kuəŋ** *male [animal]*, *male sexual organs*, Khasi [ʔniang] *kwang* *boar*.

Variation obscure.

(BLOOD 1966 88.)

503 *k[ʷə]ŋ *to dig*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **khúəŋ**! *to dig [ground]*, Palaung **kuəŋ**, Riang-Lang ʔkəŋ, Praok **kaəŋ** *to dig [hole]*, Lawa Bo Luang **koəŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kaəŋ** *to dig*.

Palaung **has also kuəŋ** *to dig up, mine*; suggesting ***kuuŋ** ~ ***kuŋ**. Khmuic **kh-** unexplained; as connected Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese *cuốc* *pickaxe, to dig*.

504 *jkii[ŋ]; *jkiə[ŋ]; *jkai[ŋ] *side, edge*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kiŋ** *edge, direction*, Biat **ke:ŋ** [mɛ:ŋ], Jeh **ki:ŋ** *edge*; ~ (***jnkii[ŋ]** >) Sre **səkiŋ** *on one's side, to one side*, Chrau **ŋke:ŋ**! *on one's side*, Biat **ŋke:ŋ** *on one's side; to lean over*; by secondary derivation ~ Halang **kəni:ŋ** *edge*.

B: → Röglai **kiaŋ**, **kiak** *side, flank*; ~ → **dəkiaŋ** [*to lie*] *curled up*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **khè:ŋ** *on one's side, to one side*; ~ **ŋkhè:ŋ** *to tilt, lean*, Bru **sakè:ŋ** *v.t. to tilt*.

Jeh, Halang imply *-**ŋ**; Chrau (& Hre **keŋ**) then by progressive assimilation? Sre shortening regular. Cf. further Khasi *kynring* *by the side, towards the side*; but connection dubious.

Sora **'sʔe:ŋ-ən** *side, direction* in view of Kharia **si'niŋ** *side, direction*, PINNOW 1959 286. (SMITH 1972 93.)

505 *tk[ɔɔ]ŋ (*nape of*) *neck*.

- A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (t)kɑ:ŋ *neck*, Bru takɔ:ŋ, Bahnar kɔ:ŋ [kɔy] *nape of neck, occiput*, Danaw Ꞥkɔŋ *neck*.
Connect 17 *kɔʔ &c.

506 *tkuəŋ; *tkəəŋ *stalk*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cuống*; ~ Biat ŋkɔ:ŋ *stalk*, Chrau ŋkɔ:ŋ *quantifier for stalk-like objects*.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar akə:ŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 təkə:ŋ; beside Jölong təkɪ:ŋ).
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 516 *[t]guəŋ &c.
(SMITH 1972 110.)

507 *giŋ *to row*.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon giŋ /gøŋ/, Modern Mon kàŋ, Khasi *king*.

508 *[]gaŋ *stiff, bristling*.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kəəŋ *obstinate, opinionated, bristling, jammed*, Sre gaŋ *stiff, straight, rigid* (DOURNES 1950); → Thai kʰāŋ *obstructive, congested, jammed*; Cham kàŋ *motionless, paralysed*; ~ Bahnar təgaŋ *sticking up, erected* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Or *dgaŋ? Connect perhaps Malay *rəgang taut*, referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 103 to Proto-Austronesian *[ry]əgaŋ *to grasp* (under the entry 510 *gəŋ &c.). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 107.)

509 *ga[a]ŋ *house*.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kà:ŋ, Palaung gaŋ, Riang-Lang _kaŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 26.)

*510 *gəŋ; *guŋ *to grasp*.

- A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, South Bahnaric). Old Mon guŋ, goŋ /gøŋ/ (A), /guŋ/ (B), Late Middle Mon -guŋ (A?) *to grasp, take*, Modern Mon kàŋ also *to keep*; ~ Khmer phkùəŋ (A; & phguŋ, GUESDON 1930, B?) *to supply, provide*, Stieng goŋ (B), gəŋ (A) *to hand over [person, animal] as pledge*.
Cf. 516 *[t]guəŋ &c. *stalk, handle*.
Proto-Austronesian (i) *pigəŋ: Malay *pegang*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 235; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pəgaŋ: Malay *pəgang*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 116; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *[ry]əgaŋ: Toba Batak *rogang*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103; Proto-West-Indonesian).

511 *gəŋ sacrifice post.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gəŋ** *sacrifice post*, Jeh **gàŋ**, Halang **gəŋ** *spirit pole*; (probably) → Cham **kàŋ**, Röglai, North Röglai **gək** *post*, Jarai **gəŋ** *sacrifice post*; ~ (***gnɡəŋ** >) Biat **ŋgəŋ** *post, support for betel vine*; ~ (***g[r]nəŋ** >) Sre **gəŋəŋ** *post erected in spirit cult*.

(SMITH 1972 98.)

512 *gəŋ warrior-like.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **goŋ** /**gəŋ**/, Modern Mon **kòŋ** *to be brave*, Khmer **kùəŋ** *invulnerable* (→ Thai **kʰoŋ** *endure, persist*, → Kammu-Yuan **khóŋ**), Kuy **khòŋ** *having magical powers*, Biat **gəŋ** *invulnerable*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

***513 *guəŋ; *gəŋ to cook in water.**

A: (Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **kò:ŋ** *to boil down, stew, make soup*, ?Nancowry **kuáŋlan** *to ferment (rice)*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **gəŋ** *to stew*, Riang-Lang **kaŋ** *to boil, cook by boiling*.

Cf. A112 *[]**gəŋ** *to cook, boil*.

Kharia **gəŋ** *to cook [rice]* (PINNOW 1959 194; Proto-Munda *[**g**]ɔ[ŋ]).

514 *cɡiŋ to project at right angles.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chkəŋ** *upright, sticking up, [e.g. arrow] sticking by point*; ~ Chrau **səŋgi:ŋ**, Biat **ŋgi:ŋ** [**chi:**] *branch of tree (contaminated by 496 *kaŋ[] &c., which compare?)*.

515 *[c]guəŋ; *[c]g[əə]ŋ ladder.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ghu:ŋ**, Chrau **gu:ŋ** *ladder*, Biat **gu:ŋ**, Bahnar **ku:ŋ**, *ladder, stair*, Jeh, Halang **gùəŋ** *house-ladder*.

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **jynkieng, jingkieng** *bridge, ladder*.

(BLOOD 1966 232; SMITH 1972 113.)

516 *[t]guəŋ; *tɡəŋ stalk, handle.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre **guan** *handle, tiller*, Palaung **gəŋ** *stalk, handle*, Riang-Lang **kuəŋ** *stalk*, Bru **ŋkùəŋ** *stubble*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **taŋgəŋ** *paddy- stalk, rice-straw* (with **ta-** by attraction 543 ***t₁aŋ** *joint, joined stem*).

= following? Cf. 506 ***tkuəŋ** &c. *stalk*; 510 ***gəŋ** &c. *to grasp*.

517 *tɡ[uə]ŋ; *tɡ[ə]ŋ (bony) ridge.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **gəŋ** [**mur**] *nose*, Bru **ŋkùəŋ** *ridge of nose*; ~ (***trɡ[uə]ŋ** >) Bahnar **təkə:ŋ** *profile, ridge [of nose], shin*; ~ (***tng[uə]ŋ** >) West Bahnar **təŋə:ŋ** *profile, ridge [of nose], shin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **ŋkhəŋ** *leg, shin*, Bru **səŋkòŋ** *leg*.

Or *tga(ɔ)ŋ, if ≠ preceding.

(*dgaŋ see 508 *[]gaŋ stiff, bristling.)

518 *pɣaŋ; *pɣaŋ beam.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer (B) **bəŋkəŋ** beam, prop, scaffolding, pole, (A; with head register by levelling on unattested simplex?) **bəŋkəŋ** baulk, flat sheet of wood forming part of structure of house; ~ (*prg- >) Mon **həkòŋ** beam, baulk; → Cham **pagauñ** perch.

***519 *lɣuŋ; *lɣəŋ mentally abstracted.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **lɣuŋ** *to be lost in thought, to mope*, Khmer **lɣəŋ** very confused, close to fainting; ~ (*lɣuŋ >) Mon **təŋəŋ** abstraction of mind.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **nōŋ** to be dazed (& **nōŋ**; GUESDON 1930); (?) → Thai **lɣaŋ** slow, sluggish, inactive, slothful, → Khmer **lɣəŋ** to be dazed.

Khmer has further, by expressive variation, **lɣəŋ**-[**lɣəŋ**] dizzy; **lɣəŋ**-[**lɣəŋ**] confused, dizzy. Note also Vietnamese **ngượng** embarrassed (< *-aaŋ; perhaps ← Indonesian, below).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *lɣuŋ >) Malay **lěngong** plunged in thought; (ii) *lɣəŋ: Malay **lěngang** silent, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95, *lɣ[ə]ŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, assuming Toba Batak ← Malay); & cf. Proto-Malayo-Javanese *bɣuŋ at a loss (NOTHOFFER 1975 138; Toba has **bingun**), → Semai **bɣuŋ** silly (TANDART 1935); &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 206. Mon-Khmer ↔ Indonesian? Indonesian is against constructing Proto-Mon-Khmer *-aaŋ.

520 *[]ciŋ elephant.

A: (Mon, Katic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **cīŋ** /ciŋ/, Modern Mon **coŋ**, Kuy (ʔa:)ciŋ, Bru ʔaciaŋ, Central Sakai **chi**'k.

Not explicable from Burmese **chari**, on which see BENEDICT 1972 133 & n. 362; SHORTO 1971 under the entry **cīŋ**¹.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 49.)

521 *ceŋ point, angle, ridge.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North & South Aslian) Old Mon **cīŋ** /ciŋ/ gable (?), Modern Mon **coŋ** ridge pole of roof, Khmer **caŋ** joint of roof-truss or rafters, Semang **saeng** point (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 63).

Connection dubious 529 *ʔcu(u)ŋ upper end.

***522 *caŋ to shut.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **soŋ** to bolt, Palaung **səŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **saŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **səŋ** to shut; ~ (*[c]ncaŋ >) Biat **ncaŋ** to shut.

Sora 'saŋ-ən door (compounding form, ~ sa'naŋ-ən), Kharia 'saŋ- to shut, &c. (PINNOW 1959 290, Proto-Munda *səŋ; cf. ib. 268).

523 *caŋ to glitter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **caŋ** *shining, bright, to reflect the light*; ~ (*c[n]caŋ >) Late Middle Mon **dacañ** [**baḃañ**] *to be resplendent*.

Cf. 489 *cʔaiŋ *to shine...*, 535 *scaiŋ *to shine...*; but connection uncertain A35
*[c]a[a]ŋ *clear, limpid*.

†524 *cəŋ to set light to.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Asian, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon **coñ** /cəŋ/, Modern Mon **cəŋ**, Kuy **caŋ**, Bahnar **so:ŋ** (!) *to set light to*, Vietnamese **chong** *to keep [lamp] lit*, (probably, rather than ad 487 *cʔaŋ &c. *to expose to heat*) Bisi **cho'ong** *to burn, bake* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)), ?Nancowry **ʔuŋsəŋ** *to cook* (or 487).

Bahnar vocalism obscure. Connect A36b *.c[ɔ]ŋ [*lightning*] *to strike*? For Biat **chup** see A11 *jhuuʔ. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Kharia **səŋ-**, -**səŋ** *fire*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252, 324).

Proto-Austronesian *ga(N)t'aŋ: Javanese **gasang** *lit*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 53). See BENEDICT 1975 329.

525 *c[o]ŋ; *cok to make into a bundle.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) obs. Khmer **coñ** *to tie together* (TANDART 1935; Modern Khmer **cə:ŋ**!), Khasi **song** *bundle; to pack, tie up*.

B: (Mon) Mon **cak** *to make into a bundle*.

526 *cuuŋ axe.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **cu:ŋ**, Stieng **sù:ŋ** (!), Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **su:ŋ**, Jeh **cù:ŋ** *axe*, Halang **cù:ŋ** *axe-blade, mattock*.

Perhaps ← Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)cù:ŋ, Jarai jù:ŋ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *[ji]juŋ (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, *bali[j]juŋ, a Proto-West-Indonesian prefixed form); Stieng suggests a byform in *ʔc-!

(BLOOD 1966 241; SMITH 1972 112.)

527 *cuuŋ to eat [rice].

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **su:ŋ**, Bunör **so:ŋ**, Biat **cho:ŋ**, Bahnar **səŋ**, Jeh, Halang **coŋ**.

With North Bahnaric vocalism cf. 986 *cuut; 1559a *cʔuur; 1984 *cuh; probably by secondary diphthongization (*cʔuuŋ > *cəuŋ) as in 43 *cuuʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 15; SMITH 1972 145.)

528 *cu[ə]ŋ; *cəŋ; *ciəŋ kind of small mammal.

A: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi **bsong** *mongoose, weasel* (with **b-** perhaps by attraction **bshad** *civet-cat, mongoose*).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **cəŋ** [ŋkah] *porcupine*, Sre [pi] **səŋ** *paradoxure*, *Paradoxurus indicus*, Biat [mpi:k] **chəŋ** *fox*.

C: (Khasi) ~ Khasi *myrsiang* fox, jackal.

Cf. Khmer *kəpɔ̀rò:ŋ* fox, perhaps by contraction < **kuun* *crcuun*.

Proto-Austronesian **mut'aŋ* civet-cat (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Vietnamese *chồn* fox.

‡529 **[ʔ]cuŋ*; **[ʔ]cuuŋ* upper end.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *coŋ* end, tip; (or B) → Acehnese *cong* above.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre *couŋ* end, top, Chrau *co:ŋ* tip, branches, of tree, Biat *co:ŋ* end.

Cf. 299 **pc[ɔ]k*; but connection dubious 521 **ceŋ* point... .

Proto-Austronesian **qu(N)d'uŋ*: Malay (*h*)*ujong* end, tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65, **hud'uŋ*; cf. SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 48.)

‡530 **kcəŋ* stretched, to stretch.

A: (Palaungic, ? North Asian) Palaung *cəŋ* to be stretched, to stretch (MILNE 1931), Praok *coŋ* to be firm, stiff, Semang *chong* to stretch out legs (if correctly glossed; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 488); ~ Riang-Lang *kəsaŋ* to be straight.

*-c- confirmed by Indonesian, below. Cf. A36 **[c]oŋ* straight. 567 **st₁iŋ* &c. *taut*, to stretch is hardly connected

Sora *jo:ŋ*- to stretch [body], Kharia *juŋ* to stretch out legs, &c. (?; PINNOW 1959 361; Proto-Munda **joŋ* or **jəŋ*?).

Proto-Austronesian **kəNk'əŋ*: Javanese *kěncĕng* taut, straight..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

With Munda cf. also Proto-Austronesian **kə(N)d'aŋ* stiff, DAHL 1973 § 20.7 (Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 399-400.

531 **tca[a]ŋ* to wait, to attend on.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar *ca:ŋ* to wait, Jeh *ca:ŋ* to stay with dying person, Halang *ca:ŋ* to support; probably → Cham *ca:ŋ*, Röglai [*do*]caŋ, North Röglai *ca:k* to wait; ~ (**tpca[a]ŋ*) → Jarai *p'ca:ŋ* to wait.

Hardly connected, as SCHMIDT 1905, 1325 **ca(a)m*. (SMITH 1972 166.)

‡532 **bciŋ*; **bciŋ*; **bciəŋ* to incline, be aslant.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *chênh* to be tilted, slanting.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ci:ŋ* to lean; ~ Biat *nchi:ŋ* to lean against (v.t.), (~?) West Bahnar *həci:ŋ* on a slope (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Middle Mon *ceñ* /*ceŋ*/, Modern Mon *ceaŋ* to decline, Khmer *jiəñ* leaning towards (GUESDON 1930; → Thai *c^hiaŋ* deviating, deflected, → Khmer *chiəŋ* = *jiəñ*, → Kuy *chi:ŋ* leaning), Bahnar *ce:ŋ* (with c-, for *j-, by levelling on derivation) on a slope; ~ West Bahnar *həce:ŋ* leaning (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *pasiaŋ* inclining, slanting; by secondary derivation ~ Mon *həceaŋ* *daceñ* to incline, Khmer *jajiañ* leaning, to go to one side (GUESDON 1930).

Cf. further Khmer **crìəŋ** *leaning over* (by back-formation from ***cæcriəŋ** < ***crciəŋ**?); Khasi **pashing** *sideways*; Kuy **sɛ:ŋ** & Bru **sɛ:ŋ** *to go down, descend*.
Sora **ob'se'ŋ-** &c. *to be turned round, to turn [something] over* = **ob'seŋ-[le]** *sideways, leaning*; **seŋ-** *to squint*.

‡532a ***[r]caŋ** *to prick, pierce, insert*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **cɛŋ** *to prick, pierce, to thread through*; ~ (***[r]ncaŋ** >) Kammu-Yuan **[ɲiat] ɲàŋ** *to prick, pierce, stick in, put (into)*.

Proto-Austronesian ***[ɣr]aŋk'aŋ** *to insert*: Malay **ranchang** *sticking up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, ***[l]°**; less Javanese, ad following; Proto-West-Indonesian). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

‡533 ***[r]caŋ** *rack, framework*.

(Mon) Mon **cɛŋ** *rack, bin, framework, staging*; → Burmese **cañ**.

Connection uncertain Khasi **rynsan** *platform, gallery*. For Mon **hneŋ** *spoke, rib of side of cart* see 598 ***cŋəŋ**.

Proto-Austronesian ***raŋk'aŋ**: Karo Batak **ranchang** *drying-rack for tobacco*, Acehnese **rancang** *fowl-basket*, Javanese **ranchang** *set up, framed, (-an) framework* (Proto-West-Indonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 101 refers Javanese to base cited ad preceding. Note also ***raŋd'aŋ** *twilled work* (ib., Proto-West-Indonesian), with which Acehnese shows contamination.

534 ***lmcəŋ** *kind of water-lily*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kəcəŋ** **lacañ** *kind of water-lily*, Khmer **lùmcəŋ** *blue lotus*.

535 ***scaɪŋ** *to shine*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **sāñ** *to shine*, Khmer **caɛŋ** *shining* (& *to explain, make clear*); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **cəɲcaɛŋ** *bright...*

Cf. 489 ***cʔaɪŋ**; 523 ***caŋ** *to glitter*. But connection uncertain A35 ***[c]a[a]ŋ** *clear, limpid*.

535a ***jiəŋ** *friend*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **yiəŋ** *friend (term of address)*, Biat, Jeh **jiaŋ** *friend*, Halang **jiaŋ** *friend (term of address)*.

(SMITH 1972 149.)

536 ***jaaŋ** *to fish with scoop-net*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **càŋ**; ~ (***jrjaaŋ** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔacuaŋ** *to net [fish]*; ~ Mon **hnàŋ**, Khmer **chnì:əŋ** *scoop-net*.

Connection dubious Riang-Lang **ːviŋ**, Shan **wiŋ** *scoop-net*.

537 *j[ol]ŋ; *j[ool]ŋ *long, high*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Bahnar **yɔŋ** *important, great*, Khmu' **joŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **coŋ**, Central Nicobarese **cəŋ** *high*, Nancowry **cóŋ**.
 B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **jɔ:ŋ** *long*, Sre **jo:ŋ** *long, high, tall*; ~ Bahnar **kəju:ŋ** *high, long, big*.
 Connect 690 *jruŋ &c.?

†538(I) *juŋ; *juəŋ; *jəŋ; *jəəŋ *foot, leg*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon **juñ** /**juəŋ**/, Modern Mon **cəŋ**, Palaung **juəŋ**, Riang-Lang **cəŋ**, Praok **caŋ** *foot, leg*, Temiar **juk**, Semelai **jəŋ** *foot*; ~ Old Mon **jiñjuñ**, Middle Mon **dayon**, Modern Mon **həyəŋ** *post*, Praok **[num]** **jaŋ** *foundation*.
 B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cuaŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **[hlaʔ]** **cuaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **[hlaʔ]** **chuaŋ** *foot*.
 C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Biat **jəŋ**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **jəŋ** *foot, leg*; (or D; ?) ~ rare Old Mon **jiñjiñ** ?/jəŋjəŋ/ *post*.
 D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **jeñ**, Modern Khmer **cə:ŋ** *foot, leg* (→ Thai **cʰəəŋ** *foot, base*, → Kuy **chə:ŋ**), Kuy **juə:ŋ** & Bru **ʔayə:ŋ** (!) *feet*, Stieng (or C?) **jə:ŋ**, **jə:ŋ** *foot, leg*, Jeh, Halang **jə:ŋ** *foot*.
 C, D secondary, perhaps (in part) regular in context; cf. here 254 *jhooʔ &c., 385 *yuk &c. Sep. Vietnamese **chơn** *foot*, **chân** *leg*, < 1138 *cə(ə)n.

†538(II) *jəŋ (& *jəəŋ?); *jiŋ; *jiəŋ; *juəŋ *to stand*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) East Bahnar, Jölong **jə:ŋ** *to become* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < variant?; beside Rōngao **je:ŋ**), Palaung **jəŋ**, Praok, Mae Sariang **cəŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **coŋ**, Lawa Umphai **choŋ**, Khasi **iəŋ**, Mah Meri **jək** *to stand*; ~ (*jŋjəŋ >) Palaung by dissimilation **kəŋjəŋ** *to be, set, upright*, Praok **juŋ** *to be upright*, Semai **jiŋjək** *to stand*; ~ Central Nicobarese **cəŋəŋ** *quantifier for trees, posts, &c.*
 B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **cəŋ** *to stand*; ~ Kuy (t)**yəŋ** *to stand*, (~?) Riang-Lang **təncəŋ** *to be vertical*.
 C: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **je:ŋ**, Bahnar **ji:ŋ** *to become*.
 D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **yəŋ** *to get up*, Halang **yəŋ** *to stand*, (~?) Bahnar **ʔyu:ŋ** *to stand up*.

Connected further North Aslian forms (Kensiu **həŋjaŋ**). A probably originally by arbitrary variation (though old, cf. Austronesian); other variants then secondary. *To become* contaminated if not ← Indonesian, cf. e.g. Rōglai **jəŋ** *to be, exist*, Rade **ji:ŋ** *to become* (BLOOD 1966), < *d'əŋd'əŋ, below. Connected with (I) or (II) 691 *jruŋ &c. *post; upright*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 28, 30, 536; BLOOD 1966 36, 119; SMITH 1972 111; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 220.)

Sora **jʔe:ŋ-ən**, (compounding form) **je-ŋ-ən**, Kharia **-juŋ** *foot, leg*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 365).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'əŋ**: Javanese **jěŋ** *stand* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; BENEDICT 1975 adds Ami); (ii) ***d'əŋd'əŋ**: Toba Batak **jongjong** *to stand*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) Javanese **jěŋěŋ** *post*, **njěŋěŋ** *to stand*. Not ← Mon-Khmer in view of Formosan! See BENEDICT 1975 396. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 53.)

†539 ***juuŋ** *rain, to rain*.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Palaung **juŋ** (*to*) *rain*, Riang-Lang **_cuŋ** *rain*, (?) Khasi **juŋ** *to urinate*.

Cf. 1606 ***jur**[] &c. *to descend, fall*.

Sora **əje:ŋ**-[**'gum-**] *to shower*, (**-əŋ**) *shower*.

540 ***sjaŋ** *kind of sword*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **səŋ-sjaŋ** &c. *sword*, Bahnar **saŋ** *small curved sword or knife*, Jeh **caŋ** *small knife*, Halang **caŋ** *knife*.

(SMITH 1972 126.)

541 ***naŋ** *larva*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **_naŋ** *caterpillar*, Khasi **'niang** /**naŋ**/ (~ **khñiang**) *worm, insect*.

Sep. Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **puŋ** *mosquito*, ← Tai.

(***[b]**rpuəŋ see 706 ***briəŋ** *rainbow*.)

542 ***t₁iə[ŋ]** *tail*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **tiaŋ**, Chrau **tiəŋ**, Biat **ciaŋ**, Bahnar **kieŋ**, Jeh **te:ŋ**, Halang **teaŋ**. (SHAFER 1965 81, 543; BLOOD 1966 108; SMITH 1972 92.)

‡543 ***t₁aŋ** *joint, jointed stem*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **tañ** /**taŋ**/ *joint*, Modern Mon **teŋ** *joint, section between joints, stalk*, Bahnar **taŋ** *pipe*; ~ Khmer **thanŋ** *joint*; ~ Jeh **kataŋ** *section*, Halang **kətaŋ** *water-pipe*; ~ Khasi **gyntang** *stalk*; ~ Nancowry **pintán** *cane*.

Connect Riang-Lang **ṭkətəŋ** *elbow, cubit*; perhaps Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **taŋ** *shoot* (< ***t₁a[a]ŋ**; contaminated by 562 ***bt₁əŋ** *plant...*?); & note Praok **joŋ** *joint*. Cf. following. (SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Proto-Austronesian ***taNkai**: Malay **tangkai** *stem*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128).

543a ***t₂aŋ**; ***t₂a[a]ŋ** *knee*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang **[^hkiŋ]** **saŋ**, by contraction of compound (cf. Bahnar **below** & 1706 ***[^h]kuul**) Sre **kəltəŋ**, by vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir **kaltoŋ**, Semelai **kaltuŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[ku:k]** **ta:ŋ**, Bahnar **[ku:l]** **ta:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40 (a).)

544 *t₁aŋ to roast, bake.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **təŋ** to roast, steam, heat, Riang-Lang **ˀtaŋ** to bake in open dish, Praok **toŋ** to broil, Lawa Bo Luang **taŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təŋ** to broil, grill, Khasi **thang** to burn, roast, cremate.

(SHAFFER 1965 396.)

544a *taaŋ to extend, stretch

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Muong) ~ Khmer **trədaŋ** to stretch out [limbs], (or next?) Vietnamese **đang** to stretch out, spread out, extend; ~ Kuy **ntaŋ** widely spaced.

Cf. **567 *st₁iŋ** &c. ...to stretch; **577a *jdaŋ** &c. spread wide, outstretched. (Cf. POULSEN & JENNER 1975 no. 31 (a).)

545 *t₁a[a]ŋ to take the place of.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **taŋ** substitute, to take the place of, Bahnar **taŋ** to take the place of, Jeh, Halang **taŋ** in place of.

(SMITH 1972 162.)

546 *təŋ; *təwŋ to pull, to draw water.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon **tān** to bring away, rescue, Modern Mon **təŋ** to pull, draw [water inter alia], lead, (B) Khmer **dəwŋ** to draw water, (A) Bahnar **təŋ** to draw, scoop up.

Connect obscure Sre **gəltuŋ** to pull towards one (DOURNES 1950); or Vietnamese **duong** to open [umbrella], draw [bow]. Cf. **570 *dəwŋ**.

547 *t₁əwŋ handle.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **dəwŋ** (→ Cham **ḍaui**), Kuy **taŋ**, Stieng **toŋ**, Chrau **təwŋ** handle, Biat **təwŋ** (— **jra:**) crutch, (— **nji:**) balance, Bahnar **təwŋ** quantifier for guns, swords, axes, &c., Jeh **toŋ** quantifier for tools, Halang **toaŋ** quantifier for long tools; ~ (***təwŋ** >) Biat **ntəwŋ** handle.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SMITH 1972 173.)

***548 *t₁uuŋ to carry on pole between two.**

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **tuŋ**, Jeh **tuaŋ**; ~ Halang **hətuaŋ**; ~ Sre **təruŋ** (→ Röglai), Biat **[gre:] rnuŋ** litter, Bahnar **tənuŋ** carrying-pole, (pole of) litter, Jeh **tanuaŋ** carrying-pole, load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Cf. **565 *rt₁uuŋ** &c. ladder, bridge.

(SHAFFER 1965 78; BLOOD 1966 242; SMITH 1972 114.)

Proto-Austronesian ***ut'uŋ**: Malay **usong-an** litter, hammock, stretcher, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163; Proto-Hesperonesian). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, given consonantism.

†549 ***t₁uɯŋ** *to light*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **tuŋ** *to light [lamp &c.]* .

Connect 1004 ***t₁ut** c.?

Sora **tuŋ- in tuŋ'(g)eb-** *to burn (v.t.)*, '**tuŋab-** *to set fire to cleared timber*.

Proto-Austronesian ***tutuŋ**: Toba Batak **tutung** *to burn*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

550 ***[ʔ]t₁eeŋ** *to do*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **taeŋ** *to create, to have the habit of, [do &c.] habitually*, Khmu' **te:ŋ** *to make*; ~ (***[ʔ]bteen** >) Stieng **te:ŋ** *to direct, be in charge*.

†551 ***[ʔ]nt₁aŋ** *brain*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **həntaŋ**; ~ Thin **kəntaŋ** *brain, skull*.

Sora **ə'taŋ-ən**.

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***qu(N)tək** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163, ***c₁utak**, ***u(n)tək**; DYEN 1953 § 118).

†552 ***ʔt₁uɯŋ** *afraid, to fear*.

A: (Kuy, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**tu:ŋ**, Khasi **tieng** (!; & Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., **tyoŋ**), Temiar **tu:k**; ~ Kensiu **ʔəntəŋ**; ~ Semelai **bəthəŋ**.

***t₁** in view of Munda

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 48.)

Sora **'bato:ŋ-**, Kharia **'bətəŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 261).

553 ***knt₂iin** *bone*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:ŋ**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **nti:ŋ**, Bahnar **kəti:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **kasiaŋ**. (SHAHER 1965 371; BLOOD 1966 221; SMITH 1972 83.)

†554 ***kt₂aŋ** *bitter*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **kəteŋ**, Katuic, (Chrau ←) Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **taŋ**, Rōngao **saŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **cáŋ**, Palaung **səŋ**, Riang-Lang **ˀcaŋ**, Praok **soŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **saŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **səŋ** (*to be*) *bitter*, Khasi **kthang** *bitter*, **ksang** *bitter; bile, gall*, Vietnamese **đắng**, Semang **kedeg** *bitter* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 232 (a)); ~ Literary Mon **gamtaŋ** *bitter*, Modern Mon **həteŋ** in **hləm həteŋ** *Persian lilac, neem*, Sre **bətaŋ** (→ Rōglai), (probably =, by assimilation) Jeh, Halang **ʔnaŋ** *bitter*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Khasi **byrthang** *bitter*, (**lam-** —) *bitterish*; (ii) Central Nicobarese **pentəŋ** *bile*, Nancowry **pintán** *gall-bladder*.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Hence Proto-Yao ***ʔnáaŋ** (BENEDICT 1975 369, *salty...* (II))?

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAHER 1965 75; SMITH 1972 136.)

Sora ə'sa'ŋ-, Kharia ɔ'sɔŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 247).

555 *kt₁əŋ; *kt₁aŋ to hear.

A: (Bahnaric, Aslian) Central Rölöm təŋ, Bahnar təŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Sedang taŋ); ~ (*krt₁əŋ >) Bahnar kətəŋ, Sakai gərtêk to hear (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 6 (c)); ~ (*knt₁əŋ >) Kensiu ʔəntiŋ, Temiar gentək, Semaq Beri ntəŋ, Semelai təŋ ear.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau caŋ to hear, listen, Stieng ta:ŋ, Biat taŋ to hear.

B secondary; post-dental?

Connect Central Nicobarese na:ŋ ear, Nancowry nán ear, hintúaytanán message. Cf.

575 *kndaŋ to listen to.

(BLOOD 1966 272; SMITH 1972 102.)

556 *kt₁ɔŋ pot, jar.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) (~?) Thin k(ə)təŋ; ~ Lawa Bo Luang taŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndoŋ.

***557 *kt₁uŋ *kt₁uəŋ, hole, pit.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon kton /ktuŋ/, Modern Mon kətaŋ hole in ground, mine, Chrau chuŋ hole [in ground], Palaung tuŋ (?) ditch (MILNE 1931).

B: (Khmer; ~?) Old Khmer antvan, Modern Khmer ʔəndo:ŋ well, (— rae) mine (contaminated by ʔəndau ditch, hole, cave < **72 *nt₁uu?**; → Biat [ndrəm] du:ŋ well).

Palaung perhaps correct to təŋ, implying a variant *[k]t₁əŋ; for which cf. Cham taŋ, Röglai təŋ, North Röglai tək deep place in river.

(?) Sora kuntuŋ-[sa:m-ən] rectum (referred by RAMAMURTI 1938 to kun'tuŋ-ən tube).

***558 *jt₁uuŋ; *jt₁uəŋ; *jt₁əŋ to strike, beat, make resonate.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tū:ŋ to beat; kind of drum, Sre touŋ jew's harp, Bahnar du:ŋ resonant percussive sound (& duŋ short percussive sound, by expressive var); ~ Chrau gəto:ŋ jew's harp, Riang-Lang sətəŋ drum (< *jrt₁uuŋ; by metathesis *t₁ruuŋ >) Palaung kruŋ, Lawa Bau Lua khrauw, Lawa Umphai krauw, Mae Sariang khyauŋ drum.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer tū:ŋ = tū:ŋ, Bahnar dɔ:ŋ to hit hard and long.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sre təŋ to strike, Bahnar dəŋ short percussive sound (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& dəŋ resonant percussive sound GUILLEMINET 1959-63, by expressive variation); ~ (*jbt₁əŋ >) Old Mon ju'tuŋ /jətəŋ/ to beat [spear on shield], Literary Mon jatuiŋ to strike [drum, ball] with stick.

Cf. **318 *[j]tək to strike, beat.** (Cf. SMITH 1972 176.)

(?) Sora tuŋ- to cuff, taŋ- to thump, cuff, to pound.

‡559 ***tntəŋ** *to shake, to tremble.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ntəŋ** *to shake* (v.t.), Bahnar **tətəŋ** *to shiver, tremble* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jölong also *to shake* (v.t.).

Proto-Austronesian ***tiŋtiŋ**: Malay **tinting**, Cham **tatiŋ**, **katiŋ** *to sift by shaking*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 138-9).

560 ***tnt₁uŋ**; ***tnt₁uuŋ** *to steal.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Bunör **ntuŋ**, Central Rölöm **tuŋ**, Biat **ntoŋ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **tu:ŋ** (or A?), Bahnar **təto:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **tu:ŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 170; SMITH 1972 117.)

†561 ***nt_[2][e]ŋ** *nerve, sinew.*

A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon **kəteaŋ** *nerve, sinew, muscle*, Bru **satiŋ** (contaminated by 567?). Sora **ne'neŋ-ən** *nerve, vein, tendon* (presumptively < ***nejeŋ** < ***neen** < ***nesen**).

‡562 ***bt₁əŋ**; ***bt₁əəŋ**; ***bt₁uuŋ** *plant, trunk, to plant.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Khmer **tə:ŋ** *stem, trunk* (with unexplained lengthening), Biat **[reh] təŋ** *tap-root*, Palaung **təŋ** *trunk, plant, beginning*, (or B; ~?) Besis (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132) **mětōng** *to plant*.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **təŋ** *trunk, plant*.

C: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **thù:ŋ** *to transplant*, Khasi **thung** *to plant*.

Note also Kuy **stù:ŋ**, Bru **satùəŋ** ← Khmer **smtūŋ** *transplanted (rice) seedlings* (< ***jduuŋ**?).

Proto-Austronesian ***batəŋ**: Malay **batang** *trunk*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 24). See BENEDICT 1975 413.

†563 ***[b]t₁uuŋ**; ***[b]t₁uəŋ** *to soak.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **təŋ** *to soak, steep*; ~ (***[b].t₁uuŋ** >) Vietnamese **đúng** *to dip in vat*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tə:ŋ** *to dip, soak, dye* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **də:ŋ**; so of dialect origin?).

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. ***t₁** in view of Sora.

Sora **'tuŋ-[da:-]** *to soak [boiled rice in sour water]*.

564 ***rmtiŋ** *kind of aromatic plant.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **latiŋ** *kind of flowering plant*, Old Khmer **ramtyaŋ**, Modern Khmer **rùmde:ŋ** *galanga*.

(***rt₁iŋ** ***rt₁iəŋ** see 693 ***t₁raiŋ** *kind of reed*.)

565 *rt₁uəŋ; *rt₁uəŋ ladder, bridge.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *rnt₁uəŋ >) Sre nt_u:ŋ ladder, stair, Chrau rətu:ŋ bridge, Biat nt_u:ŋ footbridge, Thin rənton ladder.

B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Palaung [təŋ] təŋ ladder, stair; ~ (*rnt₁uəŋ by metathesis > *[t₁]nruəŋ >) Kuy nthrù:əŋ stair, Bru ntrùəŋ.

Connected further forms in *-d-: Kammu-Yuan rəŋtò:ŋ, rəntò:ŋ, Riang-Lang ʔrəŋduəŋ ladder, stair; Central Nicobarese hendu:əŋə bridge, poultry-ladder, Nancowry hinrúəŋa bridge. Originally *rnt₁- by metathesis 548 *t₁/rn/uuəŋ carrying-pole, litter, Palaung by back-formation; or *r(n)d-, *-t₁- by contamination?

(BLOOD 1966 233.)

566 *[l]təəŋ to toss up.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar tə:ŋ to throw up, to weigh in hand (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Literary Mon latuiñ, katuiñ to toss (up).

***567 *st₁iŋ; *st₁iəŋ; *[s]t₁aŋ taut, to stretch.**

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer sdəŋ stretched out, to stretch [cloth]; → Thai təŋ to be stretched, → Khmer tɔŋ to be stretched; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan ləŋtəŋ [small object] stretched out.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon steñ /steŋ/, Modern Mon teəŋ to be stretched, taut, Palaung təəŋ to stretch, tighten; → Burmese tañ: to become taut; ~ Old Mon sirteñ to measure with a cord.

C: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Biat thaŋ stretched, taut, Bahnar taŋ to stretch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or < 574 *kdaŋ, which compare), (?) Vietnamese thẳng straight; → Röglai khaŋ stretched, taut; ~ Bahnar cətaŋ, djətaŋ taut, stiff (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham, North Röglai cataŋ stretched; ~ → Röglai tanhaŋ long.

C post-dentally < earlier *[s]t₁aŋ, cf. 555 *kt₁aŋ &c.; or contaminated by *kdaŋ. Cf. further Khmer sənthəŋ to stretch (v.i.t.); Kammu-Yuan ləŋtəŋ [large object] stretched out; & 544a *taəŋ ...to stretch; 577a *jdaəŋ ...out stretched. Hence by metathesis 781 *[t][s]iəŋ crossbow string?

(SCHMIDT 1905 18.)

Proto-Austronesian *ʔə(N)təŋ: Malay rəntang to stretch out tight, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 58; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Malay gətang taut. See BENEDICT 1975 399. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 31.)

568 *[s]təəŋ; *[s]taŋ thin.

A: (Khmer) Khmer sdaəŋ.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khasi stang (or variant? cf. here 592 *[]n₁[əə]ŋ); ~ Bahnar hətaŋ.

Or *c-. Connect Biat [chak] nti:ŋ thin, puny?

569 *[d]a[i]ŋ; *[d]iŋ; *[d]əŋ *large*.A: (Palaungic) Palaung **daŋ**.B: (Palaungic) Praok **tiŋ**.C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **dəŋ**.Variation obscure; expressive? A perhaps contaminated by 577a *jdaŋ *spread wide*...

570 *dŋ to pull.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **tùŋ** to pull back and forth, Stieng **dŋ** to pull, push, Stieng dialect **dŋ** to pull down, Khasi **tong** to draw [water &c.]; ~ Kuy **nthàŋ** to drag, pull.Cf. 546 *t(ɔ)ŋ. But connection dubious Sora **diŋ**-, Kharia **ɗiŋ** to draw, pull, &c., PINNOW 1959 322 (with which cf. Biat **njeŋ**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

571 *d[ɔ]ŋ to help.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **dŋ** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **dŋ**.

(SHAFER 1965 128.)

572 *duŋ pelican.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **tàŋ** kinds of bird including stork and pelican, Khmer **tùŋ** pelican; → Burmese **dum**; ~ → Thai **krat^huŋ**; Cham **kaḍuŋ** (!).

573 *d[ʷə]ŋ? to receive.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Old Mon **dūn** /**duŋ**/, Modern Mon **təŋ** to receive, accept, Kuy **thəŋ**, Bru **toŋ**!, Biat **dŋ** to collect [rainwater] (or : Riang-Lang, below?), Stieng **doŋ** to receive, Thin **duəŋ** to take, accept, Vietnamese **đựng** to contain, hold, (**chịu** —) to bear, endure; (?) ~ Chrau **vədəŋ** to collect [rainwater].Connect obscure Riang-Lang **ˈdŋ**; or Khasi **'diang**, **pdiang**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

*574 *kdaŋ stretched, stiff.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **daŋ** stretched, stiff, Biat **daŋ** hard, stiff, strong, Bahnar **daŋ** to tighten (by levelling on derivation? GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **taŋ** to stretch, perhaps rather < 567 ***[s]t₁aŋ**, which compare); ~ Sre **kəldaŋ**, Bahnar by assimilation **tədaŋ** hard, stiff.

Cf. further 577a *jdaŋ &c. ...outstretched.

(BLOOD 1966 343.)

Proto-Austronesian ***gə(N)daŋ**: Jarai **daŋ** to stretch[arm] out (→ Chrau **daŋ**), b^a-**g^anaŋ** to lean [something] against, Röglai **gənaŋ** to stretch out, to lean against, North Röglai **ganāŋ** to lean against, Karo Batak **gedang** length, Malay **kědang**, **gědang** to stretch [arm] out, Iban **kedang** to straighten (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, early.

†575 ***kndaŋ** *to listen to*.

(Mon) Mon **kələŋ**.

Cf. 555 ***kt₁əŋ** &c. *to hear*.

Sora **am'daŋ-**, **andaŋ-** *to hear, listen*.

576 ***[k]duuŋ** *to project*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Mon **hətəŋ** *promontory*, Khasi **kyrtung** *prominent (ly), bulging*; ~ (***[k]bduuŋ** >) Praok **taoŋ** *to hold out*.

577 **Kdiŋ**; ***Kdu[]ŋ** *wild ox*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **khtì:ŋ**, Thin **k(ə)tiŋ**; → Thai **krat^hiŋ** *Bos gaurus*; ~ (***Kndii[ŋ]** >) Mon **kəloŋ** *gaur*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəntiŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N8).

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **kyrtong** *bull, ox*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 248, *cattle, buffalo*; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 38

but connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***baNtiŋ** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 25, ***baŋtiŋ**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

577a ***jdaŋ**; ***jdaaŋ**; ***jdaiŋ** *spread wide, outstretched*.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) ~ Khmer **cəmtəəŋ**, **cùmtəəŋ** *to stand with legs wide apart*, Kuy with secondary lengthening **nthà:ŋ** *to plant [feet] wide apart* (contaminated by 687 ***jnraaŋ**, which compare).

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Mon **tàiŋ** *to be outstretched*; ~ (B) Khmer **srətì:əŋ** *stretched out*, (C) Khasi **jyrtieng** [*to sit*] *with legs stretched out*.

Cf. further 327 ***daik** &c.; 574 ***kdaŋ** *stretch, stiff*; 544a ***taaŋ** *to extend, stretch*; 567 ***st₁iŋ** &c. ...*to stretch*.

*578 ***t₂diŋ**; ***t₂diŋ**; ***t₂diəŋ** *wall, fence*.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂ndiŋ** >) Praok **diŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **təiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ndeŋ**, Mae Sariang **ndeŋ** *wall*; → Shan **tèŋ**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **di:ŋ** *wall*.

C: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **tadeŋ** /**tədeŋ**/ *screen, railing*, Modern Mon **hətəŋ** (merging 580 ***bdaŋ**, which compare) (*wall of*) *twilled bamboo*; ~ Khasi **syrdeng** *fence, plank partition*.

Proto-Austronesian ***diŋdiŋ**: Malay **dinding** *wall*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40).

(***dndu(u)ŋ** see following.)

†579 ***nduŋ**; ***dnduŋ**; ***dnduuŋ**; ***[l]nduŋ** *eel*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ʔəntùəŋ** (!; cf. B), Kuy **nthùŋ**, Stieng **ndhu:ŋ** (or C?), Sre, Chrau, Biat **nduŋ**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **tùəntùŋ** (TANDART 1935; & **tùəntùəŋ**, by assimilation?).

C: (Mon) Mon **həlèŋ** *dalun* *small variety of eel*.

D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rənuŋ** *kind of eel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also East Bahnar **nənuŋ**).

B, C secondary unless ← Indonesian (i), below. D ↔ Indonesian (iii); for variant cf. 320 *(l)nt₁aak.

Kharia **ɖuŋɖuŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 124).

Proto-Austronesian (i; ***ɖuŋɖuŋ**) Karo Batak **dungdung**, → Gayo **dëndung**; (ii)

*(q)[i]Nduŋ: Acehnese **ndong** *eel*, Cebuano Bisayan **indung** *kind of moray eel* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) ***liNduŋ** ~ ***luNduŋ**: Acehnese **linɔŋ** *kind of eel*, Cham **lanuŋ** *eel*, &c., Malay [**ular**] **londong** *kind of sea-snake*, Iban **lundong** *eel*. Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***maluŋ** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, Proto-West-Indonesian).

580 ***ɖdaŋ** *walling material*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon **hətèaŋ** (*wall of*) *twilled bamboo* (in part, **phadaŋ**; merging Old Mon **tadeŋ** < 578 ***t₂diəŋ**, which compare), Khmer **phtèaŋ** *panel, leaf, partition*, Nancowry **tán** *fence, to fence, to erect walls*; (?) ~ Khasi **lyntang** *plank*.

(***[l]nduŋ** see 578 ***nduŋ** *eel*; ***ɖuŋ** see 492 ***di?uŋ** *house*; (*bag, pocket*) 791 ***d₁huŋ** *tub*.)

581 ***ɖuŋ** *clan territory*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon **ɖūn** /**ɖuŋ**/, Modern Mon **dəŋ** *city, town, state*, Kammu-Yuan **tò:ŋ** *section of village with meeting-house*.

(***ɖuŋ** *bag, pocket*. see 791 ***d₁huŋ**; ***[d]uŋ** see 335a ***ɖuuk** (*kind of*) *monkey*.)

582 ***kdiŋ** *navel*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənti:ŋ**, Thin **kəndiŋ**, Riang-Lang **kəndiŋ**; ~ Thin **kədiŋ** (?), Palaung **kərdiŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **tiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rathiŋ**, Mae Sariang **yatiŋ**, **latiŋ**.

Suffixed form ad 85 ***ɖii?** *middle*...? Kammu-Yuan **liŋ**, Thin **liŋ** *middle* conceivably reflect a variant ***kdiŋ**. But connection dubious Sakai **pariŋ** *navel*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 17.

†583 ***kdaŋ** *to cook*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **jaŋ**, Riang-Lang **dəŋ**.

Sora **djŋ**-(**djŋ**-), Kharia **dəŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 342; Proto-Munda ***ɖdiŋ**?).

Proto-Austronesian ***rə(N)d₁aŋ**: Acehnese **röndang**, Karo Batak **rendang**, Malay **rëndang** *to fry*, Cebuano Bisayan **lárang** *to seethe in coconut milk* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); → Sakai **rëndang** *to fry* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 239), &c.

(***kduŋ** see 903 ***kdiŋ** bamboo-joint.)

584 *jduuŋ; *jduəŋ winnowing-basket.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **du:ŋ**, Biat **do:ŋ**; → Rōglai **cədok**, North Rōglai **cadok**; Shan **lòŋ**; ~ (*jnduuŋ >) Sre **douŋ**, Chrau **gədo:ŋ**; ~ (*j[p]duuŋ >) Khasi **pdung**.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **nong**.
(BLOOD 1966 3.)

585 *t₁duəŋ stalk, tail.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer by dissimilation **stò:ŋ** *stem of bananas*, Kuy **thù:əŋ** *stalk*, Bru **duŋ** *tail of fowl* (< *-əŋ?), Kammu-Yuan **tò:ŋ** *tail of bird*, Khasi **tdong** *tail*.

Note *stalk, tail* may be separate. Cf. semantically French *queue*.

***586 *tduŋ; *tduəŋ; *td[ə]ŋ umbrella.**

A: (Mon, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tdon** /**tduŋ**/, Modern Mon **dan**, Kuy **thùŋ** [hù:], (?) Stieng **do:ŋ** [iu:].

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **də:ŋ** [yu:] *umbrella*, Palaung **duŋ** *quantifier for umbrellas*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **tan-**, **təəŋ-** [yù:].

Proto-Austronesian ***tuduŋ**: Javanese **tudung** *sun-hat*, Samar-Leyte Bisayan **turóng** *protection from rain*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

***587 *d₁rduŋ; *d₁rduəŋ egg-plant, bottle-gourd.**

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **tərdəŋ** *bottle-gourd*, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaton**, Lawa Umphai **rathon** *snake-gourd*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon (in toponym) **daḍon** /**dəḍon**/, Modern Mon **hədon** *egg-plant*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***tərʔəŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N90), Palaung **kərdəŋ** *bottle-gourd*.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***dVʔuŋ** &c., cf. Austronesian. Cf. 747 ***n[l]uŋ** &c.

Proto-Austronesian ***t/ar/əuŋ** (?) *egg-plant*: Acehnese **truəŋ**, Cham **trəŋ**, Malay **těrong**, &c.; Javanese **těrong**, with secondary **é** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134-5, ***təluŋ**, discarding Javanese **těrong** *sea-slug*; Proto-Hesperonesian); → Bahnar **tro:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

588 *p[d]aŋ dry season.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **prañ**, Modern Khmer **praŋ** *dry season*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau **praŋ** *dry [weather]*, Biat, Bahnar **praŋ** *dry [weather]*, [rain] to stop, Mường **đẩng** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **nắng** *sunshine, to be sunny*; ~ Proto-Semai ***pnraŋ** *sunshine* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

With consonantism cf. 1363 *p[d]am. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Cham **pha:ŋ**, Jarai, Röglai **phaŋ** *dry [season]*; so perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *p/Vr/[]ʔaŋ.

(SHAFFER 1965 456; BLOOD 1966 371; SMITH 1972 133.)

589 *pɗaŋ *crack, to crack.*

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **da:ŋ** *crack [in wood, earth]*, Sre **da:ŋ** *to crack*, Khasi **pɗaŋ** *crack, crevice, to crack*; ~ (*pɗaŋ >) Biat **da:ŋ** *(to) crack*; ~ (*pɗaŋ >) Sre **rɗaŋ** *[earth] cracked by drought* (→ Röglai), Bahnar **hɗa:ŋ** *[wood, earth, skin] to be liable to cracking.*

590 *rɗiŋ; *rɗiəŋ *road, track.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **deŋ**; ~ Palaung **rɗeŋ**, Riang-Lang **rəŋdeŋ**.

B: (South Bahnaric) → Vietnamese **đường** *road* (?); ~ (*pɗiəŋ >) Sre **pɗyaŋ** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **diəŋ**, Biat **rɗe:ŋ** *to cart*; → Jarai **pɗi:ŋ**. (BLOOD 1966 101.)

(*rɗuəŋ see 565 *rt₁uŋ *ladder, bridge*.)

591 *naaŋ *kind of hardwood tree.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **nə:ŋ** - [nə:ən &c.] *kind of hardwood tree*, Stieng **na:ŋ** *superior kind of ironwood*; ~ Middle Mon **'anān** in toponym, Modern Mon **ənāiŋ** *Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh*; → Burmese **'anan**: *Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh*.

592 * []n₁[əə]ŋ *to know.*

(Khmuic, Khasi). Kammu-Yuan **nə:ŋ**, Thin **nuaŋ**, **hnuəŋ**, **ʔnuəŋ** *to know*, Khasi **nang** *to be able, to know.*

With Khasi vocalism cf. 568 * [s]təəŋ.

†593 * []n₂uŋ *in.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **lɔŋ**; ~ Khmer **knəŋ**, Kuy **(k)noŋ**, Stieng **kənu:ŋ** *in, inside*, Biat **knəŋ** *in.*
(?) Sora **lo:ŋ** *inside.*

594 *kn₁a[i]ŋ; *kn₁iəŋ *kind of resinous tree.*

A: (Mon) Mon **naŋ** [sem] *pine.*

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang **kəniəŋ** *Dipterocarpus resin.*

595 *kn₁ɔŋ *floor timber.*

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **nəŋ** **knān** *timber supporting joists, sill*, Khasi **khnon**, by assimilation Central Nicobarese **tənəŋ** *joist.*

Cf. 598 *cn₁ɔŋ *framework.*

596 *[g]n₁iŋ; *gn₁iŋ to lean, incline.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kərnəŋ to bend, bend over (v.i.t.).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *g[n]n₁iŋ >) Sre gəniŋ to take refuge with a protector (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar gəniŋ to lean, prop, against, Kammu-Yuan kəlnè:ŋ to go down, [sun] to decline, to put down.

Connect B50 *[j][]n₁əŋ to lean, recline?

597 *gnaiŋ; *gniəŋ (& *gniŋ?) tusk, eye-tooth.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) ~ (*gnnaiŋ > ?) Stieng gəne:ŋ (→ Sre gəneŋ, or < *-iŋ?); ~ (*gpnaiŋ >) Kuy (k)ne:ŋ tooth, Vietnamese nanh tusk, eye-tooth.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau gəniəŋ boar's tusk, Biat ne:ŋ, Jölong gəniəŋ tusk, eye-tooth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connection dubious 603 *p[e]ŋ to attack with boar's tusk (but vocalism in part by contamination?). Note also A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

598 *cn₁ɔŋ framework.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer chnɔŋ rim, back [of chair], framework [of side of cart], bar [of window], (~?) Palaung sənɔŋ trellis (MILNE 1931).

Mon hnəŋ spoke, rib of side of cart by attraction cəŋ rack, bin, framework, staging, < 533 *[r]caŋ. Cf. 595 *kn₁ɔŋ floor timber.

†**599** *t₁n₁iəŋ forehead.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon tneñ /tneŋ/, Modern Mon neaŋ; ~ Mnar tənjaŋ (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Sora tənɪŋ-[kaɣ-ən], ta'niŋ-[kaɣ-ən].

Proto-Austronesian *[k]əniŋ eyebrows: Malay kəning, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 78; Proto-West-Indonesian); → Serting (i.e. Semelai) kening, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 431 (d).

On distributional grounds Proto-Austronesian *t- might equally be reconstructed, with dissimilation Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

600 *[t₂]n₁iəŋ fin.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon (h)neaŋ [kaʔ] fin, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saniaŋ dorsal fin.

Mon hn- probably by dialect borrowing, favoured by popular etymology from hneaŋ wing, < following. Note Khmer trənùŋ backbone, dorsal fin, central vein of leaf.

(*[l]nuuŋ see 747 *n[l]uŋ gourd, egg-plant.)

†601 *sn₁iəŋ *wing*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, North & Central Asian) Middle Mon *sneñ* /sneŋ/, Modern Mon *hneŋ*, Khasi [*thap*]-*niang* (compounding form!), Semang *sinyeng* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 117), by dissimilation Jehai *kəŋeŋ*, Temiar *kenye:k*.

~ B51 *[]piəŋ?

Sora [ər]-ə'ne:ŋ-ən.

602 *piŋ *pool, marsh*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *paŋ* *reservoir fish-trap of permanent type*, Old Khmer *piñ*, Modern Khmer *bɿŋ* *lake, pool, marsh*; → Thai *buaŋ* *marsh, marshland*, perhaps → Lawa Bo Luang *mbəiŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *mbiŋ* *mud*.

Cf. 628 *[d]baŋ[] &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13 (b).)

603 *p[e]ŋ *to attack with horn or tusk*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Kuy *pɛ:ŋ* *to attack with horn*, Bru *tape:ŋ* *to gore*, Sre *peŋ* *to attack with horn, tusk*, Chrau *pɛ:ŋ* *to stub one's toe against*, Biat *pɛ:ŋ* *to attack with tusk*; (?) ~ Mon *neŋ* *barb [of fishhook]*.

Cf. 597 *gnaiŋ &c. *tusk, eye-tooth*.

604 *paŋ *to listen (to)*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon *pañ* [*rmiñ*], Modern Mon *peŋ* [*mòiŋ*], West Bahnar *paŋ* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham *paŋ* *to hear*, Röglai *pak* *to listen*. (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

605 *paəŋ *mouth, opening*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Asian, Nicobaric, ?Khmuic) Old Mon *pāñ* /*paŋ*/, Modern Mon *paŋ* *mouth, opening*, Khmer *ba:ŋ* *bay, gulf, seaport*, Mah Meri *pak*, Central Nicobarese [*oal*]-*fa:ŋ* *mouth*, Nancowry *ʔuálfáŋ*; ~ Semai *mpa:k* *mouth*; ? ~ Thin *pənnəŋ* *cave*.

~ 484 *ʔaəŋ *to open [mouth]...*? Cf. also following.

(SHAFFER 1965 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 202.)

606 *pa[a]ŋ *to open*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin *paŋ*; ~ (*[p]npa[a]ŋ >) Praok *baŋ*.

= preceding? or causative ~ 276 *riʔaəŋ?

607 *pəŋ *to hammer, nail*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *pəŋ* *to hammer on, pound*, Sre *pəŋ*, Biat *pəŋ* *to drive in*, Bahnar *pəŋ* *to nail, to peg*, Jeh *pàŋ* *to drive nail*, Halang *pəŋ* *to hammer*.

(SHAFFER 1965 101; BLOOD 1966 128; SMITH 1972 99.)

608 *p[ɔ̌]ŋ *tuber*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy **pɔ̌ŋ** *kinds of tuber*, Bru **pə̌ŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṽpɔ̌ŋ** *tuber*.
 Connection uncertain 614 *t₁pu(u)ŋ *cucumber, melon*; perhaps *puŋ (Riang-Lang),
 *pə̌ŋ. Biat has **bu:m rpoŋ** *yam*, by attraction **rpoŋ** c. < *t₁rpuŋ.

608a *pɔ̌ŋ window.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru **pɔ̌ŋ** *hole, wall aperture*, Kammu-Yuan **pɔ̌ŋ[yem]**,
 Lawa Bo Luang **paŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **pɔ̌ŋ**.
 Cf. A41 *lnpuuŋ *door, window*.

(*poŋ see 101 *pooʔ *to swell, expand*.)

609 *puuŋ *butterfly*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **pɔ̌ŋ** [həmao] *butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly*, Riang-Lang **ṽpuŋ** [ṽpaʔ] *butterfly*.
 Cf. Palaung (Mon, songs) **paŋ pa**; & B53 *ḍuuŋ.

610 *[]puuŋ *cooked rice, rice mash*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **pūn** /puŋ/, Modern Mon **pɔ̌ŋ** *cooked rice*,
 Bahnar **pūŋ** *mash from which rice-wine is made* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~ ?) Khasi
 [ja]-sapung.

611 *kpa[a]ŋ *palm, sole*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pà:ŋ**, Sre **paŋ** [ti &c.]; ~ Sre **kəlpəŋ** *palm, sole, flat surface*,
 Chrau **ləpə:ŋ**, Bahnar **təpə:ŋ** by assimilation, Kontum Bahnar **kəpə:ŋ** *palm, sole*,
 Jeh **kapa:ŋ** *quantifier for hands, feet*, Halang **kəpə:ŋ** *foot*; ~ (*knpa[a]ŋ >) Biat
mpə:ŋ *palm, sole*.

Connect Chrau **paŋ** *quantifier for flat things*; Vietnamese **phẳng** *flat surface*?

(SHAFFER 1965 533; BLOOD 1966 308; SMITH 1972 155.)

612 *[c]puuŋ *to wallow*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **phu:ŋ**, Biat **pu:ŋ** [bək], Bahnar **pūŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~
 Sre **apuŋ**; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Biat **nu:ŋ** *lair of rhinoceros*; ~ Sre
pərnəuŋ *lair* (DOURNES 1950), Stieng **prənu:ŋ**, Bahnar **pənu:ŋ** *wallow*.

Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *[d]baŋ[]).

613 *t₂p[oo]ŋ *to bind round*.

(Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon **kowiŋ** (!) **twiŋ** &c. *to bind round something, bind something round* (contaminated by **həmoŋ**, below), Khasi **spong turban**, *to put turban on*; ~
 Thin **həmpɔ̌ŋ** *turban*.

Mon shows contamination with **həmoŋ** *to wind round, coil round, swathe*, ~ **həmoŋ**
[dɔp] *turban*. < Middle Mon **tam'in** *kind of ceremonial waistcloth*, probably <
 *tnɔ̌[ə, i(i)]ŋ.

614 ***t₁puŋ**; ***t₁puuŋ** *cucumber, melon.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [**yu:əŋ**]-**poŋ**! *Cucurbita lagenaria* (?); ~ (***t₁rpuŋ** >) Sre **rəpuŋ** *cucumber*, Chrau **rəpuŋ** *melon*, Biat **rpoŋ** *cucumber*, (— **khə:** &c.) *melon*; ~ (***t₁npuŋ** >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmpóŋ** *head*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **tbo:ŋ** *head*, Kuy [**ŋkɛ:l**] **po:ŋ** *melon*; ~ (***t₁rpuuŋ** >) West Bahnar **kəpu:ŋ**, **təpu:ŋ** *water-melon* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **kapu:ŋ**, Halang **təpu:ŋ** *cucumber*.

Connect Nancowry **tamifõ?** *melon*. Cf. **608** ***p[ɔ]ŋ** *tuber*.

(SHAFFER 1965 474; BLOOD 1966 169.)

615 ***pnpuŋ**; ***pnpuuŋ**; ***pnpiəŋ** *kinds of tree with bright red flowers.*

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **vông** *flamboyant*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon [**chu**] **pum̐puñ** /**pəmpuŋ**/ *flame of the forest*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **pum̐peñ** /**pəmpen**/, Modern Mon **həpeaŋ** *coral tree*, *Erythrina indica* Lamarck.

616 ***lpuŋ**; ***lpuuŋ**; by metathesis ***pluuŋ**; ***pləŋ** *to blow.*

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **puŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*].

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **pauŋ**, Lawa Umphai **pauŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*]; ~ (***lmpuuŋ** >) Praok **baəŋ** *wind*.

C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **plauŋ** = **pauŋ**.

D: (Kuy) Kuy **pləŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*], *to inflate*.

Cf. **2028** ***puh** &c.

†617 ***[s]piəŋ** *(kind of) cooked rice.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sbiaŋ** *supplies, provisions, food for journey* (→ Thai **sabian**), Sre, Biat **pian**, Chrau **piəŋ** *cooked rice* (SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFFER 1965 552; BLOOD 1966 106.)

Kharia 'əmpəŋ *flat rice* (PINNOW 1959 K 504a).

Proto-Austronesian *əNpi[]əŋ *young paddy cooked in husk and pounded*: Gayo **t-ěmping**, Acehese **ömpiəŋ**, Malay **ěmping** (→ Javanese), Iban **k-emping** (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

618 ***spəŋ** *long waistcloth.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **sbəŋ** *monk's waistcloth*; → Thai **sabon**; ~ Old Mon **sirpuñ** /**sərpəŋ**/ (*ceremonial*) *waistcloth*, Modern Mon **həpaŋ** *monk's waistcloth*; ~

(***snpəŋ** >) (Mon **həpaŋ** in part?) → Burmese **sai:puin**: *monk's waistcloth*, → Shan **shāŋ**ṣṣ, → Riāng-Lāng **san_pəŋ** *waistcloth*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

619 *baŋ; *ba[a]ŋ terrace, embankment.

A: (Mon) Mon **pəaŋ** *embankment, earth platform, convex slope*; ~ Late Old Mon **bnan̄** /**bnan̄**/ *unit of land measure, Modern Mon nēaŋ paddy-bund, compartment of paddy-field as land measure.*

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon **bān̄** *neceding tiers at base of stupa*; ~ Sre **bəna:ŋ** *levelled ground*; ~ Palaung **maŋ** *embankment* (MILNE 1931).

Cf. 626 *kbaiŋ *rampart*.

620 *baiŋ cup.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **pè:ŋ** *beaker*, Stieng **be:ŋ** *small copper cup for rice-spirit*; ~ (*[b]nbaiŋ >) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbaŋ** *dish, kind of earthenware bowl*; ~ (*brbaiŋ >) Mon **həpàŋ** **babān̄** *offering-vessel of plantain stalk.*

Old Mon **birben̄** /**bərben̄**/, Modern Mon **həpəaŋ** *almsbowl*, compared at SCHMIDT 1905 60, is perhaps < a variant *brbiəŋ.

621 *bəŋ to surround, to bind round.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **biŋ** /**bəŋ**/ *to surround, besiege*, Modern Mon **pàŋ** *to surround*, Bahnar **bəŋ** *to put round waist, wrist, &c., to bind cover over mouth of jar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **pəŋ**).

Connect Khmer **pùŋ** *to reinforce by binding*; Stieng **ba:ŋ** *to fence in*; & 357 *bək &c. *to bind (round)*.

†622 *b[o]ŋ hole, to bore.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **bəŋ** (or **buŋ?**) *hole*, (MILNE 1931) *to bore a hole* (→ Shan **mǎŋ n.**, → Riang-Lang **ṽbəŋ**), Khasi **pong**, Sakai **puk v.** (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 342); ~ Semang **ěmpong n.** (i.e. Jehai; ib. H 108); ~ (*ko[o]ŋ >) Mon **kwàŋ** *hollow in tree*; ~ Khasi **kpong** *to dig a hole*; ~ Bru **rampò:ŋ** *large hole in tree* (? < *knboŋ).

Kharia **fəŋ**-['ga?] *to bore*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 380; Pinnow connects Khmer **prəhaŋ** *hole* as well as 790 *dhoŋs, & suggests Proto-Austroasiatic *piGəŋ).

Proto-Austronesian ***buŋbuŋ**: Toba Batak **bungbung** *to be hollow*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36).

623 *[]b[oo]ŋ feeding-trough.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **bo:ŋ** [sur], Chrau **və:ŋ**, Biat **bə:ŋ** *feeding-trough*, Bahnar **bə:ŋ!** *feeding-trough, pig-food bin* (by arbitrary differentiation **bə:ŋ** *large container?*), Bru **tapùəŋ**.

Connect 627 *gb[o]ŋ *paddy-bin?*

(*[b]ooŋ see 108 *[b]oo? *to swell, bulge*.)

†‡624 *buŋ[]; *buuŋ? belly.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **pùŋ** (→ Thai **p^huŋ**), Kuy **phùŋ**, Bahnar **buŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **pəŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **po:ŋ**, Vietnamese **bung**.

There is contamination throughout Austric with *to swell* (cf. 101 *poŋ, 108 *[b]ooŋ &c.); note then Chrau **gəŋ ləpə:ŋ**, Biat **poŋ wə?** &c. *flank*, Kammu-Yuan **pó:ŋ**, Palaung **kiŋ pəŋ groin** (Palaung MILNE 1931 *lower part of belly*), Nancowry **kinpón kidney**. Cf. also 358 *bo[]k.

(SHAFFER 1965 576.)

Sora **kəm(')puŋ-ən**, (compounding form) -'puŋ-ən (contaminated by **puŋ-** *to swell*, cf. 101).

Proto-Austronesian *kəNpuŋ: Javanese **kəmpung**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 79).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 230-1. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b).)

624a *buŋ; *buuŋ large cooking-pot.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **[glah] boŋ** large vessel for heating water, Bahnar **[gə?] buŋ** largest size of cooking-pot.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[glah] bouŋ** large cooking-pot.

= preceding?

(*buŋ see also 629 *[d]buŋ *foetus*; *[b]uŋ see 108 *[b]oo? *to swell, bulge*.)

†‡625 *buuŋ; *buəŋ bunch, collection.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **tərpun** clump, collection (**tər-** reciprocal).

B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy **phù:əŋ** bunch, cluster, Palaung **bəŋ** bundle, (MILNE 1931) bunch, Vietnamese **buồng** bunch, Nancowry **púŋ** group, collection.

Sora **tum'buŋ-** *to heap up*; (-ən) heap ~ **tənum'buŋ-ən** collection.

Not Proto-Mon-Khmer *tb- in view of Vietnamese tone.

626 *kbaŋ rampart.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **keba:ŋ-[kebəŋ]** hillock; ~ Old Mon **kumbeŋ /kəmbaŋ/** city &c. wall, Modern Mon **kəmaŋ** brick or stone wall, Old Khmer **kaŋveŋ**, Modern Khmer **kəmpə:ŋ** (city) wall; → Thai **kamp^həŋ**, → Khmer **kəmpəəŋ**.

~ 619 *ba[a]ŋ (then *baŋ) terrace, embankment?

627 *gb[o]ŋ *paddy-bin*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon **kwàŋ** *large wicker basket for storing paddy*, Khmer **pò:ŋ** *paddy-store under house*, Sre **boŋ** [ko:y], Bahnar **buŋ** *paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary*, (?) Palaung **buŋ** *receptacle*; → Cham **pùŋ**, Rōglai **boŋ** [pədey] *paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary*; probably ~ → Toba Batak **hombung** *large chest* (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 76 to *kə(m)buŋ *to swell*), Malay **kěmbong** *paddy-bin*.

Connect 623 *[]b[oo]ŋ *feeding-trough*? Cf. further Malay **těrubong** *bark rice-bin*; Khmer **səmpùŋ**, **səmpùəŋ** *container*; Bahnar **bɔ:ŋ** *large chest* (&c., see SMITH 1972 172);

Proto-Austronesian *lu(N)buŋ *granary* (BLUST 1973 no. 210, Proto-Hesperonesian). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

628 *[d]baŋ[]; *[d]buuŋh *pool, marsh*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon **bañ** [*bway* &c.] *marshy pool*; ~ Old Khmer **travañ**, Modern Khmer **trəpəəŋ** *pool, marsh*, Kuy (th)**phàŋ** *pond*, Stieng **trəba:ŋ** *pool*, Sre **tərbaŋ** *tank fish-trap dug at edge of rice-field* (DOURNES 1950; & **pəbaŋ**).

B: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **pung** *pool*; (?) → Shan **pŭŋ** *mud, puddle*, → Riang-Lang **puŋ**; ~ Vietnamese **vũng** *pool*.

Cf. 602 *piŋ. Connection uncertain (i) Mon **həmèəŋ** **damañ** *funnel-shaped fish-trap moored to stake in tidal waters*, → Burmese **damañ**; (ii) Kharía **ḍobha** *pool*, &c., PINNOW 1959 379; (iii) Karo Batak, Malay **kubang** *buffalo wallow*, &c. (Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ, Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 139).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13.)

629 *[d]buŋ *foetus*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **buŋ** *foetus; to die in childbirth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[d]nbuŋ >) Mon **həməŋ** [**həlèəŋ**] **damuñ** &c. *foetus*.

Or *buŋ? Connect perhaps 108 *[b]uŋ *to swell, bulge*.

*629a *lmb[ə]ŋ *shoot*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North & South Aslian) Khmer **lùmpùəŋ** *young shoots from pruned tree*, Bru **lambuŋ** *young [bamboo]*, Semang **abbong** (?) *bamboo shoots* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 33), Besis **lembong** *shoot* (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. S 162).

Connect by metathesis 756 *blə[]ŋ *shoot, sapling*; but connection dubious 636 *t₁baŋ *bamboo shoots*. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

Proto-Austronesian *rəbuŋ: Malay **rěbong** *bamboo shoots*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 102).

630 *ḡiŋ; *biŋ; *ḡiəŋ; *ḡuŋ; *ḡhiŋ; *bhiəŋ spider.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung [ə]bɛŋ.

B: (Khmer) Khmer pɿ:ŋ[pɿ:əŋ] *spider*, (*huup ḡiŋ >?) [ho]pɿ:ŋ *edible spider*, Bru ʔapɿəŋ *spider*; ~ Khmer rəpɿ:ŋ *spider*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Stieng bɛ:ŋ *spider* (& Khmer [pɿ:ŋ]pɿ:əŋ if for *-pɿ:əŋ).

D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?South Aslian) Sre buŋ *spider*, Besis bo^hng [*spider's*] *web* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 381; ?); ~ (*lḡuŋ by metathesis >) Khasi [thap]bulong *black widow spider*; → Röglai bluŋ *spider*; ~ → North Röglai gabuŋ *spider*.

E: (Mon) Mon phaŋ [cɛa], [yɛa] phaŋ *spider* (& by secondary deformation cɛa paŋ).

F: (Mon) Mon [yɛa] phean.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *bVʔ- ~ *bVh-; tabu deformation likely. Connect Thai bân *edible spider*; & perhaps Kharia 'bendi, &c., PINNOW 1959 344 (< *bɛŋ-di?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

***631 *ḡa[a]ŋ butterfly.**

A: (Palaungic) Praok [puŋ]pɛŋ, Lawa Bo Luang [mbuŋ]mbaŋ, Lawa Umphai [mboŋ]mbuaŋ.

Cf. B53 *ḡuŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kalibanbaŋ: Gayo kalang mɛmbang, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *b[aa]lə(N)baŋ: Siocon Subanun bilimbaŋ, &c. (ib. no. 85; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 245.

632 *[]ḡaəŋ canal.

A: (Kuy, Viet-Mường) Kuy bi:əŋ *canal, small stream*, Vietnamese mường *gutter, ditch, canal* (→ Mường; BARKER 1966 13).

Cf. 637 *tḡo(o)ŋ *ditch* Kuy b- & Vietnamese vocalism suggests earlier *bVʔaŋ.

***633 *kḡaŋ ship, boat.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kḡaŋ /kḡaŋ/, Modern Mon bɛŋ *ship*, Biat baŋ *coffin*; → Moken kabang *boat, house-boat, ship*, ultimately Malay [balai] gambang *house-boat*; ~ Sre gəbaŋ *coffin*.

Coffin from shape, or as *ship of the dead*. Cf. Central Nicobarese kopək *ship*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *qabaŋ: Kanakanabu (Formosa) abaŋu *boat, canoe*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 307); (ii; by metathesis?) *baNkaq: Tagalog bangkaq *ship*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *-a[h]); & cf. further Iban bong /buung/ *long shallow boat*,

Tagalog, Bikol kabaong *coffin* (< Proto-Philippine *kaba^oəŋ, ZORC & CHARLES

1971), (so by metathesis?) Iban bangkong /baŋkuŋ/ *boat*; Proto-Austronesian

*uaNkaŋ *ship*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 114.

634 *kḡəŋ to scoop up.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer kbəŋ *to scoop up with hands*, Khasi kbong *to scoop, clutch, claw*.

635 *[j]biin swollen, fat.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **spì:ŋ** *distended, bloated*; ~ Khasi [*heh* &c.] **lbing** (l-adverbial) *big and fleshy*.

†636 *t₁baŋ (& *t₁baaŋ?) bamboo shoots.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon **t̪aŋ** /**t̪baŋ**/, Modern Mon **bəŋ**, Katuic, Biat **baŋ**, (variant >?) Stieng **ba:ŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **təpán**, Palaung **bəŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **poŋ**, Lawa Umphai **phoŋ** (→ Mae Sariang **phoŋ**, **phuŋ**), Vietnamese **mǎng** [*tre*]; ~ Khmer **tùmpɛəŋ** (*bamboo shoots*, Sre **baŋ** *bamboo shoots*, Chrau **davaŋ** *sprout*; ~ Bahnar **təbaŋ**, Jeh **tabaŋ**, Halang **dəbaŋ** *bamboo shoots*).

Connection dubious **629a *lm[b][ə]ŋ shoots**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SMITH 1972 127.)

Sora **'ta:bəŋ-ən** *bamboo shoots*.

Note Tagalog **usbong** *shoots*, Cebuano Bisayan **usbung** *top of plant*.

637 *tbəŋ; *tbəoŋ ditch.

A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar **bə:ŋ** *gully, water-channel, ditch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (B); ~ (A) Old Mon **tar̥bən** /**tər̥bawŋ**/, Modern Mon **həbaŋ** *moat*, (A/B) Sre **rəbəŋ** *ditch*, (B) Bahnar **həbə:ŋ** = **bə:ŋ**; → Röglai **rəbəŋ**, North Röglai **rubə:k** *ditch*.

Cf. **632 *[j]baaŋ canal**.

638 *maŋ; *maaŋ night, evening.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **maŋ** *evening, night*, Biat, Jeh, Halang **maŋ** *night*, Bahnar **maŋ** *night, dark*; ~ (***mnaŋ** >) Sre **bənaŋ** *night*, Chrau **naŋ**, (*quantifier*) **vənaŋ**, Biat **naŋ** *quantifier*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre **ma:ŋ** *night*; ~ Stieng **na:ŋ** *quantifier*.

(SHAFFER 1965 164; BLOOD 1966 355; SMITH 1972 125, 135.)

†639 *[g]ma[a]ŋ to possess.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_maŋ** *to be, exist, to have, to be rich*, Central Sakai **mang** *to be*; ~ Thin **rmaŋ** *wealth, possessions*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Palaung **pərmaŋ**, Praok **siməŋ** *chief*; (ii) Palaung **bərmaŋ** *how much?*

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)

Sora **'gaməŋ-**, **'gumaŋ-** *rich, to become rich*.

640 *cmiəŋ to look round.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **chmiəŋ**, Chrau **miəŋ** *to look round*, Bahnar **mi'əŋ** *to look round furtively* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

641 *jrm[a]ŋ *spurs of cock*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre jərmaŋ (→ Rōglai), Chrau jəmaŋ, Biat rmaŋ, Bahnar dialects həməŋ, səməŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Conceivably ~ 538 *jəŋ *foot, leg*; otherwise Bahnar vocalism by phrasal rhyme in bəməŋ &c. jəŋ.

642 *t₁m[uə]ŋ? *nail, claw*.

(Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin hməŋ, Vietnamese móng; ~ Kammu-Yuan təmmə:ŋ, Thin tǝmhməŋ.

643 *dməwŋ *to remain, continue, be*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon dmon /dməwŋ/ *to remain, be (located), reside, stay*, Modern Mon mōŋ *to remain, stay, continue, reside*, Sre mo:ŋ *to be accustomed to*, Central Sakai mong *to be*; ~ (*dnməwŋ >?) Bahnar pəmə:ŋ *to be accustomed [to]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)

644 *[n]məŋ *gnat*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer məməŋ (& məməŋ), Chrau rəməŋ.

Or *m(r)məŋ? If *nm-, connected perhaps Proto-Austronesian *ŋamuk, DEMPWOLFF 1938 108 (& *lamuk, DEMPWOLFF 1938 91; Proto-Hesperonesian); with nasal final by assimilation

(*məməŋ see preceding.)

645 *rmaŋ *kind of deer*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon mēaŋ *Rucervus thamin*, Old Khmer ramañ, Modern Khmer rəməŋ *Cervus aristotelis*, Kuy lmaŋ *Cervus eldi*; → Burmese [sa]mañ *Rucervus thamin*; Thai lamāŋ *Rucervus thamin*, → Khmer lmēaŋ *Cervus aristotelis*; ~ (*rmaŋ >) Old Mon ramañ /rəmmaŋ/ *Rucervus thamin*, Old Khmer rmmāñ *Cervus aristotelis*.

646 *rməŋ *to hear*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon rmeñ, rmiñ ?/rməŋ/, Modern Mon mōiŋ *to hear*, Khmer thmēaŋ *to prick up ears*, Bahnar məŋ *to listen to*, Praok moŋ, Lawa Bo Luang hmaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hməŋ *to hear*.

Besisi miong, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60 (d), is probably rather ~ 649

*ky[ə]ŋ. Cf. 833 *mə(ə)c.

(SHAFER 1965 388; SMITH 1972 104.)

647 *[*lyəŋ*]; *[*lyəəŋ*] *deer, venison*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung *yəŋ* *meat*, (~?) Sre (→ Rōglai) *ayəŋ* *Panolia eldi deer*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat *yə:ŋ* *large kind of deer*, Palaung *yuuŋ* *meat*.

648 **yuŋ*; **yuuŋ*; **yuəŋ* *to hang*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy *yùŋ* *to hang on to, hang from*; ~ Khmer *prəyùŋ* *to hang on to, hang from*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *yò:ŋ* *to hang [rope &c.]*, Bru *tayəŋ*, Stieng *ju:ŋ*, *iu:ŋ*, Sre *youŋ*, Biat *yo:ŋ* *to hang up*; ~ Chrau *tənyo:ŋ* *to hang up* (*tən-*causative); ~ Khmer *rəyò:ŋ* *dangling*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *dòng* (for ***giòng*) *to let [rope] hang, lower by rope*. Connect Kuy (t)ɲaŋ *to hang up*; ← South Bahnaric?

649 **ky[ə]ŋ* *to hear*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kensi *kəjəŋ*, Temiar *kəyək*, Mah Meri *kayək*, Central Nicobarese *ya:ŋ*, Nancowry *yán*; ~ (**kny[ə]ŋ* >) Halang *ɲəŋ* *to hear*, Jeh *ɲàŋ*, Kammu-Yuan *kəmpjəŋ* *to hear, listen*, Semelai *ɲyəŋ* *to hear*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60.)

†650 **ky[o]ŋ* *elbow*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre *coŋ* [*moŋ*], Semang *kayong* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42); ~ Sakai *kanyong* (i.e. Lanoh; ib.).

Palaung *koŋe?*, *kaŋ kə?* are prima facie ← Shan *kõŋ* *bend*, *kēk* *to be crooked*, but with them cf. Chrau *kuŋ kiəŋ ti* *elbow*, Bahnar *ku:ŋ(ke:ŋ)* *hollow of elbow*. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), *kəŋ* *arm*, (— *ke:ŋ*) *elbow*, Central Nicobarese *det-oŋke:əŋ* *elbow*, Nancowry *rétʔuŋkián*. Connect 891 **kiip*[] &c.?

Sora *kuŋ*-[*si:-n*] (or : Chrau &c.? Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 517).

†651 **gy[u]ŋ* *to be alive*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon *cəŋ gyuiŋ* *to be alive, to be raw*, East Bahnar *dji:ŋ*, Kontum *giəŋ* *to grow well, flourish* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (contaminated by 538(II) **jiiŋ* *to stand, to become?*); ~ Middle Mon *gamyon* /*gəmyuŋ*/, Modern Mon *həyàŋ* (*to be*) *living*.

Connection dubious Mường *khống* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *sống* *to live, be alive, to be raw*; as Tibeto-Burman **śriŋ*, BENEDICT 1972 85 no. 404 & n. 252.

Sora *ə'jaŋ*, *ə'jeŋ* *raw*; (?) *mʔe:ŋ-* *to live, be alive*.

652 **gyuŋ* *spouse*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Vietnamese *chồng*; ~ (**gryuŋ* >) Middle Mon *gayon* /*gəyuuŋ*/ *husband*, Modern Mon *həyàŋ* *spouse*; ~ Jelai *pərgiōk*ⁿ *to marry* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 54A).

653 *dyuŋ; *dyuŋ black, dark.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (***dnyuŋ** >) Sre **ɲuŋ** [animal] having a black coat; (**jəŋo** —) dark; ~ Old Mon **duŋyoŋ** /**dəmyuŋ**/ black (?), Modern Mon **həyàŋ** dark brown.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **ɲu:ŋ** very dark, Jeh **ʔɲu:ŋ**, Halang **ɲu:ŋ** black.

Connect obscure **654 *syuəŋ**.

(***[b]ryu(ə)ŋ** see **706 *briəŋ** rainbow.)

653a *[s]ya[a]ŋ female [animal].

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **yá:ŋ** ~ (***[s]nya[a]ŋ** >) Riang-Lang **ɲaŋ**.

654 *syuəŋ black.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Sre **soaŋ**, Khmu' **hiaŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **yáŋ**, Khasi **ïong**.

Sre -**ɲ** by assimilation; Khmuic vocalism environmental. Connection obscure **653 *dyu(u)ŋ**.

655 *riŋ; *riiŋ level, equal.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **riŋ**; ~ Sre **pənriŋ**, Biat **ndruŋ** to level; ~ Palaung **kərpren** to be equal (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang **tərkren** equal amount.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar **ri:ŋ** [**rə:ŋ**] level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh **pri:ŋ** to go along on the level (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Lawa Bo Luang (**ʔa**)**mbrin**, Lawa Umphai **mbrin** to line up, make equal. (contaminated by **659 *riəŋ** to form a row?).

656 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ edge, border.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **reŋ** to skirt (→ Röglai).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar **re:ŋ** to skirt (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar dialects **ri:ŋ** edge, vicinity; ~ Old Mon **brin** vicinity, Nyah Kur **phriiŋ** edge, rim.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (***juŋ riəŋ** by contraction >?) Old Mon **jünren** /**jənren**/ immediate vicinity; ~ Biat **mɛ:ŋ** edge, margin, Khasi **rmiang** rim, edge, border.

Cf. Proto-Tai ***brin** near, border..., BENEDICT 1975 344; & 1383 ***rim** &c. edge, rim.

657 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ *rəŋ hard, savage, harsh.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon **ràŋ** (→ Burmese **ruin:**) to be wild, savage, coarse, rude (or D?), Khmer **rùŋ** hard, hard, firm, severe (& by phrasal deformation [**trəŋ**] **rəŋ** to compel forcibly, be adamant); ~ Khmer **kùmrùŋ**-[**kùmrèəŋ**] rough, rugged.

B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **kùmrì:ŋ** rude, coarse, Nancowry **ʔiŋ** hard.

C: (Khasi) Khasi [**dom**] **riang** angry and severe.

D: (Khmer, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer [**kùmrùŋ**]-**kùmrèəŋ** rough..., (~?; or C) Khasi [**mradi**] **mreng** animals.

658 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ; *rəŋ (& *rəəŋ?) veranda.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) ~ Old Mon *trīn* [jīn] *gallery? surrounding building* (or B, D); ~ (*knriŋ >) Bahnar *kədrīŋ veranda*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau *ndri:ŋ* [ɲi:] *veranda*, Biat *ndri:ŋ* [ɲih] *house platform, veranda*.

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *rəbiəŋ* *corridor, veranda, porch*.

D: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre *rəŋ veranda*; ~ (*[r]nr- >; with perhaps secondary lengthening) Kuy *thr̥:ŋ veranda* (ad 684?).

Perhaps variously ~ 654 *riŋ &c. *edge, border*.

(BLOOD 1966 219.)

659 *riəŋ to form a row.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon *reñ* /reŋ/ *to arrange*, Modern Mon *rèaŋ* *to form a row, to place in a row* (→ Burmese [cī]rañ *to arrange*), Khmer *rìəŋ* *to arrange in series or order; continuously, in succession* (→ Cham *rjōñ*), Stieng *riəŋ* *perpetually*, Bahnar *reŋ* *arrange*, Khasi *riang* *in order, in a row*; ~ Middle Mon *preñ* *to have arrangements made, to prepare, arrange*, Modern Mon *preaŋ* *to prepare, arrange* (→ Old Burmese [plu] pryañ *to repair*, Modern Mon *prañ* *to prepare, repair*), Lawa Umphai *priaŋ* *to mend*; ~ Middle Mon *rweñ, lweñ* *order, orderly succession*, Khmer *rapiañ* *continuance* (GUESDON 1930).

Connect B58 *br[uə]ŋ *to arrange...*? Cf. also 665 *rəəŋ *row*; 655 *ri(i)ŋ *level, equal*. (SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

†660 *raaŋ? light, to shine.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, North Aslian) Bahnar *ra:ŋ* *light, to shine*, Palaung *raŋ* *lamp*, Praok *reŋ* *to be light*, Khasi *rang* [weather] *to be fine*, Vietnamese *rang* *to dawn*, Semang *riag* *glitter, (ya' —) to shine* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 158); ~ (*craaŋ? >) Khmer *sra:ŋ* *to glimmer*, Biat *cra:ŋ* *reflection, to reflect*, Vietnamese *sáng* *light*, Sakai *chěrang* *daylight* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 154); ~ (*pmraaŋ? >) Khmer *bəmpri:əŋ* (→ Kuy *bri:əŋ?*) *dawn*, Kuy *mphri:əŋ* [sai] *moon*, (*pnraaŋ? by assimilation >, or ~) Praok [simuŋ] *greŋ* *morning* [star].

Kharia *le'raŋ*, Juang *leraŋ* *moon* (PINNOW 1959 58).

Proto-Austronesian *təraŋ: Malay *těrang* *bright*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 378, *shine*.

661 *ra[a]ŋ to be disseminated.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon *rān* [chāy], Modern Mon *ràŋ* [chai] *to become widespread, flourish, prosper*; ~ Bahnar *pra:ŋ* *to go, be carried, far and wide* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***raaŋ** see also 276 ***riʔaak** to open, unfold.)

662 *rain to sieve.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **rè:ŋ**, Biat **ra:ŋ**; ~ Sre **səra:ŋ** (to) sieve, (~?) Bahnar **gra:ŋ** fish-basket.

663 *rə[]ŋ; *raŋ to wander.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Rongao **rə:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **kraŋ**.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **kreŋ**.

Cf. further (i) Vietnamese **rong**, **rông**; (ii)

Sora **'enduŋ**.

664 *rɔŋ; *rɔaŋ to watch (over).

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon **ròŋ rân** to look (at) (or B), Khmer **rùəŋ** to wait for, Sre **roŋ** to watch over, bring up, raise (→ Rōglai), Central Nicobarese **[oŋ]-yɔŋ-[hələ]** to guard, protect, watch over, Nancowry **yáŋ**, **yúŋ** to wait; (or B) ~ Khasi **mrong** expectantly, waitfully.

B: (Bahnaric) Bunör **rɔ:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **ro:ŋ** to bring up, raise, Bahnar **rɔ:ŋ** to look after, bring up, raise, keep, preserve; → Cham **rɔ:ŋ**, Jarai **ro:ŋ**, North Rōglai **ro:k** to bring up, raise; ~ Bahnar **grɔ:ŋ** to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 78.)

665 *rɔaŋ row.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:ŋ** ridge for planting crops, (TANDART 1935) row of plants, avenue, Vietnamese **giòng** (for ****ròng**) line; ~ Stieng **ndrɔ:ŋ** row, Chrau **[a:] kəndrɔ:ŋ** in rows; ~ Chrau **tənrɔ:ŋ** line.

Cf. 659 ***riəŋ** to form a row.

***666 *ruŋh; *ruuŋ[]; *rəŋ[]** hole, hollow.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Vietnamese **rõng** hole in tree; (or B) Besis **səro^kng** pit, cavity, bore of blowpipe (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66); ~ Kuy **proŋ** pit, hole, Bru **prùŋ**; ~ obsolete. Khmer **bruñ** hollow, Sre **broŋ** hollow in tree; ~ Biat **ndroŋ** **[bo:k]** fontanel.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:ŋ** hollow, cave, den; to hollow out, Stieng **ru:ŋ** cave, burrow.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Mon) ~ Old Mon **sruñ** /**sruŋ**/, Modern Mon **saŋ** hollow, Proto-Nyah Kur ***gruŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N230); ~ Khmer **prùəŋ** hole, Kuy **phràŋ** hole, crack, cavity.

Cf. 724 ***luŋ[h]** &c. Praok **rɔŋ** ravine is probably ← Shan **hòŋ**, under the entry 668 ***ruŋ**.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ruaŋ**: Javanese **rong** hole, hollow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 104); (ii) Proto-Formosan ***bəruŋ** hole, cave, den (BENEDICT 1975). See BENEDICT 1975 316; 353, pierced.

***667 *ruŋʔ; *ruuŋ[]; *ruəŋ[] ridge, spine, back.**

A: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese *sống* midrib, ridge, spine.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar *rəŋ* back, behind, Jeh, Halang *roŋ*, Mường *đuŋ* back (CUISINIER 1951); → Cham *rəŋ*, Jarai *ro:ŋ*, Rōglai *rok*, *rək* back.

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) → Acehnese *ruəŋ* back; ~ Palaung *krəŋ*; ~ Bru *krəŋ* back; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəntɹə:ŋ* back; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang *ṽkhruaŋ* (— ṽpə) spine... .

For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a **đuuk*. Sakai *krökⁿ* back, SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 B 4, is rather < 1844 **krawʔ*.

(SMITH 1972 143.)

Sora *kə'ruŋ-ən* backyard; ~ *kən'duŋ-ən*, compounding form *doŋ-ən* back (PINNOW 1959 367).

668 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruəŋ channel, river.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang *rəŋ* river; (or C?) → Thai *rəŋ* channel, ditch, Shan *həŋ* gully; ~ Sre *rənoŋ* channel; ~ (**krəŋ* >) Thin *hrəŋ*, Mường *không* (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese *sông* river.

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Biat *ro:ŋ* [*da:k*] channel, ditch, Rōngao *ro:ŋ* drainage channel, side-channel of river (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon *kruñ* /*krəŋ*/, Modern Mon *krəŋ*, Central Rōlōm *krə:ŋ* river; (or A?) → Shan *khōŋ* Salween, → Riang-Lang [*om*] *kroŋ*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Palaung *rəŋ* torrent (MILNE 1931), canal, Vietnamese *giòng* (for **ròng*) current, flow, stream; ~ Bunōr (or B?), Bahnar *krə:ŋ* river, Kammu-Yuan *krə:ŋ* Mekong (or by back-borrowing ← Lao *khəwŋ*?); (& variants?) → Cham *krə:ŋ*, Jarai [*i:a*] *kro:ŋ*, Acehnese *kruəŋ*.

Connect Burmese *mroñ* gully, *mroñ*: canal (→ Mon *pəroŋ*). Cf. further 733 **kləŋ* perennial water; & for Tibeto-Burman **klu:ŋ* BENEDICT 1972 39 no. 127 & 39-40 n. 129.

(BLOOD 1966 76.)

669 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruəŋ to fall, drop off.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre *ruŋ* [object] to fall to the ground, Biat *ruŋ* [fruit] to fall, [teeth, hair] to fall out, Bahnar *ruŋ* to fall (down), [leaves] to fall; to abort (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry *yóŋ* to drip, *kuyóŋ* to thresh (by shaking); ~ (**tnruŋ* >) Biat *groŋ* to shake [fruit] down.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Stieng *ru:ŋ* fallen leaves. or fruit (or A?); ~ (**tnruuŋ* >) Chrau *təru:ŋ* to spill, pour out; ~ (? , **trruuŋ* >) Bahnar *təru:ŋ*, *təroŋ* to be blown away (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat *rə:ŋ* scantiness [of hair].

(**ruŋ* see also 703 **pruŋ* to pass through.)

670 *ruuŋ; *r[ə]ŋ unpartitioned building.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) (Old Mon *ruñ* (open-sided) hall if ≠ *rañ*, below,) Middle Mon *ruñ* large building, Modern Mon *rəŋ* large building, shed, Khmer *rò:ŋ* hall, pavilion, large building, shed, Kuy *rò:ŋ* large building, field shelter, Biat *ro:ŋ* shed, Bahnar *ro:ŋ* assembly house; → Burmese *ruñ* shed, *ruñ:* court; Cham *ruñ* hall, shed; Thai *rooŋ* hall, shed.

B: (Mon) Old Mon *rañ* (& *ruñ*?) /*rəŋ*/, Literary Mon *ruñ* hall.

Cf. 697 *[t]ruŋ &c. stable, sty, cage; 725 *luŋ &c. stable, sty, cage.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

(**ruuŋ* see also 703 **pruŋ* to pass through; **ruəŋ* see ib.; 705 *[p]nruəŋ report, news.)

†671 *krii[ŋ] kind of bamboo.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *kriŋ*, Biat *kre:ŋ*.

Sora 'uruŋ-ən (PINNOW 1959 275, cf. 337a), Gorum *uruŋ* bamboo (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976.)

672 *kriiŋ; *kra[i]ŋ great hornbill.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau [ku:ŋ]kri:ŋ rhinoceros hornbill, Sre, Bahnar *kri:ŋ* great hornbill, *Dichoceros* [= *Buceros?*] *bicornis*; ~ Bru *triəŋ* hornbill.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang *khraŋ*, Lawa Umphai *kraŋ* hornbill.

673 *kriəŋ (& *kraiiŋ?) Eugenia.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Old Mon *kren* /*kren*/, Modern Mon *kreaŋ* *Eugenia*, Kuy *kre:ŋ* (< variant?) *Eugenia jambolana*, Mnong Gar *krieŋ* *Eugenia*, Bahnar [ʔlɔ:ŋ] *kreŋ* kind of wild cherry.

674 *kr[ɔ]ŋ hard.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *krəŋ* to be h., firm to the touch, Khmer *kraŋ* to be hard, dried and cracked (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Biat *krə:ŋ* [early-]ripening [paddy]; → Röglai *krəŋ* early-ripening.

Khmer vocalism post-liquid? GUESDON 1930 has *kantrañ* to grow stiff, suggesting *-*ɔəŋ*.

†675 *kruŋ to confine.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Mon *kraŋ* to store, to shut up, imprison, Khmer *kroŋ* to catch by placing net, pot &c. over, Biat *kroŋ* to shut up, Jeh *trùŋ*, *krùŋ* to pen [fowl in basket] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Stieng *kəndru:ŋ* to pen [pigs], Kontum Bahnar *kədrəŋ*, Gölar Bahnar *hədrəŋ* chicken-coop.

Proto-Austronesian **kurəŋ*: Malay *kurong* cabin, compartment, (*běr-*) to be confined, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83-4).

Connected further Tibeto-Burman ***kruŋ** *cage* (Garo, Burmese; → Mon **khraŋ** *to enclose*), BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 389; Thai **kroŋ** *cage*; Indonesian → Mon-Khmer then unlikely. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 223.

676 *graŋ *hill, peak*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **krèaŋ** *peak*, Old Khmer **grāñ**, Modern Khmer **kraŋ**! *hill on flat plain*, Riang-Lang **_raŋ** *hill, mountain*.

677 *graŋ; *graiŋ *to know, understand*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **grāñ** /**graŋ**/ *to have knowledge of, know*, Modern Mon **krèaŋ** *understand*.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **grāñ** /**graiŋ**/ = **grāñ**, Vietnamese **sành** *to be expert in*.

678 *graaŋ *threshing gear*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kràiŋ** *threshing-floor in house compound*, Khmer **krì:əŋ**, Kuy **khri:əŋ** *shallow basket for drying seeds &c. in sun*, Vietnamese **sàng** *winnowing-basket, to winnow*.

***679 *grəŋ** *to thunder*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **krèəŋ-krèəŋ** *Onomatopoeic for reverberating sounds*, Besis **garöŋ** *thunder, to thunder* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 120 (a)); → Burmese **khrun:** *to thunder?*; ~ Bahnar **tədnvŋ** *to thunder to dazzle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. **1392 *grəm[?]** &c.

Proto-Austronesian (i) Paiwan, Ami ***gərəŋ** *thunder* (cited at BENEDICT 1975 368, *rumble...*); (ii) by metathesis Proto-Philippine ***luGuŋ** (ZORC & CHARLES); Proto-Manobo ***rugung** (ELKINS).

Note Proto-Yao ***gluŋ**, BENEDICT 1975.

680 *criŋ; *criiŋ; *criəŋ; *craiŋ; *craŋ *widely spaced*.

A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [**səŋràn**] **səŋrìn** *thinly [woven], sparsely*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **soiŋ sriñ**, **criñ** *to be widely spaced*; ~ (***cnriiŋ** >) Bahnar [**bri:**] **dədrì:ŋ**, **tədrì:ŋ** *secondary growth of grass and occasional trees* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khasi; ~ ***cpriəŋ** >) Khasi **saphriang** *to spread, extend* (& **phriang** *to spread out, scatter* by back-fmn).

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **creñ** *spreading, separation [of legs]* (GUESDON 1930), Biat **chra:ŋ** *widely spaced*; ~ (***cmraiŋ** >) Chrau **vra:ŋ** *spread apart*, Bahnar **bra:ŋ** *widely spaced*, Jeh **bra:ŋ** *far apart*, Halang **bra:ŋ** *distance, space*.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **cráŋ** *becoming sparse*.

(SMITH 1972 161.)

680a *[c]riŋ; *[c]riiŋ *to string, thread*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **sriŋ** *to t. [needle], string [beads]* (or B?; probably → Rōglai **sriŋ** *to thread*); ~ (*[c]rriiŋ >) Biat **rluŋ** *string [of beads]*, (**ko:ŋ** —) *necklace*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **kri:ŋ** *to string [beads]* (or A?), Bahnar **sri:ŋ**, **hri:ŋ** *to string [fish]*; (probably) → Cham **thri:ŋ** *to thread*; ~ Bahnar **sədri:ŋ**, **hədri:ŋ** *string of fish &c., kebab*, Bahnar Kontum **dre:ŋ** *necklace*.

Cf. Nancowry **rán** *to thread beads*.

681 *craŋ; *cra[a]ŋ *bank, embankment*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **crañ** /**craŋ**/ *bank*, Modern Mon **səŋ** *bank, shore, side, edge*, Khmer **craŋ** (*steep*) *bank*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **crāñ** (*bund of?*) *tank*, Modern Mon **saiŋ** *dam, reservoir, moat*, Stieng **cʰra:ŋ** *steep*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

682 *[c]rəŋ *beetle*.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c]rrəŋ >) Bahnar **hərəŋ** *beetles, pest attacking paddy*, Sakai **harang-[háru]** *beetle* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 144A); ~ Sre **sənrəŋ** *kind of water- beetle* (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar **hədrə:ŋ** *kind of beetle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps Khasi [**ñiang**] **riang** (then compounding form) *water- beetle*. But connection uncertain **684** *cru(u)ŋ *caterpillar*.

683 *[c]rəəŋ *loft, rack*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Mon) Chil, Kuañ [**ndra:**] **srə:ŋ** *transverse roof timbers*, Bru **trù:ŋ** *shelf under roof*, Nyah Kur ***thrəəŋ**; ~ (*[c]nrəəŋ >) Central Rölöm **ndrə:ŋ** *shelf under roof*, Biat **ndrə:ŋ** *loft, rack*; ~ (*[c]prəəŋ >) Bahnar **prə:ŋ** *loft*.

*t₂-? Connect **658** *riŋ &c. *veranda*?

(BLOOD 1966 p. 35.)

684 *cruŋ; *cruuŋ *caterpillar*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **jrūŋ**; ~ (*cruuŋ >) Biat **ndroŋ** *caterpillar*; ~ *crruŋ >) Khasi [**ñiang**] **long** (compounding form!) *caterpillar, larva, chrysalis*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **cəndru:ŋ** *caterpillar, worm in fruit* (or A?), Bahnar **hədro:ŋ** *caterpillar, silkworm*, Jeh **idru:ŋ** *wood-eating insect*, Halang **hədru:ŋ** *caterpillar*.

Connection uncertain **682** *[c]rəŋ *beetle*.

(SMITH 1972 118.)

685 *crun; *cruun; *cruəŋ sharpened stake set in ground, panji.

A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese *chông* (!) *spikes, stakes* (perhaps < **rcun* by metathesis).

B: (Bahnaric) Sre *srouŋ*, Jeh, Halang *sroŋ panji*, Bahnar *srəŋ, hrəŋ panji*; *sharpened to a point*; → Bru *surəŋ point?*; → Cham *carəŋ*, Rōglai *cərok*, Malay *chorong panji*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer *cro:ŋ* *sticking up, standing up; straight*; ~ *cəmro:ŋ panji*, *any object standing upright in earth*.

For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a **đuuk*. Connection dubious Literary Mon *karān* *stake*.

(SMITH 1972 141.)

686 *jraŋ; *jra[i]ŋ; *jriəŋ hole.

A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon *jrañ* /*jraŋ*/ *pit* (A), Sre *jiraŋ [nko]* *gullet* (DOURNES 1950); (probably ~) Khasi *jarang* *cranny where fish lurk*; ~ (B; *jra[i]ŋ* >) Bahnar *hədra:ŋ* *hole of small animal*.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *criəŋ* *vertical and deep [hole of animal]*.

687 *jnraaŋ to spread legs.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon *həràŋ* *to open [legs], splay*, Khmer *cəŋkrə:ŋ* *to lie on back with arms and legs spread out*, Riang-Lang *_traŋ [_tras]* *to straddle*.

Cf. 577a **jdaŋ* &c. *spread wide...*

†688 *[j]rəŋ red.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *_roŋ*; ~ Kammu-Yuan [*yim*] *sənrò:ŋ* [*sənrì:ŋ*] (contaminated by *səntùuŋ* ad 788 **thuŋ*).

Kammu-Yuan ...*sənrì:ŋ*, Palaung *reŋ* suggest a variant in *-*eŋ*.

Santali *jrəŋ* *deep red, scarlet* (PINNOW 1959 396).

Connection uncertain Malay [*merah*] *měrang* *bright red*, Ngaju Dayak *mahiang* *red* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, **iyaŋ*, a dubious construction); Gayo *ilang* *red*.

689 *jruŋ corner, angle.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *crùŋ*, Stieng *jəru:ŋ*, Biat *jruŋ*.

Conceivably South Bahnaric ← Khmer, < **cr?uŋ*, connected 272 **c?uk* (& Khmer *chù:ŋ*, ib).

690 *jruŋ; *jruuŋ; *jruəŋ; *jrəŋ (& *jrəəŋ by expressive lengthening) high, long.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Bahnar *jʳoŋ* *very high* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang *_cəroŋ* *to be high, tall*, Khasi *jrəŋ* *to be high*; ~ (**jnrūŋ* >) Khmer *cəŋkrùŋ* *big and tall* (& *cùŋkrùŋ*, TANDART 1935).

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *cəŋkrò:ŋ, cùəŋkrò:ŋ* *tall, huge, gigantic*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *?jrə:ŋ* *long piece*.

D: (Katuic, Central Aslian) Semai *cərak* *long*; ~ (**jnrəəŋ* >) Kuy *nthrù:ŋ* *long*.

763 ***slu(u)ŋ** *high* contaminated 172 ***jruuʔ** *deep*. Cf. further Khmer **sraoŋ** *lofty*, **sroŋ** *straight down* (< ***sru(u)ŋ**); & 537 ***j[o(o)]ŋ** *long, high*.
(SHAFFER 1965 120; cf. PINNOW 1959 340.)

691 ***jruŋ**; ***jroŋ**; ***jraŋ** (& ***jra[a]ŋ**?) *post*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **jəro:ŋ**, Sre **jəroŋ**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau [**po:ŋ**] **jroŋ**, Praok **roŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔroŋ**, Mae Sariang **ʔyoŋ**; by secondary derivation ~ Rieng-Lang **kənrəŋ** *house post*, Khasi **kynjreng** *upright*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar **jraŋ** *post*; ~ (***jnra[a]ŋ** >?) Thin **cəndraŋ** *house post*.

By metathesis < ***jruŋ** &c., parallel formation to 538 ***j/n/juŋ**? Note for this Palaung **rəjəŋ** *post*, ~ **jəŋ** *to stand*, ib.

(SMITH 1972 129.)

691a ***t₂raŋ**; ***t₂ra[a]ŋ** *forehead*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (***t₂nraŋ** >) Biat **ndraŋ** [**kle:ŋ**].

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **tra:ŋ** [**vo:ʔ**] (B); ~ (***t₂rra(a)ŋ** >) Khasi **shyllang[mat]**.

Connection dubious Vietnamese **trán**, unless ← South Bahnaric.

692 ***t₂nraaŋ** *man, male*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) West Bahnar **kədra:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **shynrang**.

693 ***t₁raiŋ**; ***t₁riəŋ**; by metathesis ***rt₁iəŋ**; ***rt₁iin** *kind of reed*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Katuic) Khmer **traeŋ**, Bahnar **tra:ŋ** (*kind of*) *reed*, Thin [**trɤh**]-**traŋ** *reed*, Bru **tre:ŋ** *kind of tall grass*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat **tre:ŋ** *reed*, Bahnar **treŋ**, Jeh, Halang **triaŋ** *drinking-tube*.

C: (Bahnaric) Chrau **rətiəŋ** *giant reed*, Bahnar dialects **rəkiaŋ**, **rəte:ŋ**, **rəce:ŋ** *kind of reed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat [**tə:m**] **ti:ŋ** (!) [**kət**] *reed*.

Connect perhaps Proto-Austronesian ***t/ar/iaŋ** *kind of bamboo*: Jarai **tre:ŋ**, &c.

(Proto-Hesperonesian; ch. BLUST 1972 no. 8, *(**CtT**)**eriŋ**; NOTHOFFER 1975 52,

Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***tamian**). But connection dubious B56 ***.riəŋ** *straw*.

(SMITH 1972 148.)

694 ***tr[ə]ŋ** *to filter*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trə:ŋ** *to filter, to catch [liquid] in jar* &c.,

Kuy **tra:ŋ**, Stieng **krə:ŋ!** *to filter, krə:ŋ!* *to decant*, Biat **trəŋ** *to filter*.

Khmer lengthening also in 405 ***[c]r[ə]k**. Stieng **k-** obscure.

695 *trɔŋ to be incompletely ripe.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **krɔŋ** to be halfway ripe, Bahnar **trɔŋ** to be grown to full size but not yet ripe (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

696 *tr[ɔ]ŋ to run straight.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trɔŋ** to be straight, direct, to move directly towards (→ Thai **trɔŋ** straight..., → Kuy **trɔŋ** straight, direct), Stieng **trɔ:ŋ** to aim; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ntrɔŋ** to aim.

Or *trɔŋ.

697 *[t]ruŋ; *[t]ruuŋ; *[t]ruəŋ stable, sty, cage.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?North Bahnaric) Mon **kraŋ** stable, byre, Khmer **trùŋ**, Kuy **thruŋ** cage, pen; → Cham **druŋ** cage; (?) Thai **krɔŋ** cage; ~ West Bahnar **tədruŋ**, East Bahnar **adrɔŋ** birdcage, laying-box (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (if ≠ Kontum Bahnar **kədrɔŋ**, &c., chicken-coop, ad 675 *krɔŋ to confine; then < *[t]nruŋ).

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruuŋ >) Biat **ndru:ŋ** (— **chɛh**) stable, (— **chor**) piggery, sty.

C: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruəŋ >) Kontum Bahnar **kədrɔ:ŋ** shed for animals (contaminated by *krɔŋ?).

Cf. 725 *luŋ &c.; 670 *ruuŋ &c. unpartitioned building.

698 *truuŋ; *truəŋ path, road.

A: (Bahnaric, South Asian) Stieng, Central Rölöm **tro:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **truaŋ**, Semelai **təruŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **trɔ:ŋ**.

Connect 703 *pruŋ &c. to pass through? Cf. also Thin **ruŋ** road (contaminated by Thai **rŋ**?); & 736 *glɔŋ.

(BLOOD 1966 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 216.)

(*t₁ruuŋ see 558 *jt₁uuŋ to strike, beat... .)

***699 *d₂raŋ horn.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon **draŋ** /**draŋ**/ elephant's tusk, Modern Mon **krɛaŋ** horn, tusk., Praok **ruŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔrəŋ**, Mae Sariang **ʔyəŋ**, Khasi **reŋ**, Vietnamese **sùŋ** horn; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cənrùŋ**, Thin **cəndrũŋ** (& by back-formation **drũŋ**) horn; by secondary derivation ~ Rieng-Lang **kəmrəŋ**.

Connect Palaung **nuŋ**?

Sora **'dereŋ-ən**, **'de-raŋ-ən**, **'da-reŋ-ən**, Kharia **dɛ'reŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 347).

Sora suggests vowel assimilation following metathesis; note then Malay **taring** boar's tusk (↔ Semang **tayeng**, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 258). Cf. also Tibeto-Burman ***rwaŋ**, BENEDICT 1972 31-2 no. 85, 32 n. 101; 143.

700 *draŋ (*kind of palm with*) *thorny leaf-stem.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trèaŋ** *Pandanus laevis* or *Rhapis flabelliformis*, Chrau **draŋ** *hard edge of palm-leaf stalk.*

701 *nriŋ; *snriəŋ *hammock litter, cradle.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ʔəŋrùəŋ**, Biat **ŋruəŋ**.
B: (Mon) Mon **həreaŋ** *sareŋ*; → Thai **sàliəŋ**, → royal Khmer **saliəŋ**.

702 *priiŋ; *priəŋ; *pru[ə]ŋ *oil, fat.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **preiŋ**, Stieng, Biat **pri:ŋ** *oil, fat*, Chrau **[da:ʔ] pri:ŋ** *coconut oil*.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **preəŋ** *fat; to be delicious*, Riang-Lang **̄priəŋ** *to be delicious*; ~ (***pnriəŋ** >) Jeh **padre:ŋ** *animal fat*, Halang **bədreəŋ** *fat*.
C: (Khasi) Khasi **phrong** *fatty residue of frying-oil*.
Cf. Khasi **phniang** *oil-seed* (< ***rpniəŋ** by metathesis?). Connection dubious **928** *kləŋ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

703 *pruŋ; *pruəŋ; *pruəŋ *to pass through.*

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre **nroŋ** *narrow passage* (→ Röglai **adroŋ**); ~ Riang-Lang **prəŋ** *pass*.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **[hu] pruəŋ** *to go through, pass through*, Khasi **phrung** *to enter, pass through, to insert*.
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **drə:ŋ** *to go through, pass*.
Root perhaps ***ruŋ** &c. Connect **698** ***truəŋ** &c. *path, road*?

(***pruəŋ** see also **921** ***priiŋ** *to contend*.)

704 *pruəŋ *to cook in a bamboo tube.*

- A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Bahnar **pru:ŋ**.
(SHAFER 1965 483.)

705 *[p]nruəŋ; *pnrəŋ *report, news.*

- A: (Palaungic) Praok **grəŋ** *fact, report*.
B: (Mon) Old Mon **pinrii** /**pənrəŋ**/ *news*, Modern Mon **pəraŋ** *news, report*.
Root perhaps ***r(u)əŋ**; connected Bahnar **tədrə:ŋ** *matter, affair*, Jeh **tadro:ŋ** *matter*, Halang **drədroəŋ** *idea* (cf. SMITH 1972 171); Proto-Austronesian ***ta[g'r]uŋ** (then *-r-): Ngaju Dayak **tarong** *news*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-[l]-; Proto-West-Indonesian).

706 ***briəŋ** (~ ***bnriəŋ**, by metathesis > ***brniəŋ** > ***brɲiəŋ**, by dissimilation > Palaungic &c. ***[b]rɲuəŋ**, ***[b]ryuəŋ**, by analogy also ***[b]ryuŋ**) *rainbow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **briəŋ** [**kaŋ**] (→ Rōglai **briəŋ**); ~ (***bnriəŋ** >) Bahnar **bədrɛ:ŋ**, **pədrɛ:ŋ** (& Rōngao **bədrɛ:ŋ**) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi [**sim**]-**pyllieng** *rainbow*, (by metathesis &c.) Kammu-Yuan **pəryð:ŋ** *dragon*, Thin **pri(y)əŋ** *dragon*, (**dūr** —) *rainbow*, Palaung **pəryəŋ** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang [**kay**] **pəɲuəŋ** *rainbow*, Praok **siyəŋ** *rainbow, dragon*, (***[b]ryuŋ** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayəŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rayəŋ** *rainbow*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 274, *dragon, rainbow*.

(SHAFFER 1965 386.)

707 ***mraŋ** *horse*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **brəŋ**, Riang-Lang **məraŋ**, Praok **bruŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **mbraŋ**, Lawa Umphai **mbrəŋ**, Mae Sariang **mbyəŋ**; ~ (***kuən mraŋ** by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan **həmraŋ**.

Of same origin as Burmese **mraŋ**. For Tibeto-Burman ***m-raŋ** (~ ***s-raŋ-s**) see BENEDICT 1972 43 no. 145 & n. 139; COBLIN 1974:124-5. At BENEDICT 1972 189 n. 487 Benedict argues that ***m-raŋ** & Archaic Chinese **mǎ** 馬 (< ***mwa** < ***mra**) are early loans from a plerisyllabic ***m** [**raŋ**] of unknown origin.

(SHAFFER 1965 385.)

708 ***[s]riə[ŋ]** *intestines*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **hriəŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **riəŋ**, Palaung (!) **rəŋ**.

(***snriəŋ** see 701 ***nriŋ** *hammock litter*... .)

709 ***sraŋ**; ***sra[a]ŋ** *tooth, sharp projection*.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi **shreng** *dorsal fin, spine, prickle*, Mường **thăng** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **răng** *tooth*; ~ (***smr-** >; or B?) Sre **səmpraŋ** *spiny dorsal fin of certain fish* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ra:ŋ**, Thin, Palaung **hraŋ**, Riang-Lang **raŋ**, Praok **raŋ** *tooth*.

(SHAFFER 1965 205.)

†710 ***liiŋ**; ***liəŋ** *waterfall, to gush*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy **lì:ŋ** *to pour slowly*, Bru **ʔali:ŋ** *to pour*; ~ Bahnar **hli:ŋ** *to pour out*; ~ Biat **rlɛ:ŋ** [**da:k**] *flood*; ~ Semang **paling** *to flow* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 184).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [**da:**] **liəŋ**, Biat **lɛ:ŋ** *waterfall*; → Cham **liəŋ** *to wash*.

Cf. 719 ***laəŋ?** *to wash*...; 716 ***laŋ** ...*to condense*.

Sora **lɛ:ŋ**-**lɛ:ŋ**- *to be damp, dripping*, Kharia **lɛŋ** *to flow*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 343; Proto-Munda ***lɛŋgi**).

Proto-Austronesian *[jiliŋ]: Javanese **iling** *to pour cautiously from unspouted vessel*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; Proto-West-Indonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 358, *to p*.

(*liiŋ see also 758 *[r]liiŋ *polished... .*)

711 *liəŋ *young, tender*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **leñ** /leŋ/ *junior [officer]*, Modern Mon [həmɔe] **lèaŋ** *at age of puberty*, Stieng **liəŋ** *pliant, flexible*, Riang-Lang **liəŋ** *shoot, blade*; ~ Palaung **rəliəŋ** *boy, youth*.

Cf. 726 *luŋ &c.

(*liəŋ see also 758 *[r]liiŋ *...to glisten.*)

712 *leŋ *to sport, play*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon **leñ** [lah] *to enjoy*, Khmer **lè:ŋ** *to play sport, divert oneself*, Chrau **le:ŋ** *(to do) as a diversion*.

713 *leen (& *leŋ?) *to borrow, hire*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **lòŋ** *to hire, rent*, (variant >?) Sre **leŋ** *to borrow*.

†714 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *laiŋ *large raptor*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*laŋ laŋ > *Inlaŋ >) Mon **kənèaŋ** *kite*; ~ (*klaŋ >) Sre **klaŋ**, Chrau **khlaŋ** *hawk, large raptor*, (or variant?) Central Sakai **kla^k** *hawk*.

B, C: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) (Semai **la:ŋ** *buzzard* (TAUERN 1914) if not ← Malay, below); ~ Khmer **khlaeŋ** *kite* (C; → Kuy **lhe:ŋ**, **slè:ŋ** *kite (toy)?*), Kuy **k(ə)la:ŋ** *hawk* (B), Biat **kla:ŋ** *hawk, large raptor*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:ŋ** *hawk* &c., Kammu-Yuan **klá:ŋ** *kite, hawk, eagle*, Palaung, Praok **klaŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṭklaŋ** *kite, hawk*, (C) Khasi **khlieng** (~ **'lieng**) *kite, eagle*, (B/C) Central Nicobarese **kəla:ŋ** *white-bellied eagle*, Nancowry **kalán** *vulture*; → Cham **kala:ŋ**, Jarai **kla:ŋ**, Röglai **kalak**, North Röglai **kala:k** *hawk, large raptor*, Acehnese **klöəŋ** *hawk*.

Cf. A46 *kliŋ *kite (toy)*.

(SHAFFER 1965 63; BLOOD 1966 300; SMITH 1972 156; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 4 (a).)

Sora **ə'daŋ-ən** *kite* Proto-Austronesian *[qS]əlaŋ: Malay **lang**, **həlang** *hawk, kite, eagle*, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 170, Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***həllaŋ**; Proto-West-Indonesian if Iban **lang** is not ← Malay).

Proto-Austroic, Proto-Austroasiatic ***qəlaŋ** or the like? Proto-Mon-Khmer ***k-** then animal prefix; or < ***q-**? Hence Tibeto-Burman ***laŋ**, BENEDICT 1972 72 no. 333 & n. 225; note Kachin **gəlaŋ** *eagle, kite, hawk*.

***715 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liŋ to wander.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre [liŋ] **laŋ** *here and there, back and forth* (→ Röglai), Riang-Lang **laŋ** [le] *to wander abroad*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung (MILNE 1931, songs) [leh] **laŋ**, (~; or tone by phrasal assimilation) Vietnamese **lang** [bang &c.] *to wander*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre liŋ [laŋ] *here and there...* (→ Röglai), Praok [hu lay] **liŋ** *to go from place to place*.

Cf. 1513 *ləyh.

Proto-Austronesian (i; *laŋlaŋ) Javanese **langlang** *to wander*; (ii) *d'alaŋ: Malay **jalang** *to wander*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 46; Proto-West-Indonesian).

716 *laŋ to melt, to condense.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ləaŋ *to melt*, Literary Mon **laŋ** also [dew] *to be precipitated*, Khasi **lang** [e.g. water] *to condense, collect*.

Cf. 719 *laaŋ? *to wash...*; 710 *liiŋ &c. ...*to gush*.

717 *laŋ with black markings.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **laŋ** *white with black stripes, piebald* (DOURNES 1950), Riang-Lang **laŋ**, Praok **luŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **laŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **loŋ** *to be black*.

(SHAFFER 1965 390.)

718 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liiŋ to destroy.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **blaŋ** /**blaŋ**/ [pliŋ].

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer li:əŋ (→ Thai láaŋ); ~ Bahnar **kla:ŋ** *to dig up, ditch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *bliiŋ >) Khmer **rùmlì:ŋ** *to dig out and clear away [tree-stumps], to dissipate one's property*, (~?) Biat **pli:ŋ** *to break [dyke] down*.

719 *laaŋ? to wash, to bring water to.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon **lāŋ** *to wash (away)*, Khmer li:əŋ (→ Thai láaŋ) *to wash*; ~ late Middle Mon **lamlāŋ** *dew* (contaminated by 716 *laŋ ...*to condense*, which compare?); ~ Literary Mon **klāŋ** *to clean*, Bahnar **kla:ŋ** *to direct water, channel*, Vietnamese **tráng** *to rinse [dish &c.]*; ~ Thin **kəmlaŋ** *to gush out, overflow, to cause to gush out, to spit* (contaminated by 710 *liiŋ &c., which compare).

(SMITH 1972 160.)

720 *la[a]ŋ (& *laŋ?) to unfold.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **laŋ** (< variant?),

Central Rölöm (BLOOD 1966), Bahnar **la:ŋ**, Central Nicobarese [cum]-**la:ŋ**-[haiŋe], Nancowry **lāŋ**, **cuŋlāŋi**.

721 *lɔŋ to be immersed.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *lùəŋ* to drown, Stieng *lɔ:ŋ* to capsize, Central Nicobarese *lɔŋ-[ʃe]* to sink, Nancowry *lɔŋsi*, *lɔŋ* that which cannot float; ~ Stieng *klɔ:ŋ* to immerse; ~ Khmer *bəmpʰlùəŋ* to immerse, sink (TANDART 1935).

Add as derivation 733 *klɔŋ perennial water? Cf. 423 *lək &c.; 1077 *lət &c. to be extinguished.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

722 *lɔŋ; *lɔəŋ to echo.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*lml- >) Mon *pəlòŋ lamlān* &c., Khmer *lùənlùəŋ* echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A); ~ (*lmp- >; B) Khmer *rùmpò:ŋ*, (TANDART 1935) *lùmpò:ŋ* (to) echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A), (A?) Sre *mpon* echo (→ Röglai).

Cf. Vietnamese *lũng* to resound; Ilocano *gumluong* to resound, reverberate.

723 *lɔəŋ to try, test.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer *lɔ:ŋ*, Kuy *lù:əŋ*, Biat *lɔ:ŋ [uəŋ]*, Stieng, Sre (→ Röglai), Jeh *lɔ:ŋ* to try, test, Bahnar *lɔ:ŋ* to be tested; apparently → Lawa Bo Luang *laŋ*, Lawa Umphai *lɔŋ* by interdialectal borrowing; ~ Khmer *prəlɔ:ŋ* to compete, to take a test (contaminated by 921 *pruŋ to contend?), Bahnar *pəlɔ:ŋ* to try, test; ~ Halang *təloəŋ* to try, test.

(BLOOD 1966 77; SMITH 1972 175.)

†724 *luŋ[h]; *luəŋh; *ləŋ[h] hole, hollow; to bore, excavate.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer *lùŋ* to dig hole, drill, bore, excavate, Central Nicobarese *[oŋ]lɔŋ* to drill hole, Nancowry *ʔuŋlɔŋ*, *lɔŋa* hole; ~ Sre *[da:] tərluŋ* well, Chrau *təluŋ* deep place in river, Jeh *talòŋ* hole (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi *tyllong [um]* well, spring; ~ Bahnar *səluŋ* pit, ditch, well, abyss.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer *rùmlò:ŋ* flood-basin; ~ Vietnamese *trũng* to be concave, low, hollow; ~ (*trluəŋh >) Bahnar *tədu:ŋ* hole, hollow, cutting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer *ʔənlùəŋ* hole in stream-bed; ~ Mon *klan* to bore (rather than A, cf. next); ~ Middle Mon *kamluīn*, Modern Mon *pəlaŋ* well.

Add as derivatives 745 *t₁luŋ &c. throat; 747 *d₂luŋ &c. boat? Cf. also 666 *ruŋh &c. hole, hollow; 733 *klɔŋ perennial water.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

Sora *lʔu:ŋ-ən*, (compounding form) (')lu(:)ŋ-ən pit.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *baluŋ: Malay *balong* pond, pool, puddle, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 25; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *paluŋ: Malay *palung* trough, &c. (ib. no. 283; Proto-Hesperonesian).

725 *luŋ; *luuŋ; *luəŋ *stable, sty, cage.*

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lồng** *cage*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) **louŋ** *sty*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **chuồng** (for **trường**) *cage, shed, coop, stable, sty*; ~ (***nləuŋ** >) Biat **nəuŋ** *cage*.

Cf. 697 ***[t]ruŋ** &c.

726 *luŋ; *luuŋ; *luəŋ *young, tender.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) ~ Khmer **pùənlùŋ** *young bamboo plant*, Sre **bənuŋ** *young [plant]*, Bahnar **bənuŋ** *young, young bamboo*.

B: (Palaungic) Khasi **lung** *young, tender*; ~ (***t₂əəm luuŋ** by contraction >?) Thin **cluŋ** *shoot*; ~ Riang-Lang **pluŋ** *to be tender, to be adolescent*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **bləuŋ** *adolescent person; [bamboo] beginning to grow* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Röglai **lon** *young [plant]*; & 711 ***liəŋ**. Connect 756 ***blə[]ŋ** *shoot, sapling?*

727 *luŋ; *luəŋ; *ləŋ *above, on.*

A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang **ləŋ** *on (to)*, Praok **lon** *above*, Sakai **[gua]-long** *on top* (i.e. Jah Hut; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 9); ~ (***[]nləuŋ** >) Palaung **nuŋ** *far above*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **ləŋ** *(to go) high up*.

C: (Khasi; ~ ***[]nləŋ** >) Khasi **nəŋ** *above*.

Cf. (i) Kontum Bahnar **kəpəŋ** *above, on top of*, Halang **pəŋ** *above*, Jeh **pəŋ** *upper side* (< ***lpə(ə)ŋ**? Kuy **has pəŋ** *on, above*, Bru **pəŋ** *above*); (ii) Sora **lan̄ka:n** *above*, &c., PINNOW 1959 364. But connection dubious Old Mon **clon** /**cləŋ**/ *highest point, spire*; or Khmer **laəŋ** *to rise up...*, ↔ Thai **lǎəŋ** *going up too high*.

728 *luuŋ *to sway.*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **[ləŋ &c.] ləŋ** *swaying, vibrating, teetering* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **luŋ [laŋ]** *to swing* (MILNE 1931), Praok **[puk plək] luŋ [ləŋ]** *to sway*; ~ Khmer **khləŋ** *unstable, swaying*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**. Cf. (i) B59 ***[l]a[a]ŋ**; (ii) Bahnar **ləŋ gəŋ** *swaying, swinging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (iii) Santali **lawəŋ lawəŋ** *dangling, hanging loosely*, PINNOW 1959 K 523.

729 *luuŋ; *luəŋ; *liiŋ *firefly.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **[way] luŋ**, Biat **luŋ** *glow-worm*, Riang-Lang **luŋ [liau]** *firefly*.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **hləŋ** *firefly* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Mon, Khmuic, Katuic) Mon **[lək] loŋ**; ~ Kammu dialect **[rà:ŋ] klə:ŋ**; ~ Bru **malŋ lə?**

729a *kli[ŋ]; *klii[ŋ] black ant.

A: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **kəmilenŋ** *kind of small black ant.*

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **kali:ŋ**, Biat **kule:ŋ**, (or A?) Sre **kəlinŋ** *black ant.*

Or *-j; so connected B68 ***briiŋ** &c. *kind of ant?*

730 *klinŋ; *kliiŋ; *kliəŋ to rotate, to spin.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **krəlŋ** *to rotate, to turn on lathe*; ~ Palaung **kənlenŋ** *wheel*, Riang-Lang **kənlenŋ** *wheel, spinning-wheel*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **klinŋ** *to spin*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaləiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rəleiŋ** *spindle*.

C: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon **klen** /**klenŋ**/, Modern Mon **keanŋ** *to spin*, Thin **kliəŋ** *to rotate*; ~ (***knliəŋ** >) Middle Mon **kanen**, Literary Mon **knen** *spindle* (& Modern Mon **neanŋ** by hypercorrection).

731 *[k]liəŋ forehead.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **[ndranŋ] kle:ŋ**, Bahnar **kleŋ**, Jeh **kle:ŋ**, Halang **kleanŋ**; by secondary derivation ~ Sre **biŋliəŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 97; SMITH 1972 123.)

732 *klaŋʔ; *kla[a]ŋ[] white.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Muong (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **trắng**; ~ (***kmlaŋʔ** >; contaminated by 750 ***plaŋʔ** *to shine?*) Bahnar **blaŋ** *shining white* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric; ~ ***kmla[a]ŋ[]** >) Bahnar **bəla:ŋ** *white[thread]*, (by assimilation ***knl-** >) Chrau **kəna:ŋ**, Biat **ŋla:ŋ** *white*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **sənla:ŋ** *clean white, brand-new*.

733 *kləŋ perennial water.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Stieng **klo:ŋ** *deep place in stream, pool in marsh*, Sre **kləŋ** *water-hole in river bed*, Bahnar **kləŋ** *deep part of river*, Bru **kləŋ** *water-hole, deep-water channel*, Palaung **kləŋ** *quantifier for watercourses* (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **kləŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kləŋ** *stream*; ~ (***kpləŋ** >) Palaung **pləŋ** *stream*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prələŋ** (!) *puddle*.

~ 721 ***ləŋ** *to be immersed?* Cf. 724 ***luŋ[h]** &c. *hole...*; 668 ***(k-)ruŋ** &c. *... river*; & Tibeto-Burman ***kluŋ** *river*, BENEDICT 1972 39 no. 127, 39-40 n. 129; further Burmese **khyoŋ**: *stream*.

(SHAFFER 1965 66.)

734 *kluj; *kluuj; *kluəŋ *kind of resinous tree.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **khloŋ** *Dipterocarpus cordatus crispatus*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng [tə:m] **kluj** *kind of resinous tree resembling wood-oil tree*, Sre **klo:ŋ!** *kind of resinous tree*.

C: (Mon; ?) Old Mon [chu] **klonñ** /klon/, Modern Mon **klon** *Terminalia tomentosa*.

735 *kluuj (& *kluj?); *[k]luəŋ *middle, belly.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **kluj** (*in the*) *middle*, Sre **kluj** (or < *-uj?; → Röglai **kluk**) *stomach*, Rieng-Lang **kluj** *belly, womb*; ~ (*knl- >) Sre **kənuj** *heartwood; yolk* (< *-uj?), East Bahnar **glu:ŋ** *middle finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*kpluuj >) Sre **plu:ŋ** *paunch* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Viet-Muong) ~ Muong (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **lòng** *intestines, heart*.

Note further Kammu-Yuan **lìŋ** *middle* (under the entry 582 *kđiŋ); Kenaboi **bûlang** *belly*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 162 (a).

(SHAFFER 1965 64.)

736 *gləŋ *path, road.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Aslian) Mon **kləŋ** *road, track, way*, Kuy **khlu:əŋ** *tracks, mark, trace, crack*, Kensi **gəŋ** *path, road*; ~ Khmer **kùəŋəŋ** *way, tracks*.

If 739 *cləŋ ...to pass is a variant-prefix form, Praok **ləŋ** *to go along* may reflect the simplex. Bahnar **glu:ŋ** *wide [road]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), cited as *road* at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49, is not connected. Cf. further 698 *truuj &c.

737 *gluj; *gl[i]ŋ *much, many.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **gluñ**, **glon** /gluŋ/, (in part, cf. B) Modern Mon **kləŋ** *to be much, many*, (~?) Palaung **luŋ** (!) [*animals*] *to be many*; → Shan **lɔ̃ŋ** *to be plentiful*; ~ Khasi **kyllong** *very big*.

B: (Mon; or *-əŋ) Middle Mon **gluñ** = Old Mon **gluñ** &c. (so in part Modern Mon **kləŋ**, Proto-Nyah Kur *khəmləŋ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90); cf. further for the variant Old Mon, rare, **gumlin** &c. attributive beside **gumluñ** &c.).

738 *gluəŋ *enclosure.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon **glon** /glon/ *citadel, palace*; ~ Chrau **gəŋəŋ** *fence*.

TANDART 1935 has obsolete Khmer **ghluəŋ** *treasury, storehouse*; cf. Modern Mon **khleəŋ**, ↔ Thai **kʰlaŋ**, not readily referable to *gləŋ. Connect B61 *[s]l(u)əŋ *to wall?*

739 *cɿɿŋ to cross, pass.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chɿɿŋ**, Kuy (c)**la:ŋ**, Stieng **cəɿɿŋ**, **səlo:ŋ** *to cross*; ~ Khmer **crəlɿɿŋ** *narrow valley &c. between hills, path, pass*, Biat **rlɿɿŋ** *passage*.

Perhaps *c-**ɿɿŋ**, cf. 736 ***glɿɿŋ** *path, road* & Khmer **rùmlɿɿŋ** *to pass over, pass beyond*, **kənlɿɿŋ** *to step over; passing, past*.

***740 *jliiŋ (& *jliŋ?); *jla[i]ŋ long.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **-jlin** /**jliŋ**/, Modern Mon **klɿɿŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdɿɿŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔleɿŋ**, Semelai **jəlu:ŋ** (contaminated by 763 ***sluŋ** *high?*), Mah Meri **jəlɿŋ**, (***jliŋ** > ?) Central Nicobarese **cəliŋ**, Nancowry **caliŋ**.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **laŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdaŋ** (& **ʔduŋ**), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **ʔlaŋ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

Mundari **jliŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 396a).

741 *trlii[ŋ] to lose one's way.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəloɿŋ** **taliŋ** *to be mistaken, to mistake [route]*, Nyah Kur **təliŋ** (suggests *-**ŋ**?), Stieng **trəli:ŋ** *to get lost*.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **lónŋ** *to forget, fail to recognize*, Thin **hlonŋ** *to lose one's way?* (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

742 *tlaŋ side of figure.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **tlaiŋ** /**tlaŋ**/, Modern Mon **kleŋ**, Stieng **klaŋ**; ~ Pangan **nglang** (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198).

743 *[t]laŋ; *tlaaŋ large vessel.

A: (Palaungic; ~?) Praok **klonŋ** *bowl*, Lawa Umphai **klonŋ** *kind of bowl*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klaiŋ** *large wide-mouthed jar*, Khmer **thla:ŋ** *large earthenware cooking-pot*.

744 *t₁luŋ; *t₁luuŋ; *t₁luəŋ throat.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **khroaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **kraaŋ** [le?] (**k(h)**- part-of-body prefix).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **tro:ŋ**; ~ (***t₁rluuŋ** >) Bahnar **həloŋ**; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **rumlo:ŋ** [kə:], (by assimilation ***rnɿ**- >) Rōngao **rənoŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Nicobaric; ~ ***tnluəŋ** >) Central Nicobarese **oŋlɿɿŋə** *neck*, Nancowry **ʔuŋlónə**. For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a ***duuk**. Connect Proto-Miao-Yao ***klaaŋ** *neck, throat*, BENEDICT 1975 232, *between...* (I). Perhaps ~ 724 ***luŋ[h]** &c. *hole, hollow...*

(SMITH 1972 147; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 102 (b).)

745 *Tliiŋ; *Tliəŋ to bind, hobble.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **thli:ŋ**, Sre **kliŋ** (→ Rōglai), Bahnar **kle:ŋ** to hobble [animal] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **kleñ** hobbles; ~ Khmer **tùənli:ŋ**, Kuy **thli:n**, Stieng **gli:ŋ** elephant hobbles, Biat **ŋle:ŋ** hobbles; ~ Bahnar **gle:ŋ** = **kle:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon) Mon **klean** to bind; ~ **kənean** bonds.

746 *d₁liəŋ to carry hanging down.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Late Middle Mon **dleñ** ? /**gleŋ**/, Modern Mon **kləaŋ** to carry slung from a yoke, Thin **tliəŋ** to carry in one's hand.

747 *d₂luŋ; *d₂luuŋ; *d₂luəŋ; *d₂ləŋ boat.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ʔlon**; ~ (*d₂pluŋ >) Sre, Bahnar **pluŋ**.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **dluñ** /**dluŋ**/, Modern Mon **kləŋ**; ~ Jeh, Halang **plu:ŋ**.

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **cə̀lò:ŋ**; ~ Riang-Lang **cə̀nluəŋ**.

D: (Khasi) Khasi with secondary lengthening **lieng**.

Perhaps ~ 724 *luŋ[h] &c. ...to bore, excavate. Hence Tibeto-Burman *(m-)lon, BENEDICT 1972 120 no. 467?

(SHAFFER 1965 232, 540, 579; SMITH 1972 119.)

748 *n[l]uŋ; *n[l]uuŋ; *[l]nuuŋ gourd, egg-plant.

A: (Khasi; by dissimilation > *dluŋ > ?) Khasi **klong** bottle- gourd.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **nhouŋ** bottle- gourd, Chrau **nhò:ŋ** gourd (BLOOD 1966); ~ Riang-Lang **tərluŋ** egg-plant.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **nuñ** ?/nuŋ/, Modern Mon **nəŋ** water-pot, Old Khmer **noñ**, Modern Khmer **rənò:ŋ** bitter gourd, **nənò:ŋ** plant similar to egg-plant, Kuy **nò:ŋ nò:ŋ** *Luffa cylindrica*, Stieng **nù:ŋ** [dà:k] bottle- gourd, Biat **no:ŋ** gourd; → Cham **lanoñ** kind of egg-plant.

Obscure. Cf. 587 *d₁rđu(ə)ŋ. C perhaps *n- in view of Old Mon, Old Khmer; Khmer **rə-**, **nə-** then prefixes; Khasi, Riang-Lang conceivably ~ *(r-)n₂-. South Bahnaric B then perhaps rather < *d/n/huŋ, ultimately ~ *d₁r-đuŋ & so Austric.

(BLOOD 1966 9.)

†749 *[p]laŋ; *[p]laiŋ thatching-grass.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer **plāñ**, Modern Khmer **phlèaŋ**, Kuy **plaŋ**, Palaung **pləŋ**, Riang-Lang **pləŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **plaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **pləŋ** thatching-grass, Khasi **phlang** (~ 'lang) grass.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **plà:ŋ** elephant grass, Vietnamese **tranh** thatching-grass.

Connection obscure Central Sakai **plɔ:k roof** (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 34; Proto-Semai ***plooʔ**, DIFFLOTH 1977).

(SHAFFER 1965 392.)

Sora **ə'la:ŋ-ən**, **'a:ləŋ-ən**, (compounding form) **la:ŋ-ən** *jungle grass, thatch*, **'a:ləŋ-** *to thatch*, Kharia **ɔ'lon** *long grass*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 270).

Proto-Austronesian ***lalan**: Acehnese **nalöŋ** (*kinds of*) *grass*, Cham **rala:ŋ** *thatching-grass*, Malay **lalang** *kind of long grass*, Iban **lalang** *Imperata cylindrica* (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

750 ***plaanʔ** *to shine*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **plan** *to shine, be light*; ~ (***pmlaanʔ** >) Praok **blan** [*sky*] *to be clear*, Khasi **phalang** *to glitter* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **láng** *to shine, be shiny*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pərlà:ŋ** *planet*; ~ (***phl-** >) Bru **palian** *to shine light on*, Kuy has **phriən**!

Connect obscure Late Middle Mon **khlañ** [*lacañ lam'ah*] *to shine, glitter*; as Khmer **pəplon** *bright light*. Cf. 732 ***klanʔ** &c. *white*.

751 ***pləŋ** []; ***pləəŋʔ** *egg*.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **pylleng**.

B: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mường **trống** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **trứng**; ~ Semai **pəŋlə:k**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 37 (a).)

(***pləŋ** see 616 ***lpun** *to blow*.)

752 ***plɔ[ɔ]ŋ** *tube*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Mon **plon** *tube, pipe, chimney, funnel*, Thin **plon** *tube*, Central Sakai **lôk** *outer barrel of blowpipe*; ~ Mon **pəncŋ**, Khmer **panlañ** *fisherman's float* (GUESDON 1930).

Cf. Khmer **klɔ:ŋ** *tube*, ↔ Cham **klaun**; Bahnar **təlc:ŋ həi** [*tube*] *open at both ends* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***pluŋ** see 616 ***lpun** *to blow*.)

753 ***[b]liəŋ**; ***bləŋ** *to be askew, to swerve*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pləəŋ** **bleñ** *to be awry*, (**plèt** —) *to miss the mark*; Khmer **panliəñ** *to go round about* (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **pləŋ** *to miss a goal, to be in error*; → Shan **pəŋ**.

Connect 759 ***sliŋ** &c. *to be tilted*...?

754 ***bla[a]ŋ** (& ***blaŋ**?) *noisy kind of bird*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **plà:ŋ** *bluethroat*, *Erithacus* species; ~ Sre **bərlaŋ** (< variant?) *plover*, *Sarcogrammus indicus*, Chrau **vala:ŋ** *swift* (contaminated by 760 ***[s]liŋ** &c.), Bahnar **[sɛ:m] bəla:ŋ**, Bru **phaliŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **rà:ŋ** [**có:k** &c.] *laughing thrush*, *Garrulax* species; ~ (***brl-** >) Pakoh **parla:ŋ** *swift*; → Cham **pīla:ŋ** *starling*, North Röglai **bala:k** *kind of bird*.

Connect 757 ***rliiŋ** *starling*? If rather ***k^wla([a])ŋ** might be constructed, add Mon **[həcem]** **kələŋ** *starling*.

755 ***[b]la[a]ŋ** *Bombax* species.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **blaŋ** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **[tə:m] bla:ŋ** [**gɔ:r**] *Bombax malabarica*, Bahnar **bla:ŋ** *kinds of silk-cotton tree*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 164.)

†756 ***blə[]ŋ** *shoot, sapling*.

A: (Mon) Mon **plàŋ**.

Connect 629a ***lm[b][ə]ŋ** *shoot* by metathesis; & perhaps 726 ***b(n)-luŋ** &c. *young (plant)*.

Sora **'budaŋ-**, **bu'daŋ-** *to sprout*; (-əŋ) *sprout*.

757 ***rliiŋ** *starling*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) → Cham **lain** [**lauŋ**]; ~ (***[k]rliiŋ** >) Mon **kəloŋ** *myna*, Old Khmer **graliŋ-[gralon]**, Modern Khmer **krəli:ŋ-**, **krələ:ŋ-[krələ:ŋ]** *black-collared starling*, *Gracupeia nigricollis*; ~ (***brliiŋ** >; contaminated by 754 ***b/r/la[a]ŋ**, which perhaps connect?) Sre **bərliŋ** *magpie-robin*, Bahnar **bəli:ŋ** *grey dove*!; (***ciim** [**b]rliiŋ**) → Malay **chəmpərliŋ**, **təpərliŋ** *starling*.

Or ***k^w-rliiŋ**?

758 ***[r]liiŋ**; ***[r]liəŋ** *polished, to glisten*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rəli:ŋ** *clean and smooth, polished*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **leəŋ** *to glisten*.

Or ***l-**, Khmer < ***lə-liiŋ**?

*759 ***sliŋ**; ***sliiŋ**; ***sliəŋ**; ***slaiŋ** *to be tilted, to squint*.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***srliŋ** >) Sre **[mat] səriŋ** *to squint*; → Röglai **sərliŋ** [**məta:**].

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Chrau **cre:ŋ** [**mat**] *to squint*, Sre **sərli:ŋ**, Bahnar **həre:ŋ** *to lean over*; ~ Khasi **sharing** *slope, declivity*; ~ (***spliŋ** >) Bahnar **pli:ŋ** *to squint*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **sli:ŋ**, **lhi:ŋ** *to squint*; ~ Khmer **srəliəŋ** *cross-eyed*; ~ Khasi **shyngkhliang** *cross-eyed* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **pla:ŋ** [**mat**] *cross-eyed*.

Cf. 753 ***[b]liəŋ** &c. *to be askew...*; 494 ***lɪəŋ(?)** *to slant, be skewed*; 1862 ***slew?** *to squint*.

Proto-Austronesian ***d'uliŋ**: Malay **juling** *squinting*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 441; Proto-Hesperonesian).

760 ***[s]liŋ**; ***[s]liiŋ**; ***[s]liəŋ**; ***[s]laiŋ** *swallow*.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***[s]pliŋ** >) Riang-Lang **[sim]** **ˀpleŋ**.

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***[s]rliiŋ** >) Chrau **səle:ŋ**, Biat **rle:ŋ**.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Gölar Bahnar **[se:m]** **ple:ŋ** *house-martin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **[ce:m]** **lɬe:ŋ** *swallow*, Central Nicobarese **minleŋə** *swiftlet*
Connect Toba Batak **leang-leang** *swallow*, referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 90 to Proto-Austronesian ***laiaŋ** *to glide, soar*. Cf. 754 ***bla[a]ŋ**.

761 ***slaŋ** *dazed*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **hləŋ**, Khmer **slaŋ** **[kaŋ]**; ~ Mon **[mòt klək]** **hələŋ** *to have poor sight*, Khmer **srələŋ** *dumbfounded*.

‡762 ***sləəŋ** *to wear [lower garment]*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon **sluiŋ** **[ket]**, Khasi **slieng**.

Cf. 453 ***sl[u]k**.

Proto-Austronesian ***[t']uluŋ**: Pangasinan **solóng** *to wear, put on*, Hanunóo **súlung** *putting on, wearing*; perhaps Proto-Oceanic ***sulu** *(to put on) sarong* (BLUST 1971 no. 87, *(**cs**)-; rather than ***t'aruŋ** *sheath*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 148).

†763 ***sluŋ**; ***sluŋ** *high*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung **hluŋ** *to be high, long*, Praok **laŋ** *to be high, downwind*, Lawa Bo Luang **hloaŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hlaŋ** *high*; ~ Khmer **sraluŋ** *very deep* (GUESDON 1930); ~ (***smluŋ** >) Praok **blaŋ** *upper part*, Lawa Bo Luang **mbloaŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mblaŋ** *hill*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **sluŋ**, Modern Mon **hləŋ** *to be high*; ~ Old Mon **sumlūŋ** /**səmluŋ**/ *high*, Modern Mon **hələŋ** **[ca]** *south*; ~ Khmer **srəlo:ŋ** = **sraluŋ**.

Note also Khmer **prəloŋ** *length*; (***lnluəŋ** >?) Bahnar **rəno:ŋ** *long; length* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). ***slu(u)ŋ** contaminated by 172 ***jruu?** &c. *deep* yields 690 ***jruŋ** &c. *high, long*; cf. further 740 ***jliiŋ** &c. *length*.

(SHAFFER 1965 224.)

Kharia **səloŋ** *deep*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 340; & Kharia **jaləŋ** *high*, &c., contaminated by cognate of ***jliiŋ**: ib).

764 ***[s]luŋ** *to tie up, moor*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer **sənləŋ** *large hitching- or mooring-post*; ~ (***[s]rluŋ** >)

Middle Mon **caloŋ** /**cəluŋ**/! **[ciŋ]** (with **c-** by phrasal assimilation?), Modern Mon **hələŋ** **[coiŋ]** *post to which elephant is tethered*.

†765 *wiŋ; *wiŋ; *wiəŋ; *waiŋ; *wəŋ; *wuəŋ; *wuŋ; *wuŋ to go round, turn.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Khmer **vùŋ** *again, back*, Bahnar **wiŋ** *curve, eddy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **veŋ** *to go back, return*, Pangan **weg** *to return* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 83; or B); ~ (*[t]rwiŋ >) Bahnar **dəwəŋ**, **təwəŋ** *surrounding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok [sivə] **sivəŋ** *around*; (or B) ~ Khmer **srəvŋ** *drunk*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **ui:ŋ** [wai] *giddiness* (or A?), Bahnar **wi:ŋ** *to move in curves, wind, eddy, to be giddy*, Riang-Lang **_viŋ** *to go back, return*; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kətwət &c.] **kəŋwè:ŋ** *to wag, wave*; ~ Khasi **rwing** *to go and return the same day*; ~ Old Mon **tumwīn** /**təmwiŋ**/ *enclosure* (replaced by **tameñ**, C; < *t₂əəm **wiŋ** by contraction?); ~ (*swiŋ >, cf. Khmer **srəvŋ**, A) Mon **hwoiŋ** *to wave (arms) about, gesticulate*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **wēñ** /**wəŋ**/ *to avoid, to turn aside*, Modern Mon **wèaŋ** *to avoid* (in part; merging following, which compare), Khmer **viəŋ** *way round, bend*, Palaung **viəŋ** *to move aimlessly* (MILNE 1931); ~ Khasi **khwiang** *to wind or turn round when walking*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *curving, winding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **kərveəŋ** *coil; to be coiled, to coil*, Khasi **khyrwiang** *to go round*; ~ Literary Mon **tameñ** *compound* = Modern Mon **kəmeaŋ** *outer part of veranda* (cf. Old Mon **tumwīn**, B); by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ncue:ŋ** *to throng round*.

D: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **wāñ**, **wēñ** /**waiŋ**/ *to pay a visit to, go to meet, welcome*, Stieng **ua:ŋ** *to make a detour*, Bahnar **wa:ŋ** *to go round*, Praok [vuŋ] **veŋ** *around*; ~ Mường **quenh** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **quanh** *to be around, to be winding, tortuous, twisting*; ~ Khmer **trəvə:ŋ** *oval*, Biat **rwa:ŋ** *to roll into a ball*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon **wīñ** /**wōŋ**/, Modern Mon **wāŋ** *to go round, to be bent round, circular* (or A), Khmer **vùəŋ** *sphere, circle, disc*, Vietnamese **vàng** *disc, orb*; ~ Cham **waŋ** *warped*; ~ (*krwəŋ >) Khmer **krəvəŋ** *circular*, Khasi **kylleng** *abroad, everywhere*; (**phah** — - —) *to circulate*; ~ Bahnar **[dui:ŋ] duə:ŋ** [tail] *to wag* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vuəñ** *circle* (GUESDON 1930), Mường (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **vòng** *circle, ring, hoop...; to trace a circle, move in a circle*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *curving* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **vòng** *to be arched, curved*.

H: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **vuŋ** [vəŋ] *around*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *large and curving* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

F-H secondary. Connect 931 *wiŋ &c. ...to go round; 767 *wa(a)ŋ *enclosure*; perhaps 768a *wa[i]ŋ &c. *to borrow*.

(SHAFFER 1965 197; SHORTO 1973 375-8, with further derivatives)

Kharia **əŋ** *to return*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317).

Proto-Austronesian *k[ə]uiŋ: Iban **kuing** *to turn*, Ilocano **kiwing** *crooked, bent, curved* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

766 *wɛŋ (& *wɛɛŋ?) to turn aside, turn away (v.i.t.).

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Old Mon *wɛŋ* /wɛŋ/ *to avoid, to turn aside*, Modern Mon *wɛaŋ* *to avoid* (in part; merging 765 *wiəŋ, which compare), Sre *wɛ:ŋ* *to push away, chase away* (< variant if length not secondary; → Röglai *wa:ŋ* *to chase away?*), Khasi (*ia-*)*weng* *to remove*; ~ Khmer *vùəŋvè:ŋ* *to go astray, lose [one's way]*.

767 *waŋ; *waəŋ enclosure; to go round.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon *waŋ*, Modern Mon *wəaŋ* *enclosure esp. round palace &c.*, Khmer *vəəŋ* *enclosure, palace, to enclose*, Sre *waŋ* *cattle-yard, pound*, Kammu-Yuan *wàŋ* *to girdle [tree]*; → Burmese *waŋ*: *fence, enclosure*, → Shan *vāŋ*, probably → Palaung *vaŋ* (or < B); Thai *waŋ* *palace*.
 B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer *vɪ:əŋ* *to avoid; detouring, winding*, Stieng dialect *ua:ŋ* *village*, Sre *wa:ŋ* = *waŋ*; → Cham *wa:ŋ* [*ratəŋ*] *to surround*; ~ Biat *ɲua:ŋ* *compartment*; ~ Lawa Umphai *maŋ*['mon] *circular*.
 Khmer *to avoid...*, as Kammu-Yuan, by attraction 765 *wiəŋ &c., which connect. Thence ultimately are Thai *wiaŋ* *town* (→ obsolete Khmer *viəŋ* *palace, citadel*), Shan *vēŋ*, → Palaung *veŋ*, Riang-Lang *_viŋ*; Shan *vēŋ* *to surround*, → Riang-Lang *veŋ* *enclosure*.

768 *waiŋ long.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer *vè:ŋ* *long*, Kammu-Yuan *wà:ŋ* *long (space, time)*, Thin *waŋ* *to be wide, long, capacious*.

768a *wa[i]ŋ; *wiəŋ to borrow.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat *wa:ŋ* *to borrow*, Sre *waŋ* *to borrow rice* (DOURNES 1950; correct to *wa:ŋ*).

B: (Khasi; ~ *glwiəŋ >) Khasi *kylliang* *loan*.

= 765 *waiŋ &c. *to go round...*? Cf. here 1531 *wa(a)y.

769 *wəŋ; *wəəŋ howdah.

A: (Katuic) Kuy *wəŋ*.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng *uə:ŋ* [*ru:eh*], Biat *wə:ŋ*, Bahnar *wə:ŋ*.
 Kuy, Bahnar vocalism contextual?

(*kwaəŋ see 502 *kuəŋ *male animal*.)

770 *gwa[]ŋ; *gwaiŋ to throw.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi *kawang* *to throw [missile], hurl*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *krəvè:ŋ* *to throw to a distance*.

Cf. 776b *swiəŋ. Connection uncertain Besis *kawen*, *kawin* *to throw; thrown away* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 107).

771 *[ɲw]aŋ to keep watch (over).

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon *mañ* /maŋ/, Modern Mon *mèaŋ*, Bahnar *guan* to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang *maŋ*, Lawa Umphai *məŋ* to wait for, Bru *ŋkùaŋ*; ~ (*[ɲ]rwaŋ >) Khmer *rəvèəŋ* to look after, to (keep) watch; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *rymmang* [to wait] in hope of arrival.

772 *jw[a]ŋ kind of rattan.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *chvèəŋ* very strong kind of rattan; ~ Chrau [rɛh] *jrwəŋ* large kind of rattan.

773 *[t]wiŋ; *[t]wiŋ tired.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon *kwaŋ twuiñ*, *kwuiñ*; ~ (*[t]nwiŋ >) Lawa *main* to get tired; ~ (*[t]lwiŋ >) Khmer *lvùŋ*, *rəvùŋ* tired (TANDART 1935).
 B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *lvì:ŋ* bitter, listless (TANDART 1935 has *lvè:ŋ* tired).
 Cf. Biat *rgaŋ chwə:ŋ* exhausted.

774 *t₁rwiəŋ; *t₁rwiək potsherd.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi *tyrwiang*.
 B: (Mon) Mon *kəweak*, Nyah Kur *khwiək*.
 B contaminated by *kəweak* < Old Mon *cirwek* day of waning moon?

775 *t₁waəŋ hearth.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riag-Lang *ṭvaŋ*, *ṭwaŋ*; ~ (*t₁nwaəŋ >) Khasi *tympan*; ~ Palaung *kahvaŋ* (!) ashes, hearth; ~ Bru *rawa:ŋ* cooking fire with tripod.

776 *rwiə[ŋ] stomach, intestines.

- A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi *rwieng* intestines of bird or fowl (with secondary lengthening?), Central Nicobarese *wi:ŋ* belly, stomach, Nancowry *wiəŋ*; by secondary derivation ~ (?; then *jrwieŋ >) Khasi *jylleng* abdomen.

†776a *[r]wa[a]ŋ sky.

- A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *ləwà:ŋ*; (?) → Proto-Miao-Yao *[l]u(a)ŋ (BENEDICT 1975 383).
 Sora *'rua:ŋ-ən*.
 Proto-Austronesian *[S]auaŋ: Malay *awang-awang-an* atmosphere, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *-; cf. *Sauan sky, Proto-Hesperonesian, BLUST 1971 no. 422).

776b *swiəŋ to throw.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ (*srwiəŋ >) Mon *həweaŋ* to skim, throw discuswise; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar *təhuə:ŋ*, East Bahnar *təwe:ŋ* to hurl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *tawe:ŋ* to throw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bru *tawè:ŋ* to throw!

Cf. 770 *gwa[ɲ] &c.

777 *sa[i]ɲ; *siəɲ to fly through the air.

A: (Mon) Literary Mon *sāñ* [sow].

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre *basiaɲ* to throw [spear], Biat *che:ɲ* to cast [throwing-net].

†778 *suɲ hole.

(Mon, South Bahnaric). Mon *saɲ* (?; *suiñ*, merging *sruñ* < Old Mon *sruñ* < 666 *s-*ruɲh*), Biat *choɲ*; ~ (*s.suɲ >) Mon *kəsaɲ*.

Sora [gai]-'su:ɲ- [rat] [to dig] hole.

779 *suɲ; *suəɲ to steam.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau *suɲ*, Lawa Bo Luang *hoəɲ*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *həɲ* to boil [rice] (MILNE 1931); ~ Palaung *rəhəɲ* steamer.

Connection uncertain Tai forms: Shan *húɲ*, &c. (see BENEDICT 1975 256, cook (with steam)... (II)); → Kammu-Yuan *rùɲ*.

780 *suuɲ to suck, drink.

A: (Mon, South Aslian) Old Mon *suñ* /suɲ/, Modern Mon *səɲ* to drink, Semaq Beri *sōk* to suck.

781 *[t][s]iəɲ crossbow string.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *siaɲ* (↔ Röglai); ~ West Bahnar *təhnia:ɲ*, *təhnie:ɲ* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

By metathesis 567 *st₁iəɲ taut...? But perhaps *(tn-)[c,s]iəɲ.

782 *rsiəɲ; *rsa[i]ɲ; *rsəəɲ bamboo, rattan.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Stieng *rəh siəɲ* small kind of rattan (by popular etymology, cf. *rəh* rattan < A197 *riəh), Sre *rəsiaɲ* kind of rattan, Thin [həɲ] *həɲ* rattan, (?) Khasi *rshiang* kind of sun-grass.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *rəhá:ɲ* large kind of bamboo.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung *hruɲ*, Riang-Lang *rəɲ* bamboo.

Suffixed form ~ 249 *rsi?? Add perhaps (*rsəɲ by metathesis > *srəɲ >) Kuy *səɲ* bamboo; & (so *rsiɲ >) Khmer *srɔɲ* kind of bamboo.

(SHAFFER 1965 206, 395; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 23.)

†783 *haɲ pungent in taste.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng *haɲ* piquant, biting, pungent, Sre *haɲ* over-salt, Biat *haɲ* spicy, piquant, Bahnar *haɲ* sharp, pungent, biting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *hàɲ* (!) hot, peppery, Vietnamese *hăng* [smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong, Nancowry *hàɲ* hot, peppery; → Cham, Jarai *haɲ*, North Röglai *hak* peppery, Röglai *hak* piquant (→ Sre).

(SHAFFER 1965 269; BLOOD 1966 350; SMITH 1972 101.)

Proto-Austronesian *[**jaSaŋ**]: Malay *s-ahang* pepper, &c., Acehnese **k-ö?öəŋ** peppery, Cham **kà-a:ŋ** sharp and strong (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147, ***t'ahan**; Proto-Hesperonesian; Cham → Khmer **ha:ŋ** tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling?)

784 *ha[a]ŋ cliff, precipice.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ha:ŋ** (beside **haŋ**; → Röglai **ha:k**), Biat, Bahnar **ha:ŋ**. (Cf. B295.)

(***hu(ə)ŋ** see 485 ***?uŋ** wasp, hornet.)

785 *ghaŋ to obstruct, prevent, forbid.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **khèəŋ** to prevent (from doing), Khasi **khang** to obstruct, prevent; ~ (***gnhaŋ** >) Kuy **nthaŋ** to obstruct; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ŋkhaŋ** to forbid.

Cf. 496a *[**kaŋ** ...to fence.

(***chiəŋ**, ***cha(i)ŋ** see 487 ***c?aŋ** to expose to heat.)

786 *thaŋ; *tha[a]ŋ to thirst, crave.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **theŋ**, Khasi **thang[rang]** to thirst after; ~ (***trhaŋ** >?) Literary Mon **tahan** to be famished, hungry, Khasi **thrang** to be thirsty (or by contraction **thangrang**, cf. the synonym **thynrang**).

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ East Bahnar **pətha:ŋ** to have a large appetite, have a craving (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Jeh **tahu:ŋ** thirst; perhaps by contamination, cf. Halang **hu:ŋ** to want.

787 *thəŋ bag.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **thaŋ**, Khmer, Biat **thəŋ**; ↔ Thai **tʰǎŋ**, Lao **thǎŋ**, Shan **thón**.

Cf. 791 ***d₁huŋ** tub; & BENEDICT 1975 369, sack... .

788 *[t]huuŋ; *thuup red.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kintaq Bong **təhəŋ**; ~ (*[t]**phuŋ** >) Sre **phouŋ**, Mendriq **pəhəŋ**.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu **təhəŋ**, Semnam **təhu:ŋ**; ~ (***trhuŋ** >) Khasi **rhuĩñ**; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [yìm] **səptù:ŋ**.

Or ***phuŋ**, (≠) ***thuup**, Kintaq Bong by contamination (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 51.)

789 ***dhaaŋ** *branch, palm-frond*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Mon **thaiŋ** *junction, fork, division of stem*, Khmer **thi:ŋ** (*midrib of*) *palm-frond* (→ Thai **t^haaŋ** *midrib of palm-frond*), Kontum Bahnar **tha:ŋ** *branch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Pangan **tāpag** *palm-frond* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 178).

Originally perhaps 1223 ***dhaan** (compare with for semantics) contaminated by ***taaŋ** > Mon **taiŋ** *midrib of palm-frond*.

790 ***dhoonŋ**; ***dhe[e]ŋ** [] *hole; hollow, empty*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **thonŋ** *to be hollow, to have holes in*, Khmer **dhoŋ** *empty, void* (GUESDON 1930), Sre **thonŋ** *to be hollow, to have holes in*, Bahnar **tho:ŋ** *hollow in ground, valley, river-bed*, Vietnamese **thủng** (!) *to be perforated, have a hole in*; ~ (***dphoonŋ** >) Palaung **phonŋ** *to be hollow*; ~ (***drhoonŋ** >?) Khasi **lyhong** *deep [cavity]*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **thè:ŋ** *empty, void, hollow, immense, deep*.

Cf. further Khmer **dhiaŋ** *hollow* (GUESDON 1930); & with variant initial (i) Khmer **kho:ŋ** *sunken, hollow* ~ **krəho:ŋ** *full of holes* (→ Cham **kahuŋ**), which POU & JENNER 1973 no. 210 derive from Ancient Chinese **k'ung** 空, along with Sino-Vietnamese **không** *vacuum*; so Vietnamese **hổng** *to be hollow, vacant* ← Cantonese **hông?**; but with Khmer cf. Sre **khuauŋ**, Biat **kho:ŋ** *to bore a hole*; Proto-Austronesian ***k[əu]ruqaŋ**: Iban **keruang** *to hollow out, be hollow*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 214, Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Khmer **krəhaeŋ** *crack in earth*, **krəhe:ŋ** [**krəho:ŋ**] *full of holes*; (iii) Khmer **prəhaŋ** *hole* (→ Thai **p^hrooŋ**); Cham **parahauŋ**, **barahuŋ**, Malay **pěrohong**, **pěrohang** *gaping, wide open*, Malay **pělohong** *having a large hole*.

‡791 ***d₁huŋ** (& ***d₁huuŋ**?) *tub*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **thəŋ** *pail* (< variant, or by rhyming deformation in (748 ***[l]nuuŋ** >) **nəŋ** **thəŋ** *pail*), Khmer **thùŋ** *cistern, metal container*, Sre **thuŋ** *tub, granary*, Biat **thuŋ** *tub*, Thin **thũŋ** *basket*, (?; < variant, or ← Chinese, below) Vietnamese **thùng** *tub*; → Cham **dhun** *tub*, Röglai **thuŋ** *tub, granary*, North Röglai **thuŋ** *barrel*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **kəthuŋ** *pail*.

Cf. 787 ***thəŋ** *bag*. The following, otherwise Indonesian loans, might be referred to a variant ***đu(u)ŋ** attesting earlier ***d₁V?** ~ ***d₁Vh-**: Biat **đuŋ** *bag*, Khmer **kəntò:ŋ**, Kuy **nthò:ŋ** *basket or basket of leaves*; Kuy (**kh**)**thùŋ** *pocket*, Sre **kəlduŋ** *basket, purse, case*, Bahnar **kəduŋ** *basket, purse, case, pocket*, Jeh **kadùŋ**, Halang **gəduŋ** *pocket*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 105.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tuuŋ** (?): Acehnese **toŋ** (& **təŋ**, ← Malay, or contaminated by **tən** ← Dutch **ton**), Malay **tong** *tub, barrel* (→ Javanese), Tagalog **tuong**, Pampangan **tuung** *bucket*, Cebuano Bisayan **tuung** *coaming over well* &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay → Central Nicobarese **toŋ** *wooden bucket*; perhaps Khmer **taoŋ** *cask*, under the entry 903 ***kduŋ**. Or ***tuəŋ** or ***təuŋ**, > Acehnese **təŋ**, Javanese; Acehnese **toŋ** ← Malay. The usual derivation of Malay &c. ← Dutch falls); (ii; ad Biat **duŋ**, &c.) Malay **kandong** *to carry [foetus, goods in sack...]; (-an) bag, womb...* (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 71 to ***ka(N)duŋ** *womb*, which is Proto-Hesperonesian), Cham **katuŋ** *bag, well-bucket*, Jarai **g^aduŋ** *pocket*, Röglai **kəlduŋ** *purse, bag*, North Röglai **kaduk** *bag*; Malay **kendong** *to carry in fold of waistbelt*. POU & JENNER 1973 refer some Mon-Khmer forms to Chinese **t'ung** 桶 *square wooden vessel used as receptacle*; it is doubtful if Tagalic forms can be so derived. In (ii) perhaps Cham &c. ←, Malay contaminated by, Mon-Khmer.

(***phuŋ** see 788 ***[t]huŋ** *red*; ***bhi(ə)ŋ** see 630 ***biŋ** *spider*; ***[b]hoŋ** see 493 ***[b]ʔoŋ** *dry*.)

792 ***rhiəŋ** *hundred*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəhiaŋ**, Chrau **rəyeŋ**, Biat **rhiaŋ**, Bahnar **hreŋ**, Jeh **re:ŋ**, Halang **reaŋ**.

Cf. proto Tai ***[t]hriaŋ** *thousand* (BENEDICT 1975 216; Shan, Ahom, Khamti); → Palaung **heŋ** (MILNE 1931 also **hreŋ**), Riang-Lang, Praok **reŋ**. (BLOOD 1966 110; SMITH 1972 90.)

(***lhiəŋ**(?) see 494 ***lʔiəŋ**(?) *to slant, be skewed*.)

793 ***lhuŋ**; ***lhuŋ** *papaya*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer **rhvaŋ** *papaya*, Modern Khmer **lhoŋ** *papaya, castor-oil plant*, Kuy **lhoŋ** (& by hypercorrection **sloŋ**), Kontum Bahnar **rəhuŋ**, Jeh **hùŋ**, Halang **[buŋ] huŋ** *papaya*; → Thai **lahùŋ** *castor-oil plant*, Lao **huŋ** *papaya*; ~ (***lmhuŋ** >) Biat **[tə:m] mhoŋ**, (by metathesis, or by contraction ***play lhoŋ** >) Sre **bləhoŋ** *papaya* (→ Röglai).

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ləhu:ŋ** *papaya*. (SMITH 1972 106.)

†794 ***ʔic**; ***ʔiə[c]**; ***ʔ[ə]c** *excrement, faeces*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Mon **oik**, Bahnar **ic**, Jeh **ek**, Halang **ik**, Central Sakai **ê^{ch}**; → Kuki-Naga ***e^hk** (& similar Karen forms; BENEDICT 1972 26 n. 82, 146 n. 399).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **e:**, Biat **ɛ:k**, Kammu-Yuan **ʔyíak**; → Cham **ɛh**, Jarai **ɛ:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **eh**, Acehnese **ɛʔ**.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **ʔac**, Chrau, Biat **ac**, Khasi **eit**, Central Nicobarese **aĩk**, **aĩ^c**, Nancowry **ʔāc**.

Connect obscure **B40 *ʔiəŋ** &c. But Vietnamese **cút** may be connected, as **cúi** with **1872 *[]ʔuus**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20; SHAFER 1965 335; SMITH 1972 238; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 114; cf. LEWITZ 1967, 123-5.)

Kharia **iʔ** *to ease oneself*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 81; Proto-Munda ***ij**).

(***ʔiic**, ***ʔiəc** see **797 *b[i]ʔic** *to lie down, sleep*.)

795 ***kʔaac** *wet*.

A: (Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Vietnamese **ướt**, Temiar **kəʔãj**; ~ (***kmʔaac** >) Vietnamese **mướt** *to trickle*, Kintaq Bong, Semnam **məʔaj**, Semaq Beri **maʔac** *wet*; (?) ~ Central Nicobarese **[hə]-taiʃ** -**[hətə]**, **[hən]-ta:ʃ** *to get wet*.

Connect by metathesis **477 *chaik**; & cf. **954 *lʔuət** &c. *wet, cold*.

796 ***[cʔ]uc**; ***[cʔ]uuc** *drunk, intoxicated*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **-cəc**, Praok **yoc**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔyuic**, Lawa Umphai **ʔjuic**; ~ (***cpʔuuc** >) Kammu-Yuan **pù:c** *liquor*.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **huyəie**, Nancowry **(hu)yóy**; Khasi **buaid**. Connect **1106 *huc** &c. *to suck, drink?* But Khmuic perhaps < **829 *buuc** *to suck*, or contaminated by **1766 *buul** *drunk*; then Palaungic ***yu(u)c**, ***yuc yuc** &c. > ***cyu(u)c**.

797 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***b[i]ʔic** > ***ɕic**; ***ɕiəc**; Pre-Palaungic ***ʔiic**; ***ʔiəc** *to lie down, sleep*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy, Sre, Biat **bic**, Chrau **viʔ**, Bahnar **ɕic**; ~ Kintaq Bong **ləbit**.

B: (Central Aslian) Semai **bɛ:t**.

C, D: (Palaungic) Palaung, Praok **it**, Lawa **ʔaic** (C), Riang-Lang **̣yət**, **̣yat** (D).

(SHAFER 1965 311, 338; BLOOD 1966 133; SMITH 1972 240; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 248.)

798 ***rʔuc**; ***rʔuuc**; ***rʔuəc**; ***rʔəc**; ***rʔuy** ***rʔuəy** *finished*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Sre **luc** *end, finished*, Palaung **doit** *to be finished*, **dot** *totality, all*, Vietnamese **rót** *to be the last*; ~ or → Bahnar **luc** *to be at the end; the worst*.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **lo:c** *end*, Bahnar **tu:c** *end, last, at last*, **to:c** *finish, to finish*, Jeh **ʔlut**, Halang **lu:t** *finished*, Khmu' **lo:c** *to be used up*.

C: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rù:əc** (!) *to finish, to be able to*; ~ (***rnʔuəc** >) Praok **guac** *to be last*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau, Biat **leʔ** *finished*; (probably ~) Praok **uc** *to expend, use up; completely*.

E: (South Bahnaric) Sre **luy** *finished*.

F: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **lo:y** *very*, Halang **hloay** *always, completely*.

Connect 875 ***huc** &c., which compare; & cf. 1017 ***[k]đu(u)t** for a possible Riang-Lang ***r?uut** *to come to an end*.

(BLOOD 1966 256; cf. SMITH 1972 481.)

798a ***sʔəəc**; ***sʔaac** *to love, pity*.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khasi **ieid** *to love*; ~ (***smʔəəc** >) Khmer **sɲaəc** *to admire*.

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***snʔaac** >) Sre **nda:c** *to love*; (— **səŋit**) *pity*, Chrau **sənda:c** *to love, pity*.

Cf. Biat **uc** *affection, to desire*, (— **chrəlap**) *love*. And Hre, Sedang forms at SMITH 1972 259.

799 ***kiic**; ***kəc** *to shave down*.

A: (Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar **ki:j** *to grate* (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Nancowry **ʔitkíc** *to cut with knife* (contaminated by following).

B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **kəik** *blade of plane* (→ Burmese **kuik**, → Mon **kak**), Central Nicobarese **[hə]-kʔj** *to plane*, **[hen]-kʔj** *plane*.

Connect 802 ***kaac**.

***800** ***kac** *to pluck, break off, cut*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **kāc** *to cut off*, Modern Khmer **kac** *to cut [rigid object]*, Kuy **kac** *to cut [grass]*, harvest *[paddy]*, Stieng **ke:c** *to strip [leaves, grain]*, Sre **kac** *to harvest [hill paddy]*, Biat **kac** *to strip [grass]*, Bahnar **kec** *to harvest [paddy]*, (dialect) *strip [leaves, grass]*, cut with scissors, Kammu-Yuan **kéc** *to cut [hair]*, Riang-Lang **kac** *to break (v.i), to tear (v.t.)*, Khasi **kheit** *to pluck, gather*, Mường **cách** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **cắt** *to cut up*, Bateg Deq **kec**, Jah Hut **ke:c** *to cut*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-kaic-[həŋə]** *to pluck [leaves, flowers]*, Nancowry **kéc**; ~ (***knkac** >) Vietnamese **ngắt** *to pick, pluck*.

Connect 958 ***ka(a)t** *to cut?* Cf. Biat **kec** *to break (v.t.)*; & 804 ***gac** *to pluck, harvest*; A51 ***gi(ə)c** *to break off*.

(BLOOD 1966 353; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

Kharia **keʔj** *to pluck*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 154).

801 ***[]kac**; ***kaac**, (***kaac kaac** >) ***ckaac** *strong, harsh*.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Khasi **shakhait** *to deal severely with*, Vietnamese **gắt** *to be strong, violent, harsh, biting*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **kat** *to be strong, harsh* (< ***ckaac**, cf. the attributive Literary Mon **jamkāt**, **samkāt**), Khmer **ka:c** *bad, evil, cruel*, Kuy **ka:c** *very brave*.

802 *kaac to scratch, scrape, shave.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ka:c** to scratch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **kat** to shave, Temiar **ke:j** to scrape (BENJAMIN 1976B 175), Mendriq **kac**, Jah Hut **ka:c** to scratch, Central Nicobarese **kaic** scratch; ~ Bahnar **kəka:c** to scratch oneself, to itch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Che' Wong **kikəc**, Mah Meri **kakac** to scratch, (~?) Central Nicobarese **təkaic** scratch.

Connect **799 *kiic** &c. to shave down; but distinguish **867 *kwaac** &c. to scratch (up), which compare; as following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)

802a *k[oo]c to dig (up).

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **kə:c** to dig (out) with mattock, Biat **kə:c** to dig [ditch &c], Bahnar **kə:c** (& Jölong **ku:əc!**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63) to scratch up, dig with claws &c., lever out.

Or ***kuuc**, ***kuəc**? Cf. preceding & **867 *kwaac** &c. to scratch up.

(SMITH 1972 258.)

(*ckaac see **801 *[]kac** strong, harsh.)

803 *[b]kuc; *[b]kuuc hot.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Rieng-Lang **ṽkəc** to be hot, to be dry, to dry up, Praok **[ha] koc** to be scorching [hot], Pangan **bəkud** hot (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 141 (a)).

B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Bru **ku:y?** scorched, Lawa Bo Luang **kaṽk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kəic** sun's rays; hot; ~ Kuy **ṽkə:c** scorched, burnt (contaminated by **805 *guuc?**).

Cf. **858a *kluuc** on the point of burning.

(*skaac see **874 *ksac** sand.)

804 *gac to pluck, harvest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Chrau **gac** to cut small wood, Palaung **gəc** to pick [tea]; ~ Vietnamese **gặt** to reap.

800 *kac contaminated by **A51 *gi(ə)c?**

805 *guc; *guuc to burn.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **guc** to kindle, Biat **guc** to burn, throw into fire.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **gu:ic** to burn (or A?), Kammu-Yuan **kù:c** to burn off [field], Palaung **gut** to light [fire], to burn; ~ Bahnar **[ṽə:, ṽu:] ṽu:c** fiery red, red-hot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang **ongoyd** to burn (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 464; or A).

Add Khmer **ʔoc** to light, kindle?

805a *[ŋaɪc oil.

- A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ŋai^c**, **ŋaiⁱ** *vegetable oil*, Nancowry **ŋác**; (probably ~) Khasi **lŋgiej** *fatty or oily substance, to be greasy*.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Kuy **ŋche:ŋ**, Bru **ŋsi:ŋ** *oil, grease, fat*.

†806 *[ŋuuc; *[ŋuəc; *[ŋiic; *[ŋiəc to swallow, drink.

- A: (Khasi, Mon) Khasi **nguid** *to swallow*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ŋuuc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90) (vocalism may be contextual).
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy (ŋ)ŋù:ac *to drink*, Kammu-Yuan **ŋò:c** *to swallow*, Semai **ŋɔ:t** *to drink*.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon **ñit**, Modern Mon **ŋit** *to swallow*, Biat **ŋe:t** *to drink*, Palaung **ŋit** *to swallow* (MILNE 1931).
D: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ŋiəc** *to drink*.
Or ***rŋ-** in view of Sora, below; which favours primacy of back-vowel forms. For South Bahnaric initial cf. **37 *sŋi?**. From **D** by metathesis **B46 *t₁iəŋ** *to drink?* (SHAFFER 1965 459; BLOOD 1966 35; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)
Sora **'riŋŋoŋ-** *to drink rapidly, gulp*.

†807 *cac to seek out.

- (Mon) Literary Mon **cat**.
Connect perhaps by dissimilation Bahnar **ca?** (&c.: SMITH 1972 313)
Sora **saʔ-** *to seek, go in quest of*.

†808 *c[ə]c to pierce, chisel.

- A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Mon) Stieng **cic** *to pierce [ears]*, Biat **chəc** *to pick [teeth &c.]*, Jölong **tsac** *to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **síc** *to stab, to plant in ground*, Riang-Lang **sac** *chisel*, Praok **sac** *to carve, hollow out*, Nyah Kur **céc** *to pick [teeth &c.]* (TANDART 1935 413).
Sora **saj-** *to cut, chisel, pare*, **sai-i-** *to pierce*.
Proto-Austronesian (i) ***t'uat**: Acehnese **suət**, Cham **thwa?** *to take off, remove...*, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Bikol **suat** *to pull out, extract, pick at with needle &c.*, Maranao **soat** *to pry, &c.*, perhaps Samoan **sua** *to lever up* (cf. BLUST 1972 no. 73; Proto-Hesperonesian or general); (ii) ***t'uit**: Tagalog **suit-ín** *to uproot, dislodge, with lever-like tool, &c.* (BLUST 1971 no. 418, ***(q)-**; Proto-Hesperonesian). Or could both sets be referred to ***t'uət**?

809 *cəc; *cəcəc to tickle.

- A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **coc** (DOURNES 1950; or B?), Biat **chəc** [**a:n cək iə:r**].
B: (Katuic) Kuy **ca:c ca:c**.
Cf. Khasi **smiej** (< ***cməəc?**) *ticklish*.

†810 *[c]ncuəc to make a noise with the lips.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həcot** to make a repeated labial noise, Literary Mon [gace'] **gacot** to trumpet, Khmer **cəŋcu:əc**, **cùəŋcù:əc** to make a repeated labial noise.

Proto-Austronesian *k'utk'ut: Tagalog **sutsót** sibilant sound, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 94; Proto-Hesperonesian).

811 *njuəc; *njəc (& *njəəc?); *njuəy to shake.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*[r]njuəc >) Mon **kəyòt layat!** to oscillate, to cause to oscillate; ~ Khmer **sañjuəc** to shake (v.t.) (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **yur:c** to tremble slightly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& **yur:t**, by dissimilation; with secondary lengthening, or < *-əəc), Sakai **'ngyūk** to shake (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 130); ~ Kuy **(kh)chàc** to rock, sway.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) ? Nancowry **yúay** to tremor, to shake; **céy** to shiver; ~ Khmer **cùəŋcù:əy** to tremor, shake, (or ~) Kuy **ŋchù:i** to sway; ~ Khmer **rùəŋcù:əy** to tremor; ~ **səŋcù:əy** (TANDART 1935) = **sañjuəc**.

†812 *t₁ac to break, be severed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **tət** to sever (?; otherwise < 999 *t₁at, which connect), Khmer **daç** break, to break, Khasi **thait** to cut asunder, to snap, Vietnamese **đứt** to be broken, snapped, to be cut, Central Nicobarese **təiʃ** -[ŋə] [rope &c.] to break; ~ (*kt₁ac >) Chrau **cac** to snap, break, (or simplex) Stieng **te:c** [rope &c.] to break, Biat **tac** [rope] to break; end, Sre **tac** broken, cut, (?; by assimilation; Besis **ketök** to break, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 374, =) Mah Meri **katik** to cut; ~ (*k.t₁ac >) Bahnar **kətəe** (& Sedang **kate**) to break, get broken, Vietnamese **đứt** to cease, terminate (v.i.t), end; ~ Khmer **pdaç** to break, interrupt.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 18; SMITH 1972 246; cf. MOHRING 236 no. 3.¹)

Kharia **te'j** to break, &c., ~ Mundari **pəte'j** to twist and break... (PINNOW 1959 152).

813 *t₁ac to sell.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **daç** saleable, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat **tac**, Bahnar **təc** (→ Stieng **te:c**?), Jeh, Halang **tek**, Kammu-Yuan **téc**, Vietnamese **[bán]** **đứt** to sell.

(SHAFER 1965 337; SMITH 1972 244; cf. BLOOD 1966 374.)

813a *təəc (& *təc?) to stretch.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **tə:c** to stretch (v.t.) (< variant?), Biat **tə:c** to increase in size, Bahnar **tə:c** to stretch (v.i.).

Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan **ŋə:t** to stretch out, draw out?

¹ [Editorial note: it would appear that the intended reference is Mohring (1972) as listed in the References, although it is not clear how that paper relates to this etymology.]

(*t₁u(u)c see 1004 *t₁ut to light.)

814 *tuuc; *tuəc drop, to drip.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng trənu:ec drop, to drip.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng tu:ɛc [dà:k] drop; ~ Khmer dɔmnu:əc drop; ~ Chrau tətɔ:c dripping sound; to drip.

Cf. 314 *tuək &c. drip, drop.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

815 *ktaac to manipulate with flat of hand.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon ktāc /ktac/ [sumoḥ] to smooth, level, with the hands, Modern Mon kətat to rub between palms of hands, Khasi ktaid to rummage (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Vietnamese dát to laminate, make thinner, roll.

(*daic see 1010a *dai[t] to strike, beat.)

†816 *dəc (& *dic?) to be deficient, small in quantity.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon tɔ̀ik to be less than, short by, Praok tac to be lacking, deficient; ~ Bru satay? to be delicate; ~ (*kd- >) Khmer tec tic a little; ~ (*krd- >) Literary Mon gadek to want, be deficient in (beside gaduik, probably a Burmanism); ~ Old Mon pdic /pdɔc/ to reduce in quantity, Modern Mon pətòik [phyɔ] to humble; ~ (*dp- >) Kuy bi? few (JACOB 1968), Central Nicobarese (tə)pait (in compounds), pai^c small in size or quantity., Nancowry pəc (& féc tiny).

Separate Thin dɛk to be little, ← Tai; but connected perhaps by metathesis (*pdəəc > *dpəəc >) Mường póch, Vietnamese bớt to reduce, to diminish. Cf. following & 1016 *kdít &c. small.

Kharia ka'ti' some, a little, &c. (PINNOW 1959 94); by metathesis Sora 'ajid-.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[j]itik: Malay k-etek small, little, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 70);

(ii) *[jə(N)tik: Toba Batak otik to be small in quantity, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938

118; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pɪnd[æ](S)ik: Toba Batak pendek,

Javanese pènḍèk short, &c., North Röglai pihñē? (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118,

*pɪndik; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 384; & cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 29.

(*dəc see 1015 *dat near.)

817 *đuuc; *đuəc, (*đuəc đuəc >) *cđuəc small.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer tù:c; ~ (*[k]đuuc >) Khmer to:c (!), taoc; ~ (*pđuuc >) Kammu-Yuan pló:c to look down, despise.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon đoc /đoc/ personal name, Modern Mon dot to be small, (*cđuəc >) Khmer sdu:əc slender, slight; ~ (*[k]đuəc > contaminated by 816 *k-dəc) Khmer [tec]-tu:əc a little.

Cf. Sre **duit** (*a*) *little*; & connected **1016** ***kđit** &c.
(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

818 ***[]đuuc**; ***[]đaac** *to be crushed to bits*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **(p)đut** *to be broken, bruised*, Riang-Lang **duc** *to be ground to powder, crushed, to crush, crumble*.
B: (Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mường **đách** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **nát** *to be broken, crushed*, Bru **diəy?** *broken into small pieces*.

†819 ***kđ[ə]c** *to nip with the nails*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon **đoik**, Khmer **kdec** *ktic* *to nip off with one's nails*, Nyah Kur **ndéc** (implies *-ac), Kuy **dic** *to pluck with two fingers*, Nancowry **karic** *to press down with thumbs*.
(?) Sora **daɣ-** *to pick, pluck*.

‡819a ***tdac** *solid*.

- (Mon, Khasi) Mon **đot** *to be solid*, (**poin** —) *packed solid, crowded*, Khasi **dait-[doh]** *dense, compact, solid*; ~ (***trđac** >) Middle Mon **tađat** *to be solid*.
Proto-Austronesian ***dətdət**: Javanese **n-đěđět** *thick, dense [cloud]*, **di-đěđět-i** *tamped-down [earth]*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 122; Proto-Hesperonesian).
Connection uncertain Santali **kəteʽ** *hard, firm, strong*, &c., PINNOW 1959 315.

820 ***dəđuuc** *to pester*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həđut** *to tease*, Khmer **tətu:c** *to insist, importune*.
(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

†821 ***[r]đac** *to split open*.

- A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **đot** **kđat** *to hatch out (v.i.)*, Vietnamese **nứt** *to crack open, split open*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-te:ic-[hətə]** *to hatch out*.
Sora **ra'daɣ-** *to be broken, cracked, to burst apart*.

821a ***knaac** *muddy place*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **khna:c** *wallow*, (~?) Chrau **kəna:c** *swamp*.

822 ***cnuəc** *to spit, transfix*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Kontum Bahnar **hnə:c** *to sharpen, to stab* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **kənot** **canat!** *spit* (merging **1005** ***t/rn/uut** *skewer*), Khmer **crənu:əc** *meat on spit* (& **tranuəc** *spit*, GUESDON 1930, contaminated by **trənaot** *skewer* < ***t/rn/uut**); ~ Khmer **crənu:əc** (& **krənu:əc**) *to roast on spit*.
Central Nicobarese **oʃuə-hətə** *to spit, skewer* ~ **ʃano:ə n.** suggests original ***cuə?**, ***cuə?** **cuə?** > ***cuəc**, with generalization of nominal derivation. Cf. further **860** ***d₁n[l]uuc** &c. *awl*.

*823 *pic; *piic; *piəc; *pəc; to pick, pluck.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pic** to pick, pluck, Chrau **piʔ** to pluck, to take.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **pe:ic** to pull apart in bits.

C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **pe:ic** to pick, pluck (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Biat **peʔ**, Palaung **pət**, Vietnamese **bút** to pick, pluck; (probably, rather than variant) → Cham, Jarai **peʔ**, Röglai, North Röglai **peʔ**, Acehnese **pet**.

Connect 1020 *pit &c. to pinch...?

Sora **pij-** to pinch, to take a pinch.

*824 *pac; *puuc to chisel.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **pāc'** to carve, ornament (GUESDON 1930), Bru **payʔ** to chisel, Sre **pac** to incise patterns in (→ Röglai).

B: (Mon) Old Mon **pūc** /**puc**/, Modern Mon **pət** to chisel.

With vocalism cf. Mon **kut** ad 958 *ka(a)t.

Proto-Austronesian ***paqət** chisel: Malay **pahat**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111, ***pahat**; DYEN 1953 § 47; Proto-Hesperonesian); with which Sre **pənhət** chisel is ultimately connected.

824a *pac to cut through.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **pac** to slash, fell, lop, Bahnar **pəc** to cut through [wood, bamboo].

Connect 1028 *[d]put &c.. to be severed...?

(***pa(a)c** see (also) 1021 *pat to press, squeeze; ***pəc** see also 1022 *pət to abandon.)

825 *puuc to take clothes off.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **po:ic** to wane, Kammu-Yuan **pú:c**, Palaung **puit** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **puc**, Praok **puuc**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauc**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **pəic** to take [clothes] off, Khasi **puid** [snieh] to skin. (SHAFFER 1965 315.)

(***[]puəc** see 1024 *puut to stroke, rub; ***dpəc** see 1028 *[d]put to be severed, broken.)

826 *buəc kind of small vessel.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pət** **bot** small pot or cup (→ Burmese **bywat** [u:] wide-mouthed water-jug), Khmer **pù:əc** (small) jar.

(***bi(ə)c** see 797 *b[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)

827 *ḡ[e]c *to take by force, misappropriate.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *ḡet* [*tasuñ plāñ ḡa*] *to seize by force*, Khmer *bec* *to purloin, plunder* (GUESDON 1930).

†828 *ḡ[ḡ]əc *to spit.*

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung *ḡeʔ*, Kensiu *ḡej*; ~ Jehai, Semnam *kəḡej*; ~ (*[ḡ]m[ḡ]əc >) Praok *ḡac*.

Cf. Khasi *ḡiah* (< *ḡ[ai]k), Bru *kubuyəʔ* *to eject [liquid] from mouth*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 389.)

Sora *ḡij-*, *ḡaj-*, Mundari *ḡeʔj*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 328; Proto-Munda *ḡec or *ḡ(a)ic?).

829 *ḡuc; *ḡuuc *to suck.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *ḡot*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung *ḡuit* (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese *mút*.

Connection dubious 1106 *ḡuc &c. But add perhaps Kammu-Yuan *pù:c liquor*, under the entry 796 *ḡ[ḡ]uuc.

†830 (*ḡ[ḡ]ic [ḡ]ic &c. > ?) *c[ḡ]ic; *c[ḡ]uuc *to take in fingers.*

A: (Khmer) Old Khmer *cḡic*, Modern Khmer *cḡec* *to take with finger tips, take a pinch of*, apparently → Stieng *cəḡe:c* *to press, squeeze, knead* (beside *cəḡi:*).

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat *mbio:c* *pinch (quantifier)*.

Cf. Mon *ḡot* *to take in one's hand, pick up* (implying *-t; contaminated by Indonesian, below?); & 1020 *ḡpit &c. *to pinch, squeeze, press*.

Proto-Austronesian *ḡitbit: Malay *bibit* *to carry in fingers or hand*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-Hesperonesian).

†831 *cḡoc; *cḡooc *to withdraw.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *ḡuc* *to pull out, pull up*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *ḡot* *to draw out, unsheathe*, Khmer *ḡaoc* *to pull up*, Bru *pù:y?*.

Proto-Austronesian *k'abut: Malay *chabut* *to draw out, pull up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 85). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer in view of *-ḡ-, *-c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 4.)

832 *mic (& *miic?) *to desire; desirable, good.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon *mic* /*møc*/ *to desire*, Modern Mon *mòik* [*not*] *to wish to*, (?) Bahnar dialects *met* *to be passionate about* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *mək* *to hanker [after]* (?), Lawa *maic* (< variant?), Temiar *mēj* *good*, Central Sakai *omêy* *to desire, wish*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 66, W 15.)

833 *mæc; *mæc to hear.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **mèc** to perceive, hear.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **m̄c** to hear a sound, hear something (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan **hərmə:y** ear. Cf. 646 *rməŋ.

834 *muc; *muuc; *m[ə]c to dive, immerse oneself.

A, B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer **mùc** to sink, immerse oneself (A), Stieng **muic** to plunge into water, (B) Bahnar **mo:c** to dive, plunge, to undergo ordeal by water, (A/B) Sakai **mod** to bathe (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 81).

B: (Katuic) Kuy **mìc** to dive, to sink.

835 *kmuuc dead person.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Khmer **khmaoc** ghost, Kuy (k)**mo:c** corpse, Chrau **kəmho:c** (or < derivation?) ghost, corpse, Sre **bu:c** grave, cemetery, Stieng **kəmu:c**, Biat **mo:c**, Besis **kəmuyt** grave (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 18), Sakai **kəmoit** ghost (i.e. Jah Hut; ib.); → Cham **kamoit** devil; ~ (***krmuuc** >) Praok **simuuc**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamauk**, Lawa Umphai **ramcic**, Mae Sariang **ʔamcic** grave, South Semai **krm:c** ghost (DIFFLOTH 1977). Stieng diphthongization regular following nasal. Connection dubious Kharia **gɔʔ** to die, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 324f.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; BLOOD 1966 22.)

836 *yuuc; *yuac immoral.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **yùt** (→ Burmese **yut**) to be depraved, Palaung **yut** to be insolent (MILNE 1931).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **yɔ:c** fault, offence. (SMITH 1972 250.)

***837 *rac; *raac to sprinkle, scatter.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-**yait-** to wash [face], Nancowry **ʔityác** to wash, pour water (or B?); ~ (***cnrac** >) Khasi **synreit** to sprinkle, scatter; ~ (***pmrac** >) Stieng **bre:c** to squirt, Biat **brac** to eject [water] from mouth, Khasi **pharait** to spatter, squirt.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **rì:c** distributed evenly; → Shan **hăt** to dash [water], to bale; ~ (***raac raac** > ***craac** >) Biat **crac** to urinate; ~ Old Mon **drāc** /**drac**/ to sprinkle, Modern Mon **kràt** to sow broadcast (merging Old Mon **grāc** to disseminate, with further prefix); → Cham **trà:ʔ**, Röglai **dra:** to sow; ~ Bahnar **pra:c** dripping; ~ (***pmraac** >) Mon **pərat** to splash about, (or next) Stieng **bra:c** to sprinkle vigorously, Biat **bra:c** besprinkled; ~ Khmer **prì:c** to scatter, spread; → Cham **brak** = **trà:ʔ**; ~ (***sraac** >; in part, **srāt**; merging 872 *(r-)saac, which compare.) Mon **sat** to bale.

Note Khmer **sraoc** to *sprinkle*, Kuy **sə:c**, with which cf. Bahnar **pru:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) = **pra:c**; they may reflect ***sruuc**, but are part of the evidence for a possible ***-au-**. Cf. further **1066 *graat**; **1059 *rut** &c.; **1501 *raay** to *be scattered*. Santali **arəʃ** to *bale out*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 283).

838 *rac sparrow.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Stieng **re:c** *small bird, sparrow*, Sre, Biat **rac** *sparrow*, Bahnar **re:c** *sparrow, munia*, Khasi **'reit** (~ **phreit**) *small migratory bird feeding on grain*, Besis **röyt** *sparrow* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 354). (SMITH 1972 245.)

(*rac see also **1058 *rut** to *pull hard on, ... reap*.)

838a *raac grasshopper.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **rì:ac**, Pakoh **ʔaraayʔ**; (~ ***t₁raacʔ**;) by metathesis Riang-Lang **ˀcar**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **təmrà:c**.

Cf. **840 *rə(ə)c** *maggot*.

†839 *rəc to slice, cut through.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, ʔPalaungic) Mon **ròik rek** to *slice, cut with sawing motion, to peel [onions]*, Kuy **rəc** to *saw, cut with sawing m.*, (?) Praok **rac** to *break (off)*; ~ Stieng **gre:c** to *cut (through)*; ~ Biat **prac** to *lop, prune*, Bahnar **pre:c** to *cut [branch &c.] above one's head* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. **845 *krə(ə)c** to *grind, gnash*; **866 *[]wəc** &c. to *cut, reap*; **1058 *rut** &c. ...to *reap*. But connection dubious Riang-Lang **rəc** to *fray*.

Sora **raꞑ-** to *cut [firewood] into small pieces*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kərət**: Malay **kěrat** to *sever transversely*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77, ***kəyət**, less Sa'a to *cut ends off*; Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. also ***arit**: Malay **arit** *grass-cutting knife*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 8, Proto-Hesperonesian; if Acehnese **ariət** to *cut up [e.g. sugar-cane]* is cognate, rather ***ariət**, Malay → Javanese).

Note Tibeto-Burman ***riːt** to *reap, cut, scrape, shave*, BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 371.

840 *rəc; *rəəc maggot.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rac**; ~ Palaung **brəʔ** *maggot* (MILNE 1931), (~?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ŋgriak** *insect, maggot*.

B: (Khasi; perhaps ~, since compounding form) Khasi **[ʔniang]** *riej woodworm*.

Cf. **838a *raac** *grasshopper*.

(*rə(ə)c see also **1058 *rut** ...to *pull up, out...* .)

841 *rɔc; *rɔɔc floor-beam.

A, B: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon *rat* floor-beam, summer (or ← Thai?), (A) Sre *roc* cross-timber in house, Hre *roc*, Sedang *roy* floor-beam; → Thai *rɔt* floor-beam, → Khmer *rət* (TANDART 1935); ~ (B) Biat *ɣrɔ:c* floor-beam.

Connect obscure Khmer *rənù:t*; as Palaung *ron* (MILNE 1931).

(SMITH 1972 253.)

842 *ruc; *ruuc; *ruəc to retreat, withdraw.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ruic* to free oneself, escape (or B?), Sre, Biat *ruc* to step back, retreat; ~ Sre *tənruc* (DOURNES 1950), Biat *ndruc* to force back, Bahnar *tədrut* to give way (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !).

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *rò:c* [moon] to wane, (probably, rather than A) Stieng *ruic* day of moon's waning period, Central Nicobarese *yuit* to disappear, vanish, dissolve, melt.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer *rù:əc* to escape, Nancowry *yúac* to wain.

Connect 1505 *ru(u)y behind?

843 *ruc; *ruəc; *rəc to fall, drip.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan *rùc-rùc* [to rain] heavily, Vietnamese *rột* to leak, ooze; → Acehnese *rot* to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*ruc ruc > *cruc?) → Acehnese *srot* to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*cnruc >) Sre *sənruc* funnel (→ Röglai *dənruc*); ~ Sre *truc*, Jeh *trut* to pour out (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Chrau *trɔʔ* to pour, spill, contaminated by 406 *[c]rɔk).

B: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy *rù:ac* [faeces] to come out in diarrhoea, Palaung *ruəyʔ*, *ruət* to drip, Praok *ruac* to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese *yuait-[ŋə]* to overflow, Nancowry *yuacɲa* ad *yuác* to flow; ~ Khmer *cro:c* to pour from a spout; Onomatopoeic for liquid so poured, (!) *cruc:əc* to pour out, Vietnamese *rót* to pour; ~ Biat *ndrɔ:c* funnel.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer /crec crec/ *cric cric* with a squirting sound, Biat [ji:] *chrɔc* diarrhoea; (probably) → Acehnese [mō-] *cret-cret* to come out in spurts; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *bɔŋcrec* to cause to drip.

Connect 1504 *ruy &c. to fall, be shed; 2051 *ruh &c. to fall, be shed; & cf. 1059 *rut &c. to sprinkle, scatter. Note also Malay *chirit* diarrhoea, &c., Cebuano Bisayan *silit* to flow in a continuous stream (Proto-Austronesian *k'irit, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-Hesperonesian); perhaps cognate if vocalism reflects original palatal final.

843a *r[u]c; *r[uə]c to gut.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *roc*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat, Bahnar *rɔ:c*.

Or *rɔ(ɔ)c, unless connected following.

(***ruuc** see also 1058 ***rut** to pull hard on... .)

844 *ruuc; *ruəc intestine.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Mon **krət** *krut intestine*, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 160 (a)) **kröt** *belly*; ~ (***kpruuc** >) Sre **proc** *intestine*; → Malay **pěrut** *belly, womb*, probably → Sakai **pěró^k** *belly* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 164 (b)).
- B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rù:ac**, Mường **rəch** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **ruột** *intestine*; ~ Stieng, Biat **prə:c**; → Cham **proy?**, Jarai **prə:ai?**, **pru:ai?**, Röglai **pro:(a)y**, North Röglai **puai?**, Acehnese **pruət**.
Connect perhaps preceding; & (i) Kammu-Yuan **pəc:rà:c** *mesentery*; (ii) Semelai **ləpəc** *belly*, &c. (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 164 (a)), by metathesis; (iii) Sora **on'loida:-n**, compounding form **lo(:)j-**, Kharia **lai:j** *belly*, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 282. (SHAFFER 1965 514.)

(***ruuc** see also 1058 ***rut** ...to pull up, out... .)

845 *krəc; *krəəc to grind, gnash [teeth].

- A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **krac**.
B: (Palaungic; ~ ***[]nrəəc** >) Praok **gruuc**.
Cf. 839 ***rəc** to slice, cut through.
(Apparently) Proto-Austronesian ***kayat₂**: Toba Batak **harat** to gnaw, bite, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 72; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 14.14). See BENEDICT 1975 234.

846 *kruuc; *kruəc citrus.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **kro:c**, Stieng **kruic**, Hre **kroc**, Sedang **kruy**.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon [**chu** &c.] **krót** *orange*, Old Khmer **krvac**, Mod Khmer **kro:c** *citrus* (→ Thai **makrūt**, → Mon **mèak krət** *lemon*), Stieng **kruəc**, Biat **krə:c** *citrus*, Sre **kroac** *orange, citrus*, (→?) Central Nicobarese **kəroait** *citrus*, Nancowry **karuác**; → Cham **kroy?** *agrumes* (→ Bahnar **kroy?** *citrus*), Jarai **krə:i?** *citrus*, North Röglai **kuai?** *wild pomelo*, Acehnese **kruət** *Citrus hystrix*.
Connected further Ancient Chinese **kjuēt** 橘 *orange*. (POU & JENNER 1973 205). (SCHMIDT 1905 60; BLOOD 1966 59; SMITH 1972 260.)

847 *kruuc; *kruəc kind of gamebird.

- A: (Bahnaric; ~ ***kmruuc** >) Stieng **bruəc** *partridge*, Bahnar [**se:m**] **bro:c** *bird resembling francolin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kruəc** *quail, partridge*; ~ Chrau **vrwac** (*kind of*) *pheasant*.

848 *[c]raac *kind of wood-oil tree*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer, Kuy **tra:c** *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, Biat [**ca:i**] **ra:h:c** *wood-oil*, Chrau **ra:c**, Bahnar dialects **ra:c**, **h(a)ra:c** *kind of wood-oil tree* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **tra:y?** *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, North Röglai **trai?** *kind of resinous tree*.

The variant Mon **san srān** (*wood-oil obtained from*) *Melanorrhoea usitata* supports *c-; so Khmer, Kuy t- by dissimilation?

849 *truc; *truuc *lac*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **krōik**, Palaung **krut**, Riang-Lang **ṭrōc**; (or B) apparently → Miri **təruk** *lac insect* (BENEDICT 1972 n.).

B: (Mon) Mon **krət** *krut*.

Burmese **khyip** (XVI C), semantically contaminated by Mon-Khmer, is < Tibeto-Burman *krep *bug, ant*: BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 347 & n. 230.

850 *pr[a]c *wing*.

A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Praok **pruc**, Lawa Bo Luang [**kam**] **phrəuik**, Lawa Umphai **proic**, Mae Sariang **phyoic**, Bateg Nong **pəwic**, Sabum **payej**, Semelai **pərəc**.

(*brac see 922 *bruup *spotted*.)

851 *mrəc *pepper*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon **mrek** /**mrōik**/, Modern Mon **pərōik**, Khmer **mrəc** *mrec*, Stieng **mbre:c** (beside **mrəc** ← Khmer), Sre **mre?**, Chrau **mre?**, Biat **m(b)rac** (beside **mbrec** ← Khmer), Palaung **brut** (contaminated by Burmese, below?), Lawa Bo Luang **mbrəuik**, Lawa Umphai **mbroic**, Mae Sariang **mbyoic**, Khasi [**soh**]-**mrīt**; → Sanskrit *marica*-; Cham **amre?** (→ Bahnar **amre?**, Gölar **həmre?**), **mre?**, Röglai **amre?**; Thai **p^hrík** (→ Kammu-Yuan **p^rí?**, Thin **blik**); Burmese *narut*.

Stieng perhaps by early interdialectal borrowing.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 539.)

852 *lic; *l(i)əc *to emerge*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **ləc** *lec* *to come out (of), appear, to stick out, to seep, leak*, Stieng **le:c** *to drip, leak, to stick out*, Besisi **lek** *to get up* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 132); ~ Biat **rklec** *drop, drip*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ləc** *to go out, [sun] to rise*.

Connect Sre **lik** *to go out, come out, [paddy] come up, [sun]rise*.

853 *l̥ac to enter.

- A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Old Khmer **luc**, Middle Khmer **l̥ec lic** to set (probably, merging to **sink** < following; beside **lec lic** west), Kuy **lic** [to plunge knife] right in, Praok **lac**, Lawa **liak** to enter, Temiar **laj** to arrive unexpectedly (BENJAMIN 1976B 138); ~ Bahnar **gl̥e:c, kl̥e:c, kl̥e:k** to penetrate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

854 *l̥ac; *l̥aɛc; *laac to be flooded, to sink.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **l̥ec lic** to sink, be partly immersed (merging probably to set < preceding.), Kuy **lic** to flood, Stieng [d̥a:k] **li:c** primordial flood (→ Chrau **lic** to flood?); → Cham **l̥ɛc** spring tide; ~ Biat **ŋklac** to drown (v.t.).
 B: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **l̥ac** to sink, be drowned.
 C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **la:c** to overflow, flood.
 C perhaps secondary in post-dental context; so < ***l̥at-s** ~ **1077 *l̥at** to be extinguished? ***l̥ac** to turn upside down ad **423 *l̥ak** may belong here, with sense by attraction Cf. further **1287 *l̥ap** &c. to immerse; Vietnamese **lụt** to be inundated.

(***l̥ac** see also **423 *l̥ak** to overturn... ; (***l̥[ə]c**) **424 *l̥ak** to sleep; **1081 *lut** to slip (off, down).)

†855 *l̥oc; *l̥oɛc; *l̥ok penis.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **loc**; ~ Amwi **phloc**.
 B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [no:t-kəmet]-l̥o:i̯c boar.
 C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar **l̥o:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; contaminated by **1857 *klaaw**, which compare), Kammu-Yuan **l̥ok**, Khasi **l̥oh** (~ **thloh**), Sakai **lok̥n** (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 53).
 A-B prior in view of Munda, below; C by tabu deformation? Connect **1520 *k(-)l̥ay?**. Sora **l̥ʔa:j-ən**, (compounding form) (**ə**)**l̥a:j-ən**, Santali **l̥ʔj**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 289); by secondary development Sora **l̥ʔo:j-ən**, compounding form **l̥o:j-ən** testicle.
 (Proto-Austronesian ***ul̥ak** >?) Cebuano Bisayan **uluk**, **úluk**, perhaps Tongan **ule**, Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian ***ule**.

†856 *luc; *luɛc; *l̥ac; *l̥aɛc; *lac to steal.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **lu:ec** theft, Vietnamese [**bóc**] **l̥ot** to rob.
 B: (Khmer) Khmer **l̥u:ɛc** to steal, Bru **l̥ò:y?** to take [fish] without permission (< ***-uuc?**); → Cham **laɣɛc**.
 C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **kle?** to steal, purloin; → Cham, Jarai **kle?**, Röglai **kle?**, North Röglai **tle?** to steal.
 D: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **l̥a:c** to steal.
 E: (Mon) ~ Mon **kl̥ət**; ~ Old Mon **kumlac** /kəml̥ac/, Modern Mon **p̥əl̥ət** thief.
 Originally ***lut-s** &c. causative ~ **1081 *lut** &c. to slip (off...)? Connection dubious
 Central Nicobarese **k̥əlo:-** to steal, **k̥əməlo:** theft, Nancowry **kal̥ó?**, **kamal̥ó?**.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

Kharia **lusi** to rob, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 318b); → Sanskrit *lūṣati* &c., Prakrit *luṭṭai*.

(***luc** see also **1081** ***lut** to slip (off, down); (*[]**luc**) **1083** *[]**luut** to sprout; ***luuc**, ***luəc** see (also) **1081** ***lut**.)

857 ***klaac** frightened, timid.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **klat** to be tame, Literary Mon **klāt** also to be timorous, Khmer **khla:c**, Biat **kla:c** to be frightened; → Cham **klat**, **klet**.

Cf. Bru **kaŋa:y?** to be fearful; **kla:?** cowardly, timid; **1086** *[c]**laat**.

***858** ***kluuc** (& ***kluc**?) to rub.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **klɔik** (!) to rub [one's eyes] (< variant; or dialect, replacing ****klot** for homophony, cf. **856** (E)?), Palaung **klut** to wipe (MILNE 1931), Praok **kluc** to knead; → Jakun **kulut** to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 195).

Cf. Sre **klo:** to rub, scrape, chafe, perhaps < ***kluuk** by assimilation.

Proto-Austronesian ***lu**([d₁])**lu**([d₁]): Malay **lulut** massage with cosmetics, &c. (Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***lulu**!, NOTHOFFER 1975 104).

858a ***kluuc** on the point of burning.

A: (Khmer, Khasi, Katuic) Khmer **khlaoc** burnt, scorched, Khasi **khluic** boiling hot, scorching hot, Bru **klɔ:y?** burnt completely (< ***uəc**?).

Cf. **803** *[b]**ku(u)c** hot.

859 ***gluuc** loose, lax.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **kluc** to be lax; ~ Khasi **kylluid** roomy, loose, lax.

860 ***d₁n[l]uuc**; ***[d₁]n[l]uəc** awl.

A: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **tənluc** awl; to bore with a red-hot awl.

B: (Mon) Mon **hənòt banot**, **banat** awl.

Or *-**nn₂**-? then perhaps connected **822** ***cnuəc** to spit, transfix. Note also Khmer **cùənlù:əŋ** (TANDART 1935 also **cənlù:əŋ**; → Biat **cəŋlo:ŋ**), Kuy **ta:?** **mlhu:ŋ** goad (< ***cnluəŋ**? so perhaps Mon **kəŋəŋ** sting (organ)).

861 *[b]**lec**; *[b]**lac**; *[b]**ləc** to miss the mark, mistake, forget.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmer) Mon **plèt** to miss (the m), to be wrong, (or less probably variant >) Khmer **phlèc bhlec** to forget, Khasi **let** amiss; transgression (compounding form; or ad unattested derivation; referred to the secondary derivation **klet** to forget), Vietnamese **trêch** to miss the mark.

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Mon **plòt [plèt]** miss the mark, to go astray (**blot**!; or ~ **1082** ***luət** to err?), Sre **blac** lie, (probably, cf. the derivation) Bahnar **blec** [arrow &c.] to go wide, (**blə?** —) to be unreliable; ~ (*[b]**rlac** >) Biat **rlac** to deny; ~ (*[b]**plac** >) Bahnar **plec** to lie; liar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **plac**), Khasi **phlait** to miss, (compounding form?) **lait** mistake.

c: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *trật* to miss.

Only Khasi impedes reconstruction of *bl-. Vocalism unusual.

861a *[r]laac to collapse, be destroyed.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *là:c* to disappear, be lost, Lawa *laic* to c., be destroyed; ~ Biat *rɓla:c* (!) to devastate, ravage, trample; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Kammu-Yuan *plá:c* to take away, to destroy, waste, to melt down, to erase.

Cf. 422 *laik &c. to dissolve...; 927 *lɔp to be destroyed... .

862 *wic; *wiic; *wiəc twisted.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat *wic* [we:l] (peppercorn) curl; ~ Khmer *khvec khvic* turning (TANDART 1935), Chrau *kwi?* to roll, twist.

B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan *kərwi:c*-[*kərwi:al*] winding, meandering.

C: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer *vìəc* twisted, crooked, winding, dishonest, (or following, which connect, >?) Bahnar *wəc* to twist (v.i), to turn aside.

Connected further 1090 *wit &c. to go round... .

863 *wac to eddy, to twist.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Mon *wòt* to wring out, Sre *wac*, Biat [*da:k*] *wac* [we:l] eddy (& Bahnar *wəc* to twist..., under the entry preceding?), Central Sakai *wêt*, *uêt* to twist, wring; ~ (*krwac >) Biat *rwac* to twist [hair] into knot, Khasi *khyrwait* to twist, wring, strangle.

Connect preceding; & cf. further Riang-Lang *_viet* to wring; 1021 *pat &c. ... (id.).

863a *wac to hop, leap.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *wàc* [fish] to leap, Biat [*nchat te:*] *wac* to hop on one leg.

864 *wac; *waac knife, sword.

A: (Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Khasi *wait* dao, Temiar *ʔəwɔj*, Semelai *wɔy* knife.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *_vac*, *_wac*, Praok *vac*, Lawa Bo Luang *wik*, Lawa Umphai *wiaic*, Mae Sariang *wuic* sword.

Cf. Mendriq *wɛɲ* knife, &c. Temiar suggests a secondary *ʔuəc. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 124.)

865 *wəc stomach.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Palaung *vɛ?*, Praok *vac* stomach, Riang-Lang *_vac* bowels, entrails, Lawa *wiak* belly, Khasi [*'nier*]-*wait* entrails, Kensiu, Temiar *ʔej*, Mah Meri *ʔoʔəc*, Central Nicobarese *aic* belly.

Aslian, Nicobaric initials obscure.

(SHAFFER 1965 194; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 161.)

866 ***[]wəc**; ***[]wəəc**; ***[]wək**; ***[]w[uə]k** to cut, reap.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **wiak** to break (off); ~ (***[]mwəc** >) Palaung **meʔ!** to cut [tree] down, lop, Khasi **mait** to cut, to clear [jungle].
 B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_vəc**, **_wəc** to reap, cut.
 C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre **məʔ** sickle, (~?) Praok **muk** to cut, slash, Lawa Bo Luang **mak**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mək** to kill.
 D: (Palaungic) Palaung **vəʔ**, Praok **vək** to reap; ~ Palaung **rəvəʔ** reaping, Praok **sivək** sickle.

Note also Lawa Umphai **wək** grass-cutting knife; Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mak** to reap, mow. D secondarily from C, perhaps ***[]wək**; then ~ Riang-Lang **_mək** to cut with swinging motion, hew, otherwise ← Shan **wək**, ← 371 ***gəək** to chop, hoe. C-D contaminated by this? Then conceivably ***rwə(ə)c**, connected 1058 ***ruət(-s)** ...to reap Cf. further 839 ***rəc** to slice, cut through; 390 ***riək** ...to harvest.

(***wəc** see also 933 ***w[ə]n** to play.)

†867 (***kwaat-s** > ?) ***kwaac**; ***kwac**; ***[g]wat**; ***gwaat**; ***gwaac** to scratch (up).

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer **khva:c**, Stieng **kua:c**, Biat **kwa:c** (& **kwa:k!**) to scratch, Sre **kua:c** to scratch (oneself), Palaung **kwat** to grate, Kensiu **kəwəj** to scratch, by back-formation (or ~?) Kuy **wi:ac** to scratch up.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **kwac** to scoop up.
 C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[ʃə]-kwət-[həŋə]** to scratch with nail &c.
 D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **khvì:ət** to scratch with tip of finger, Kuy (k)**wa:t** (!) to scratch, Riag-Lang **_vat** to shave.
 E: (Mon) Mon **kwət** to shave, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khwaac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V103).
 Connect Vietnamese **quật** to exhume, dig out, excavate. Cf. 802 ***kaac**; 802a ***k[oo]c** to dig (up); 1442 ***kaay**; A138 ***kwaay**; 1880 ***kais** &c.; 1881 ***kuus** &c. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)
 Sora **aj-** [fowls] to scratch; to rake over [coals] (or : ***kaac**?).

†868 ***gwac**; ***gwaac** to beckon.

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Kuy (k)**wac** (!), (or B?) Central Sakai **gawet**, **giwot**; ~ Riag-Lang **_kəlvac** [ʔiʔ].
 B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru **kuwəyʔ** to beckon, Kammu-Yuan **kwà:c**, by assimilation Lawa Bo Luang **kwak**.
 Connect Bahnar **kuə:c**; Khasi **khawoit** (< ***k.wuəc**?) to beckon, to paddle.
 Santali **gəvi' j**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 68).

869 ***twii[c]**; ***twəc** dark.

- A: (Katuic) Kuy (t)**weeʔ** dark, night.
 B: (Palaungic) Praok **vac**, Lawa **fiak** dark.

(***[r]wəc**, ***rwəc** see 1094 ***[r]wət** *inattentive, to forget*.)

870 *sic** to fight.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **sic** /**səc**/ [**j**al], Modern Mon **səik** *to quarrel, brawl*; (?) → Thai **sək** (→ Khmer **suək**), Shan **shūk** *war*; ~ Biat **nchic** *to set dog fighting*.

871 *sac** edible substance, fruit, meat.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **sac** /**səc**/, Modern Mon **sət** *fruit*, Khmer **sac** *flesh, meat*, Kuy **sac** *meat*, Bahnar **sec** *lean meat*, Kensiu, Temiar **sej**, Semelai **səc** *meat* (with cognates meaning *fruit*, cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 170 (a)).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***sey** *fruit*, BENEDICT 1972 27 no. 57.

(SMITH 1972 247.)

872 *sac**; ***saac** to bale out.**

A: (Khasi, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi **kynshait** *to syringe*; ~ **pashait** *to splash with foot*; ~ (***sn-** >; perhaps with secondary shortening, cf. Biat ~ B) Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **nhac** *drizzle*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **sat** *to bale* (in part, **sāt**; merging ***r-saac**, 837 ***s-raac**), Khmer, Kuy **sa:c** *to bale, to throw from bucket*, Sre **sa:c** *to empty with bucket*, Chrau **sa:c** *to bale out fish-dam*, Riang-Lang **ṭhac** *earth cast of land-crab &c.*, Vietnamese **tát** *to irrigate, bale out*; → Cham **thay?** *to pour away, to bale out [fish-pond], [rain] to come down*; ~ Biat **nhac** *drizzle*, Khasi **snaid** *strainer*; ~ (***[s]nsaac** >) Bahnar **hja:c** *strainer*; ~ Bahnar dialects **hama:c** *strainer* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **sat** *to bale* (in part, **shāt**; see above), Khmer **rəsa:c** *in a very scattered manner*, Biat **rcha:c** *to sprinkle*, Chrau **cha:t** (with -t by dissimilation) *to sprinkle ritually*, Lawa Bo Luang **?asaic**, Lawa Umphai **rasaic**, Mae Sariang **ṽasaic** *to wash [hands]*; ~ Old Mon **rinṣāc** /**rənsac**/ *to sprinkle*.

Khmer has also **rasoc** *to spread out, well out* (GUESDON 1930), with which cf. Mintil **səuc**, Bateg Nong **səc** *to wash, bathe*; & **sraoc** *to sprinkle*, under the entry ***raac**.

They may reflect ***rsuuc** &c., but are part of the evidence for a possible *-**au-**.

(BLOOD 1966 365; SMITH 1972 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 142.)

†873 *suc**; ***suuc**; ***suəc**; ***sac**; ***siic** to sting.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer **soc** *small kind of mosquito*, Kuy **soc** *sandfly*, Bahnar dialect **tsuc** *to sting* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Temiar **səmuḡ** *wasp* (BENJAMIN 1976B 186).

- B:** (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy **so:c** *to sting*, Sre **souc** *to prick, sting*, Biat **cho:c**, Bahnar **so:c**, Kammu-Yuan **hu:c**, Riang-Lang **huc**, Praok **hu:c**, Proto-Semai ***sɿɿc** *to sting* (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (***smuuc** >) Kuy **smo:c**, **mho:c** (or < ***srmuuc**, below?), Bahnar **hmo:c**, Jeh **mut**, Halang **mut**, Kammu-Yuan **mú:c**, Lawa Bo Luang **?mauk**, Lawa Umphai **?maut**, Mae Sarian **?maut ant**, Proto-Semai ***smɿɿc** *stinging insect* (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Thai **mót ant** (&c., cf. BENEDICT 1975 219; → Kammu-Yuan **mòt**); Cham **hmōc**; Malay, Javanese **sěmut**, Karo Batak **semut**; ~ Khmer **srəmaoc ant**, Bahnar **səmo:c** *stinging (organ)*; (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) *hornet*; ~ Praok **pu:c** *stinging*.
- C:** (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) (***snmac** > ?) Mon **həmot samat ant**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ɕhmɯac**; ~ Alakong Bahnar **hmuəc ant** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **kərhuəyt** *wasps*.
- D:** (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **[huc] hac** *nettle*; ~ (***snmac** > ?) Sre **səmac**, Biat **mac**, Bahnar **səməc**, (original compounding form?) Khasi **mait** *mosquito*.
- E:** (Mon, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **sui:c (!)** [*scorpion's*] *sting*; → Shan **sit** *to sting*; ~ Mon **həmit** *mosquito*; ~ Sakai **kěmit** *mosquito* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 180 (a)).
- Connect perhaps (i) **1099 *su(u)t** *kind of bee*; (ii) **1496 *muuys** &c. *mosquito, gnat*. But connection dubious Acehnese **kamuə**, Cham **mu:**, Jarai **mu:a**, &c. *white ant*; Vietnamese **con mồi** *white ant*, which probably reflect ***-r**. (SCHMIDT 1905 50, 64; SHAFER 1965 316, 339; BLOOD 1966 352; SMITH 1972 257; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 25.)
- Sora **suj-** *to pierce*, ~ (compounding form) **muɿ-** *ant*, Kharia **mu'j**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 130); Sora **'samaj-ən** *mosquito*.

874 ***ksac; *ksaac** *sand*.

- A:** (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **khsac**; ~ (***kmsac** >) Riang-Lang **mac**.
- B:** (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) by metathesis > ***skaac** > Kuy **ska:c**, Mường **cách** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **cát**; ~ (***kmsaac** >) Praok **mac**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **hmaic**; ~ (***krsaac** by metathesis > ***krcaas** by metathesis >) Kammu-Yuan **cré:s**.
- Connect also Cham **cwəh**, Jarai **chu:ah**, Röglai **coah**, North Röglai **cuah**; Chrau **cwəh** *sand*, Biat **cə:ih** *gravel*? (SHAFER 1965 314.)

875 ***huc; *huuc; *huəc; *hac** *finished*.

- A:** (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **hoic**, Lawa Umphai **həic** *to come to an end*, Temiar **həj** *already* (BENJAMIN 1976B 160); (probably, rather than C) ~ Khasi **khoit** *completely*.
- B:** (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ho:c** *particle of completed action*, Thin **hoic** *to be finished, exhausted; sequential connective; mark of superlative; all*, Lawa Bo Luang **hawk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **həic** *to use up*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **huac** *to have finished; perfect auxiliary*.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **ṭhac** *all; to exhaust*; ~ Khasi **khait** = **khoit**.

= following ?Connect certainly 1539 ***həy** &c. *finished* & probably 1113 ***phut** *to cease* (so < ***hut-s** &c.?); then surely also 798 ***rʔuc** &c., ***rʔuuy** *finished*.

876 *huc; *huuc; *hə[ə]c; *hiəc *to decrease, decay*.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Biat **huc** *to decrease, ebb*, (or B?) Central Sakai **hūt** *starvation*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon **hut** *to decrease*, Modern Mon **hut** *to deteriorate, decay, dwindle*, Khmer **haoc** (!) *only very slight in quantity*, (TANDART 1935) *decayed*; ~ Khmer **kho:c** *to go bad, go wrong*, Kuy **kho:c** *to break down, be marred, disordered*, Stieng **ku:c**, **khu:(i)c** *to spoil, damage, destroy; spoiled &c.* (or A?), Biat **khu:c** *to be spoiled*, Bahnar **kho:c** *diminishing* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hi:əc** *used up, wasted, squandered* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (D); ~ Bahnar dialects **hʔrə:c** *to decrease, to use up, waste* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; C).

= preceding? Connect perhaps 1109 ***jhuut** *to go backwards*. Note further Bahnar **hua:c** = **hʔrə:c**.

(***huc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

877 *huuc; *huəc *to whistle*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hōc** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **huyt**; ~ Bahnar **həho:c**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Khmer **hu:əc**, Stieng **hu:ʔc**, Sre **hoac**, Biat **huac**, Bahnar **hə:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **ṭhuac**, Vietnamese **huyt**, Semang **huek** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (b)); → Jarai **hə:ac**, Rōglai **hoac**, North Rōglai **huai?**, Acehnese **huət**; ~ (***huəc huəc** > ***chuəc** >) Mon **chot** (**khyot**!; but dialects confirm ***ch-**), Kuy (**kh**)**hə:c**; ~ Chrau **təhwac**.

Cf. Jeh **tahuayh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (< ***-huəs**). Onomatopoeic (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

(***huuc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

878 *huəc *to flow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Central Rölöm **həac**, Biat **hə:c** *to flow*, Bahnar **hə:c** [*water*] *to carry away; to unroll, flow out*, Khasi **hoit** *to flow out, seep out*; ~ Bahnar **təhə:c** *to dispose of by throwing into stream*, (GUESDON 1930) *to overflow*.

Connect Kuy **hə:y**.

(BLOOD 1966 52.)

(***huəc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

†879 ***khuc**; ***khuuc**; ***kh[uyh]** *to wipe, wash.*

A: (Palaungic) Praok **khoc** *to wash*.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **khut**, **khuit** *to wipe*, Lawa Bo Luang **khauk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **khɔic** *to wash*, Khasi **khuid** *clean, pure*.

C: (Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Palaung **khoy**, Riang-Lang **ṭkhe** *to wash*, Semang [ya'] **kũās** *to wipe* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 123; ?).

Kharia **gu'j** *to wash* (PINNOW 1959 K 61; Proto-Munda ***goc**?).

Proto-Austronesian *[**jug'ut**': Toba Batak **ugus** *to rub*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 160, discarding Tagalog; ?).

Perhaps two roots, with contamination : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***khu(u)c** *to wash* :

Munda, *-**uy[h]** *to wipe* : Austronesian.

(***knhuəc** see 272 ***chuək** *corner*.)

880 ***bhic**; ***bhiic** *to fear*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **phic** /**phɔc**/, Modern Mon **phɔik**, Jah Hut **bəhec**; ~ Old Mon **buhic** *to frighten*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **phɪt** *nervous [horse]*, (— **pha:i**) *fear, terror*.

881 ***[l]nhəc** *light in weight*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ləŋə:c**, Sre, Biat **ŋgə:c**, Chrau **ŋkhə:c**, Mnong Gar **rəkhə:c**, Bahnar **həʔyə:c**.

Or ***r**-? Bahnar by assimilatory palatalization of nasal.

(BLOOD 1966 411.)

(***ʔaən** see 1116 ***ʔaa[n]** *tray of betel-box*.)

882 ***ʔa[i][ɲ]**; ***ʔiə[ɲ]** (*elder*) *brother*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **an** *parent's sibling of same sex*, Mường **enh** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **anh** *elder brother*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔean**, Lawa Umphai **ʔen** *father's younger brother*.

Or ***ʔain** &c.; but *-**ɲ** if Praok **[pu]ac** *brothers*, Lawa **ʔiak** *elder brother* (< ***ʔəc**?) are connected. Note South Aslian forms: Semelai **ʔiʔeʔ**, (distinguished by BENJAMIN from) Mah Meri **yəʔ** *elder sibling*, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 421.

(SHAFFER 1965 341.)

883 ***ʔəɲ** *to endure, wait out*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **ɔɲ** *to suffer, endure, tolerate*, Literary Mon **ʔen** also *to be patient*; ~ Sre **ləʔɲ** *to wait, be patient*.

Cf. 1151 ***ɲə(ə)nʔ** ...*to endure*.

884 *ʔəɲ to fast, abstain from food.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ɔɲ, Khasi *en* (!) [ja].

Khasi spelling may assume palatalization to be junctural. Cf. Central Nicobarese ɔɪt-
ɲə hungry.

885 *ʔuɲ (& *ʔuuɲ?) fire.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng u:(i)ɲ, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar uɲ, Jeh ùn, Halang un; ~ (*jheeʔ
ʔu[ɲ] by contraction >; with compensatory lengthening?) Biat choʔo:ɲ charcoal.

Connect **1872** *[ɲus &c.?

(SHAFFER 1965 447a; BLOOD 1966 151; SMITH 1972 81; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F
124.)

886 *kʔaiɲ; *kʔiəɲ; *kʔi[ɲ] wasp.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kəʔá:ɲ kind of wasp, Palaung kəʔəɲ
wasp, Khasi *kyieng* wasp, hornet; ~ (*kmʔaiɲ >) Jeh maha:ɲ fighter wasp, Halang
məha:ɲ wasp.

B: (Khmer; ~ *knʔiəɲ >) Khmer ɲəɲ kind of wasp.

C: (Khasi) Khasi *k'ing* wasp, hornet.

Pre-Khmer *-iəɲ > *-əɲ by palatal absorption. Connect **485** *ʔuɲ &c. wasp, hornet.

887 *jʔuuɲ; *jhuɲ to smell, sniff.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu ʔuɲ, Temiar ʔu:ɲ to smell, sniff; ~ (*jʔuuɲ
jʔuuɲ > *njʔuuɲ > *njuɲ >) Mon yəɲ to smell, (or ~ *jnʔuuɲ >?) Semai
no:y to smell.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chəɲ *chui*, (~?) Kuy hu:ɲ to smell, smell, embrace (JOHNSTON
1969 has hɲu:ɲ to smell, < *jnhuɲ).

Mon, perhaps Semai *final* by dissimilation; but Semai may attest a further variant
*jʔuuy; cf. here Central Nicobarese ʔi smell. Note also Riang-Lang *kuɲ* to kiss.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 294.)

Kharia jũ to sm., &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 315).

Cf. Proto-Austronesian *k'i(S)um to sniff, nose-kiss: Malay *chium*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF
1938 87, *k'ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian).

888 *smʔaɲ star.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon *sam'an* (?), Literary
Mon *saman*, Stieng səme:ɲ, Sre, Chrau səmaɲ, Biat maɲ, Palaung səmiɲ, Riang-
Lang səkməɲ, Praok simuɲ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔbəuɲ, Lawa Umphai, Mae
Sariang saʔmoɲ; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan sərmɲ.

Cf. Danaw kǎ'lan (< *slʔaɲ?).

(SHAFFER 1965 166, 374; BLOOD 1966 348.)

889 *kij̥ (& *kiij̥?) head, termination.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **kiŋ** *end*, Palaung **kiŋ**, Riang-Lang **ʔkiŋ** (< variant?), Praok **kaŋ**, Lawa **kaɪŋ** *head*.

Mon **kənɜŋ** *tip* may reflect a variant *k/.n/u(u)ŋ.
(SHAFFER 1965 5.)

890 *k[i]ŋ; *kuŋ work.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **keŋ** [**kā**] *work, business* (→ Burmese **ʔakuin**), Praok **kaŋ** *act, deed, work*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **công** *work*.

891 *kiij̥[]; *kiəŋ[]; *kaɪŋ? elbow.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [**kəŋ**] **ke:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng [**ko:ŋ**] **kie:n**, Chrau [**kuŋ**] **kiəŋ** [**ti:**], Biat [**ti:ŋ**] **ciaŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **kíaŋ**, Central Nicobarese [**det-əŋ**] **ke:əŋ**, Nancowry **rét ʔuŋkián**.

C: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kaeŋ** [**day**], Kuy [**tə:t**] **ke:ŋ**, Bru [**tə:t**] **ke:ŋ**, Vietnamese **cánh** [**chỏ**].

Connect **650 *ky[o]ŋ?** Note Sakai **kanang** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42). (SMITH 1972 91.)

***892 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ; *kun; *kuun, *dkuun to bend down; bent.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Mon **kun** *dwarf, to be humpbacked*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V115), Khmer **kuñ** *dwarfish, stunted, shrivelled* (GUESDON 1930), Biat **koŋ** *to bend down (v.i.t.)*, Semang **kion**, **kiun** *crooked* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (b); or B); ~ Khmer **ʔəŋkoŋ** *to bend [limbs]*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ku:ŋ** *to bend (down), lower (v.t); bent down, arched* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kun** *to bend down* (→ Röglai).

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **kaon** *bending, huddled up...*, Kammu-Yuan **kú:n**, Khasi **khun** *to bend*, (*dk- >) Bahnar [**kədu?**] **gəŋ** *hunchback*; ~ Sre **rəkoun** *to bend, be rucked*.

Final variant unusual. Bahnar ***dk-** contaminated by Indonesian, below? Vocalism post-dental, cf. **335a *ɗuuk**; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has **go:n təgo:n**, **gu:n təgu:n**, **gə:n təgə:n**. Add perhaps to D Proto-Khmuic ***knuun** *knee*, Kammu-Yuan **kənú:n**. (SCHMIDT 1905 22)

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***dəkuŋ**: Javanese **děkung** *bent, bowing down*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 39; DAHL 1973 § 14.20; perhaps rather ad **500 *koŋ**).

Connection dubious Santali **kəŋdɛʔ**, **kəŋdɛ'd** *bent, bowed, crooked*, PINNOW 1959 186; unless via Indo-Aryan, if this root → Sanskrit **kunī-**, TURNER 1962-66 3259; cf. Pali **kunḍa-** *bent, crooked*. See BENEDICT 1975 231.

†893 *[]kuuɲ; *[]kuəɲ *father, mother's brother*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **kouɲ** *mother's brother, mother's uncle*, Chrau **ko:ɲ** *mother's younger brother* (BLOOD 1966), Biat **ko:ɲ** *parent's younger brother*, Bru **ko:n** *father*, Kuy (ʔa:) **kə:ɲ** *term of address to paternal great-uncle*, Kammu-Yuan **kú:ɲ** *father's sister's husband*, Palaung **kun**, Praok **kuɲ** *father*, Proto-Semai ***kʰɯ:ɲ** *parent's elder brother...* (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **koin** *husband*, Nancowry **kón**; ~ Semnam ʔəŋkoɲ *male, husband*, Central Nicobarese **enkəɲə** *male*.

B: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **kəuɲ** *mother's younger brother*.

Or *ʔk-?

(BLOOD 1966 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 38, M 15 (d).)

Sora **'kupa:r-ən** *father-in-law*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 360. But Kharia **'gunmer** is obscure).

Proto-Austronesian ***əNkuɲ**: Malay **əŋkong** *grandfather*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 170; Proto-Hesperonesian).

893a *[t]gəɲ *early, soon*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gəɲ** *early* (beside **goɲ**; BLOOD 1966 **gə:ɲ-gə:ɲ** *soon, quickly*), Central Rölöm **gə:ɲ** *soon, quickly*, Biat **gə:ɲ** *soon, quickly, early, to hurry*, Bahnar **kə:ɲ** *later on, shortly*.

(BLOOD 1966 393.)

894 *jiɲ; *jiin *to sew*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Stieng **ji:n** (!), Sre **jiɲ**, Chrau **jiɲ**, Biat **jaɲ**, Praok **caɲ**, (or **B?**) Central Sakai **chêk**; ~ Stieng **jirni:ɲ** *seam*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **jiñ**, [**s**]-**jiñ** /**jiɲ**/, Modern Mon **còin**, Palaung **jiɲ**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuɲ**, Lawa Umphai **chin**, Mae Sariang **c(h)in**.

Stieng **-n** by dissimilation Cf. Khasi **jaiñ** *cloth, clothes*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

895 *tjaɲ *quarrelsome*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Sre **jaɲ** *violent [illness]* (DOURNES 1950); [*buffalo*] *to be unapproachable*, Biat **ja:ɲ** *malevolent, brutal*, (**to:m** —) *to quarrel*, Mường **chenh** (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **tranh**, **chanh** *to dispute, quarrel*, Central Nicobarese [**men**]-**ʃe:ɲə** *quarrelsome*, Nancowry **minséja** *cruelty*; ~ (***tnjaɲ** >) Middle Mon **tayān**, Modern Mon **kəyan** *to dispute*, Biat **nja:ɲ** *to annoy*, Vietnamese **giành** = **tranh**; (?) by secondary derivation ~ Praok [**sima**] **siməɲ** *to be contentious*.

896 *sɲuəɲ; *sɲ[ə]ɲ; *sɲiɲ *wrinkled; to frown, grimace*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **sɲo:ɲ** *disgusted [expression]*, (?) Biat **huan** *wrinkle, wrinkled*; ~ Mon **həpon** *to snarl, to screw up one's face, frown*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **sɲeɲ** **sñeñ** *showing one's teeth*, Kuy **sɲiɲ**, **ɲhiɲ** *to expose teeth, grimace*, Vietnamese **nhăn** (!) *to be wrinkled, to make faces*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **təhni:n** *to show one's teeth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C secondary. Note further Khmer **sna:n** *grimacing*; (TANDART 1935) **ɲu:n** *grimacing*, **ɲu:ən** *to contract, frown*; if then rather *s-ɲ-, < 62 *[ɲu? [ɲu? &c.? Cf. also Mường **nhāl** *to be wrinkled, to make faces* (BARKER 1966 13); 997 ɲ[uə]t *wrinkled, shrivelled*.

896a *t₁iɲ; *t₁iɲ; *t₁iəɲ *t₁əɲ *to pluck, twang*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tiŋ-[niŋ]** *kind of plucked stringed instrument*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer, Khasi) Mon **toɲ** *to pluck [stringed instrument]*, Palaung **tiŋ** *guitar* (MILNE 1931), Praok **tiŋ** *harp*; → Shan **tiŋ** *harp*; ~ Old Khmer **tmiñ** (or A) *player of stringed instrument*; ~ Old Mon **tinmīñ** /**təmminj**/ *player of stringed instrument*; (or A?) ~ Khasi **[ma]rynthiŋ** *stringed instrumen played with plectrum, 'Khasi harp'*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **diəŋ** *to push gently aside*.

D: (Khmer, Central Aslian) Khmer /**deɲ**/ **teñ** *to pluck strings*, Proto-Semai *təɲ *to pluck* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Onomatopoeic?

896b *tiɲ; *təɲ *to know*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **dxɲ**; ~ Khmer **pdɲ** *to inform, to report, to complain, sue*; ~ Sre **ntiɲ** *to send word (by)*, Biat **ntɛɲ** *to make recommendations*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **ntɛɲ** *to send word*.

1341 *t₁iim contaminated by 904 *pdeɲ *to memorize*?

897 *t₁aɲ *hot*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng **te:ɲ** *hot, heat, fever*, Chrau **[duh] taɲ** *hot [water]*, Kammu-Yuan **[tá:s] téɲ** *dry and sunny [place]*, Central Nicobarese **taɲ** *hot*, Nancowry **táɲ**; ~ Biat **ntaɲ** *to warm up*.

(SHAFER 1965 84.)

***898** *t₁aaɲ *to weave, plait, twill*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobarese, Central Aslian) Mon **tan** *to plait, twill*, Kuy **ta:ɲ** *to weave, twill*, Chrau **ta:ɲ** *to twill*, Sre, Biat, Bahnar **ta:ɲ** *to plait, weave*, Jeh, Halang **ta:n**, Kammu-Yuan **ta:ɲ** *to weave*, Riang-Lang **taɲ**, Praok **taɲ**, Lawa **taɲ**, Khasi **thaiñ** *to plait, weave*, Mường **tanh** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **đan** *to weave*, Temiar **ta:c** *to plait* (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Central Nicobarese **[en]-tainyə** *to plait, weave*, Nancowry **táɲ**, ?intáɲ; ~ Old Khmer **tmāñ** *weaver*; ~ Khmer **tba:ɲ** *to weave, plait* (properly nominal form).

Palaung **teɲ** *to weave [bamboo matting]* may imply a variant *taɲ; tuən (Mon) *to weave [bamboo matting]* is probably contaminated by 910 *tɕuəɲ *to twist (together)*. Cf. also 1467 *[k]rt₂aɲ *to twist (together)*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 335; SMITH 1972 94; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 126.)

Sora **taŋ-**, Kharia **taŋ** *to weave*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 301)

899 *təŋ *to chase*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **deŋ teñ** *to pursue, chase away*, Stieng **ti:ŋ**, Sre **tiŋ** *to chase*, Biat **təŋ** *to chase, follow*.

(BLOOD 1966 148.)

(***[k]rt₂aŋ** see 1467 ***[k]rt₂ay** *to twist together*.)

899a *klt₂uŋ; *k[l]t₂uəŋ *fern*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Biat **rto:ŋ** [**krət**], Sedang **kasún**, Kammu-Yuan **kərsú:ŋ**, Central Nicobarese **ləto:in**.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəto:ŋ**.

(SMITH 1972 95.)

900 *diəŋ; *dəŋ *to be dazed*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **deñ** /**deŋ**/ [**knop**], Literary Mon **den** [**knap**].

B: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Middle Mon **deñ** /**dəiŋ**/, Modern Mon **təiŋ** *to be dazed*, Vietnamese **đần** *to be dull, simple-minded*.

(***daaŋ** see 1470 ***daay** ...*to lean on*.)

901 *duŋ; *duuŋ (& *duəŋ?) *to gather up*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **doŋ**; → Jarai **duŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat **do:ŋ** *to glean*, Chrau, Bahnar **do:ŋ** *to gather up*; (Jeh/Halang? ***duəŋ**?) → Cham **tò:n**, Röglai **doan**, North Röglai **duət**.

902 *duəŋ *to deplore*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **tòn** *to scold, chide, complain, grumble*, Khmer **tù:əŋ** *to lament*; ~ Mon **hənòn** *chiding*, Khmer **tùmnu:əŋ** *lament, lamentation*.

†903 *kđiŋ; *kđiŋ; *kđuŋ (& *kđuŋ?) *bamboo-joint*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Mon **dəiŋ** *bamboo-joint used to hold liquids*, Stieng **di:ŋ** *bamboo tube*, Sre **diŋ** (→ Chrau **din** (BLOOD 1966)), Biat **duŋ** *tube*, Besis **di^kng** *bamboo* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 31; or B?); → Röglai **diŋ** *tube*; ~ Middle Mon **gandīn** /**gəñiŋ**/, Modern Mon **hənoŋ**, Khmer **kəndəŋ** *bell* Lawa Umphai **ŋgleiŋ** *jingle, small bamboo*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **dī:ŋ**, Jeh **dīŋ** *bamboo tube*, Halang **dī:ŋ** *water-pipe*, Palaung **dīŋ** *bamboo container for liquids*; → Cham **dīŋ** *tube*.

C: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Middle Mon *kḍon* /*kḍuŋ*/ *area-nut container*, Modern Mon *daŋ* *bamboo tube*, Khmer *taoŋ* *cask* (?; < **kḍuŋ*, or ← Malay *tong*, under the entry 791 **d₁huŋ*), Kammu-Yuan *tón* *bamboo tube*, Khasi '*dong* (~ *tyndong*!) *short pipe, betel-case*; ~ (**kḍuŋ* >) Mon *hənɜŋ* *slit-drum, small bell*, Jehehr *gənūŋ* *bamboo* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 25). Middle Mon *g-* in *ganḍin* *obscure*, but cf. 1180 **[g]ḍaan*. Cf. 341 **td[o]k* *slit-drum*...

(SHAFER 1965 123; BLOOD 1966 135; SMITH 1972 97.)

(i) Sora *kə(')diŋ-ən* *drum*; Kharia *'kənŋdɛŋ* *bamboo*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 275; Proto-Munda *-əŋ); (ii) Sora *kun'tuŋ-ən* *tube*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) **gəNdaŋ*: Malay *gədaŋ* *drum*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 54; Proto-West-Indonesian); Proto-Austronesian (ii) **kəNtuŋ*: Malay *kəntuŋ* *bird-scarer*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer? See BENEDICT 1975 388.

904 **pḍeŋ* to memorize.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon *pḍen*, Modern Mon *den* to memorize, Kuy *dip* to know, learn (contaminated by Khmer *dɔŋ* < 896b **tij*, which compare); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *tùəntɛŋ dandɛŋ* to repeat in order to memorize.

†905 **paŋ?* to shoot.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon *pañ* /*pɔŋ*/, Modern Mon *pɔn*, Old Khmer *pañ*, Modern Khmer *baŋ*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat *paŋ*, Stieng *pe:ŋ* to shoot, Bahnar *pɛŋ* to beat cotton, Jeh, Halang *peŋ*, Kammu-Yuan *píŋ*, Palaung *piŋ*, Riang-Lang *ṽpuŋ*, Mường *pánh* (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese *bắn* to shoot, Central Nicobarese *fɔin* crossbow, [hǎ]-*fɔiŋə* to shoot with crossbow, Nancowry *fəŋ*, *hafəŋ*.

Cf. following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 18; SHAFER 1965 317; BLOOD 1966 367; SMITH 1972 86, 88; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a).)

(Cf. Kharia *pa'nic* bowstring, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 499; reborrowed ←, or contaminated by, Hindi *panica*?)

Proto-Austronesian **pan₁aq* to shoot; bow: Malay *panah* bow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113, **panah*; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 221, *arrow*.

906 **paŋ*; **paan* to fight.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Praok *puŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang *pəuŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *poiŋ*; ~ Bahnar *pəpɛ:ŋ*, *pəpɛ:ŋ* to struggle, thrash about (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B) Semang *pin-pen* to fight (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 496 (c)); ~ (**pn-*, but perhaps rather secondary **pnaɪŋ*, >) Palaung *neŋ* soldiers (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon *pnāñ* /*pnəŋ*/ *army*, Modern Mon *nan*, Praok *naŋ* *army, war*, Palaung *nan* *soldiers*.

Perhaps = preceding, ***p/an/aŋʔ** > ***pnaaŋ** with compensatory lengthening.

Connection obscure Kuy **baŋ** to *fight*.

‡907 ***dpəŋ**; *[**d**]pu[ə]ŋ; by voicing shift ***tbij**; ***tbiij**; ***tbiəŋ**; ***tbəŋ** *full*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon **piñ** /**pəŋ**/, Modern Mon **pəiŋ** to *be full*, Khmer **pəŋ** *beñ* *full*, → Kuy **phəŋ** *full [moon]*, Sre **piŋ** to *overflow*, Bahnar **ɕəŋ** (!), Semang **ipɪŋ** *full* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (a)).

B: (Khasi) Khasi **phoiñ** *entirely*.

C: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **pəŋ** *full [moon]*, Temiar **təbik**, (or D) Che' Wong **bək** *full*.

D: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Stieng **biʔi:ŋ**, Sre **bi:ŋ**, Chrau **və:ŋ**, Biat **be:ŋ**, Jeh **bìŋ** *full*, Halang **bì:ŋ** *full of water*, Semai **təbe:k**, Semaq Beri **təbe:ŋ** *full*.

E: (Khasi) Khasi [**dap**] **sbeng** *quite [full]*, **tbeng** *as if full*.

F: (South Bahnaric) Biat **bəŋ** *full [moon]*.

Connect other South Aslian forms: Semelai **səbə:ŋ**, &c.; so by assimilation Jehai **sehim**, Mendriq **səhim**; with secondary vocalism Kensiu **habun**; & cf. Central Nicobarese **poʃ**, **puʃ**, **buʃ**, Nancowry **pús** (< ***bucʔ**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 39; BLOOD 1966 33; SMITH 1972 80; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (b).)

Proto-Austronesian ***pəluq**: Malay **pěnoh**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 117, ***pənuh**; DYEN 1953 § 62; DAHL 1973 § 15.8).

908 ***baaŋ** to *stick*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **pàn** to *stick, adhere, to affix*, Khasi **paiñ** *solder, cement, joint*.

(***tbi(i)ŋ**, ***tb(i)əŋ** see 907 ***dpəŋ** *full*.)

909 ***buuŋ**; ***buəŋ** *soft*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **bo:ŋ** *soft, flexible, easy*; ~ (***[b]mbuuŋ** >) ?**mo:ŋ** *soft, flexible, easy*; → Jarai **ʔmoŋ** *soft*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **boiñ** *soft*; ~ (***[b]mbuəŋ** >) Sre **buən** *easy*; → Rōglai **buən**, (or A?) Cham **bon** *easy*.

Cf. 1124 ***lʔun** &c. *soft, tender*.

910 ***tbuəŋ**; ***tbaŋ** to *twist (together)*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **bureŋ**, **buə:ŋ** to *twist into cord*, Biat **buəŋ** to *twist*, Bahnar **bə:ŋ** to *plait, twill* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***tnbuəŋ** >) Bahnar **ʔmə:ŋ** *twisted rope*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **bəŋ** to *twist together*; ~ Khmer **trəbaŋ** to *plait, twist*, Biat **rbaŋ** to *turn (v.t), screw*.

To *plait, twill* contaminated by 898 ***tɿaaŋ**, which compare; as also 1177 ***ba(a)n** *interlaced*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

911 *mij[]; *miəj?; *muuj[]; *muəj[] *mouth*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng dialect **mi:j** *language*, Chrau **mij** *mouth*.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin [ʔaŋ] **miəŋ**, Mường **mənh** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **miệng** *mouth*.

C: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **məno:in** *lip*, Nancowry **manúj**.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Riang-Lang **_mwəj** *mouth, word, language*, Praok **məj** *mouth*, (by labial absorption; or < a variant *maj[]?) Khasi **maiñ** *features*; → Shan **mǎŋ** *opening*.

Connection dubious Kharia **rə'məŋ** *nose*, PINNOW 1959 387. Khmer **thmèn** *tooth*, compared at SHAFER 1965 461, is < **924 *l/m/əj**.

(*muuj see 1495 *muuy *one*.)

912 *smaaj to ask.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **smāñ** /**smaj**/, Modern Mon **hman** *to ask, inquire*, Kammu-Yuan **mà:j** *to ask*, Palaung **hman**, Praok **maj** *to request*, Riang-Lang **ˈmaj** *to inquire, request*, Lawa **hmaij**, Temiar **sama:j** *to inquire* (BENJAMIN 1976B 173).

Cf. Central Nicobarese **həma:-[hətə &c.]** *to request, inquire*. Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 46, : Khmer **mì:ən** interrogative particle.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 165.)

913 *raŋ dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **re:j**, Sre, Chrau **raŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **[rà:s]** **rèj**.

Connection uncertain (i) Khmer **rì:ŋ** *dried up*, perhaps < *riij unless connected Bahnar **sreŋ**, **hreŋ** *dry* (< *-iəŋ); (ii) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **raŋ** *dry* (&c.: SMITH 1972 128).

914 *ruj; *ruuj; *ruəj; *ri[i]j to strain, pull away.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **rùj** *to push, pull*; (— **rì:ə**) *refractory, obstinate* (→, or contaminated by, Thai **run** *to push?*), Stieng **ru:ij** *to pull [e.g. cart] backwards* (or B: contaminated by 842 *ru(u)c *to retreat...?*).

B: (Mon) Mon **rùn** *to strain away, pull at leash &c., to be intractable*; ~ Bru **brù:n** [*fish*] *to tug at line*; → Burmese **run:** *to be intractable...*

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh **drudruan**, Halang **dədruan** *to struggle*.

D: (Khasi) Khasi **ring** *to pull, tug, drag*.

Connect obscure Praok **bruun** [**ti gwe**] *to tear oneself away*.

915 *kraŋ climbing perch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer [**trɔy**] **kraŋ**, Kuy, Chrau [**ka:**] **kraŋ**.

916 ***krap** *frizzy [hair]*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **krap**; ~ (***kprap** >) Mon **kərən** *stubbly [hair]*, Bahnar **prɛp** *[hair] to be curly*.

Variant following?

917 ***kraap** *twisted, tangled*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **kran** *to be gnarled, twisted, tangled*, Khmer **kra:p** *settled, stuck*, Chrau **kra:p** *hard, stiff*, Bahnar **kra:p** *very tight, very. tangled* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **kandrāñ** *twisted* (GUESDON 1930), Khasi **kynraiñ** *twisting about [as one sits]*.

Add preceding as variant?

918 ***knraap** *elder, functionary*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **kəntrɛ:p** *big, (mè: —) chieftain*, Sre **kənrap** *elder overseeing cultivation practice*, Chrau **[ko:] kəndra:p** *illustrious person*, Biat **ndra:p** *arbitrator, go-between*, Bahnar **kədra:p** *(elder acting as) go-between, negotiator*.

Contracted compound of A64 ***raap** *old*?

919 ***gruup** *white ant, termite*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon **krùn**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***thruup** (< ***druup**?) (DIFFLOTH 1984 N37), Khasi **kruin**, Sakai **groit**ⁿ (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 110); ~ (***gnruup** >) Kuy **nthrù:p**, Kammu-Yuan **trù:p**.

Cf. B68 ***br[a]p**. Connection uncertain Central Nicobarese **dəɔin**.

919a ***jriip**; ***jriap** *wax*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jirin**, Chrau **jre:p**, Biat **jre:ŋ**, Kontum Bahnar **jri:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **jre:p**, Bru (ma)**ntriap**. (SHAFFER 1965 473.)

920 ***[d]mrəp**? *body louse*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Kuy **nthrip**, Kammu-Yuan **təmrip**, Palaung **kənbrip** *body louse*, Lawa Bo Luang **mbəruŋ** *tick*, Khasi **jynreiñ**, Vietnamese **rəp** *body louse*; ~ Sakai **moñriñ** *vermin* (rewritten **mongring** at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 144; i.e. Semai).

Connect Riang-Lang **səlap** *bed-bug*?

921 ***priip**; ***prup**; ***pruup** *to contend*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **prɔŋ** *to strive, make an effort*; ~ (***pnriip** >) Sre **nərip** *dispute* (DOURNES 1950); ~ Bahnar **adri:n**, Gölar Bahnar **hədri:n** *to strive, persevere*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **[weñ] prəñ** /**pruŋ**/, Modern Mon **prap** (→ Burmese **pruiñ**) *to contend, compete*, Khmer **prəŋ** *to plan for, try to*; → Cham **prɔñ**, **prauñ**.

C: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***prruuŋ** >) Sre [tam] **pərloŋ**, Biat [tə:m] **rlo:ŋ** *to contend, compete*.

922 *bruuŋ; *bruəŋ; *braŋ; *brac spotted.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **bro:ŋ** *striped*, **bru:ŋ** *grey-pied*, Khasi **bruiñ** *with large spots*, (**thoh-** —) *spotted*.

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **vrwa:ŋ** (→ Biat **rwa:ŋ**?) *striped*, Khasi [**thoh**]-**broiñ** *spotted*; ~ Bahnar **təbro:ŋ** *mottled*.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon [klaʔ] **pròŋ bran** *leopard*, Bahnar **brəŋ** *with small black and white spots*, Khasi [**thoh**]-**braiñ** *spotted*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau [yaw] **vrac** *panther*, Biat [yau] **brac** *tiger-cat, lynx*.

923 *mraŋ; *mrəŋ pox, ulcer.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Late Middle Mon **mran**, Modern Mon **pəròŋ** *smallpox*, Khmer **mrèŋ mreñ** *cancer, ulcer, scrofula* (→ Biat **mraŋ** *chancre*; or B?), Palaung **brəŋ** *smallpox*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tə:t] **brəŋ** *pockmarked*.

B by hypercorrection? Cf. further Sre **kraŋ** *smallpox, chancre*; Praok **preŋ** *contagious disease*.

924 *liŋ; *liiŋ; *ləŋ; *luuŋ gums.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre **luuŋ** (!; or C?), Biat **luuŋ** [che:k], Hre **lìn**; → Cham **liŋ**, (or C?) Jarai **lə:ŋ**; ~ Riag-Lang **ṭkliŋ** (***k-** part-of-body prefix); ~ Stieng **jəŋli:ŋ** (or B?), by metathesis Proto-Semai ***lɲsi:ŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **li:n**.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) ~ (***cnləŋ** >?) Bahnar **səneŋ**, **həneŋ**, Jeh **i?neŋ**, Halang **həneŋ** *tooth*; ~ (***lməŋ** >) Khmer **thməŋ dhmeñ**, Synteng Khasi **ləmeiŋ** *tooth*; (? , ~ ***lmpəŋ**) Lawa Bo Luang **piaŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbiaŋ**, Danaw **pəiŋ** *tooth*.

D: (Aslian) ~ Che' Wong **ləmuŋ**, Semai **ləmo:ŋ**, Semelai **ləmɔŋ** *tooth*.

D secondary following labial. Connect perhaps Vietnamese **lợi** *gums*. (< ***ləəy**).

(SHAFFER 1965 237; SMITH 1972 85; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 128, T 170; cf. SMITH 1972 51.)

925 *liəŋ; (*ləŋ >) *laaŋ to sharpen.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) ~ Thin **t(ə)ləŋ**; ~ Khmer **səmliəŋ**, Kuy **smlɪ:ŋ**, **mlhi:ŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre, Biat **la:ŋ** *to trim to a point*, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **la:ŋ** *to sharpen*; ~ Bahnar [ʔnət] **kla:ŋ** *kind of sharp-edged grass*.

B shows early secondary lengthening following contextual lowering. Connect perhaps

(i) Kammu-Yuan **cəlò:ŋ** *to sharpen* (< ***-uəŋ**?); (ii) 929 ***t₂luuŋ** &c. *pointed*.

926 *laaŋ to spread, be propagated.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **la:ŋ** [*stain, fire, flood, epidemic*] to spread (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **laiñ-laiñ** from place to place; ~ (***snlaaŋ** >) Mon **hənan snān** [*fire*] to spread.

Are Vietnamese **lan** [*fire*] to spread & Mường (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **tràn** to overflow, which imply *-n, loanwords?

927 *ləŋ (& *ləəŋ?) to be destroyed, dissipated.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **liñ /ləŋ/** to be ravaged, destroyed, dissipated, lost, dispelled, Modern Mon **lòŋ** to be dissolved, dissipated, lost, Khmer **li:əŋ!** to destroy, (variant >?) Praok **[laə] luŋ** to perish; → Thai **laan** to be destroyed, broken; ~ Old Mon **pliñ** to ravage, destroy, dispel, cure, Modern Mon **pləŋ** to waste, squander, destroy, Khmer **phla:ŋ** to ravage; → Thai **p^hlāan** to destroy, **pluəŋ** (→ Kuy **plu:ŋ**) to waste, squander; ~ Biat **mphla:ŋ!** to ravage; ~ Biat **rləŋ** to stave in; ~ Old Mon **rinliñ** degeneration, Bahnar **rəneŋ** wanton destruction (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

With Khmer, Biat vocalism cf. **925 *ləŋ** > ***laaŋ**; **1287 *b/r/ləp**. Cf. further **861a *[r]laac** ...to be destroyed; **422 *laik** &c. ...to fall into dissolution; **718 *laŋ** &c. to destroy.

928 *kləŋ oil, fat, grease.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon **klen /kləŋ/** oil, Modern Mon **kləŋ** oil, fat, Khmer **khlaŋ** fat, grease, Palaung **kliŋ**, Praok **klup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kloiŋ** to be fat, Khasi **khleiñ** fat; to be fatty, oily.

Add Mường **trənh** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **trơn** to be smooth, slippery (then < ***kləəŋ**)? But connection dubious **702 *priiŋ** &c.

929 *t₂luuŋ; *t₂luəŋ; *t₂l[ə]ŋ pointed.

A: (Khasi) **shluiñ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Halang **loan** sharp point, Jeh **lo:n**, Khasi **shloiñ**, [**nep**] **tloiñ** pointed.

C: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **tinliñ /tənləŋ/** needle, Modern Mon **kənoiŋ** needle, pin.

Cf. Palaung **pənlə?**, Riang-Lang **pənlac** needle, perhaps contaminated by **B65 *t₁pəc**. Connect **925 *liəŋ** &c. to sharpen?

***930 *pliŋ; *[p]liiŋ; *[p]liəŋ sky.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **pleŋ**, Riang-Lang **p̄pleŋ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, (Central Asian) Jeh, Halang **pli:ŋ**, Temiar **bali:k**.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **phliəŋ**, **phliəŋ** rain, to rain, Bahnar **pleŋ** sky; ~ (***[p]nliəŋ** >) Khasi **bneng**, Mnar **phnyan** sky (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.). (SHAFFER 1965 235; SMITH 1972 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 241.)

(?) Kharia [tɔ]-**bluŋ** *sky, above* (PINNOW 1959 364; contaminated by 727 ***luŋ** *above?* but perhaps rather : Lawa Bo Luang **maluŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **maluŋ** *sky*, Bru **ma(n)lòŋ**).

931 *wɨŋ; *wiɨŋ; *wəŋ; *waŋ? *to twist, turn, go round.*

- A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **vèŋ viñ** *back (again)*, Bahnar **wɨŋ** *to twist* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔəiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔeiŋ**, Mae Sariang **ʔeiŋ** *to come, return*.
- B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **wi:ŋ** *to move in a curved path* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **iŋ** *to go back, return*; ~ Chrau **rəwe:ŋ** *to turn round, circle round*.
- C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vèŋ veñ** *to twist into a rope*, Mường **wành** *to turn [pot to get even heat]* (THOMPSON 1967), Vietnamese **văn** *to turn [pot to get even heat], to pivot, to roll along*.
- D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy **wàŋ** = Khmer **veñ**, Biat **waŋ** *to twist*, Bahnar **wəŋ** (or C?) *to wring, to pull out with a twist*, Khasi [**dor**] **waiñ** [*to bend*] *easily*, Vietnamese **văn** *to wring, turn, twist, screw*; ~ Bahnar **tueŋ** *to twist* (or C?), Khasi **tawaiñ** *to go round and round*.
- Cf. Nancowry **ʔúŋ** *twisted*, **ʔúap** *to be twisted*; 765 ***wiŋ** &c. *to go round, turn*; 1208 ***wiən** &c. ...*to wind, bend*.

932 *wiɨŋ; *waŋ *moustache.*

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_viŋ**; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Thin **trəmwiŋ** (& Kammu-Yuan [**khú:l**] **tərmù:ŋ**; contaminated by 911 ***muuŋ** [] *mouth?*).
- B: (Khasi) Khasi (**'maiñ**;) ~ **tmaiñ**.

933 *w[ə]ŋ; *wəc *to play.*

- A: (Mon) Old Mon **wiñ /wəŋ**/, Modern Mon **wòŋ**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***wiŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V76).
- B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **kəve?**.

934 *kwaŋ []; *kwaŋ? *gibbon.*

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bru **kuan**, Sre **kuəŋ** *gibbon, black Semnopithecus monkey*, Chrau, Biat **kwəŋ**, Jeh **kawəŋ**, Halang **kəweŋ** *gibbon*, Bahnar [**ɗək**] **kuəŋ** *small kind of gibbon*; → Cham **kon**, Jarai [**kra:**] **kuəŋ**, Rōglai **kuan**, North Rōglai **kuat** *gibbon*.
- B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **vượn** *gibbon*.

935 *krwaŋ *kind of spice-yielding tree.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kəwan** *cinnamon*, Khmer **krəva:ŋ** *Amomum cardamomum*.

935a *[hw]iɪn soul.

A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **ui:ŋ**, Biat **hue:ŋ** soul, Sre **huɪŋ** shadow, reflection, Chrau **we:ŋ** soul, soul, Central Nicobarese **hōi** soul, pulse.

Earlier perhaps ***huuy-ŋ** [], connected 1543 ***ghuuy** &c.

†936 *[]saɪn to radiate heat.

A: (Mon, Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Khasi **tyngshaiñ** to shine, glare, reflect; ~ Mon **kəsan** sensation of heat; ~ Mon **pəsan** heat (**basān**, but perhaps < ***t₁msaɪn**), (~?) Sakai **pāsang** hot (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 146).

Or ***t₁saɪn**, separating Sakai with Santali, below?

(i) Mundari **tərsan** to bask in the sun, to warm oneself by the fire; (ii) Santali **basan** warm, hot, to boil, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252).

937 *[b]saɪn? snake.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hiŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṭhəŋ**, Khasi **bseiñ**, 'seiñ, (by metathesis ***[]sɪaɪn** >) Praok **siʔuɪn**, Lawa Bo Luang **saʔəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saʔoɪŋ**; → Khmer **msaɪn** year of the snake, → Thai **masəŋ**; ~ (***[b]rsaiɪn** >) Vietnamese **[con] rắn** snake; (by secondary derivation, or contraction of compound?) ~ Kuy **(k)saɪn** snake.

(SHAFER 1965 375.)

938 *choɪn to bend knees.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **choɪn** squatting (→ Röglai), Palaung **[mɔʔ cəv]** cun to kneel on one knee (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **crəhaŋ** to squat.

Cf. 1149 ***t₂ju(u)n**.

(***jhuuɪn** see 887 ***jʔuuɪn** to smell, sniff; ***thuuɪn** see 788 ***[t]huuŋ** red.)

†939 *ʔiɪt; *ʔiɪt; *ʔiət; *ʔuət small in quantity.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **it** a little, Kammu-Yuan **èt** few, (a) little.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **[kɔ:] ʔi:t** small (BLOOD 1976), Vietnamese **ít** a little.

C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Umphai **ʔet ʔet** few, Mường **ét** a little (BARKER 1966 17).

D: (Khmuic) Thin **ʔux̣t** few.

Connect perhaps (i) A68 ***tʔi** []t &c. *little finger*; (ii) 1016 ***kɔ̃t** &c. *small*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***[]iSəd** []iSəd: Acehnese **et** short length or distance, Toba Batak **si-etet**, **si-b-etet** little girl, Cebuano Bisayan **ihud-ihud** [children] to differ in height by small intervals (& **ihid** runt) (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***[]iSɪt**: Acehnese **n-it** small, a little, Jarai with secondary vocalism **a-n-et**, Iban **m-it** small, Cebuano Bisayan **m-ihit**, **n-ihit** scarce (ly) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

940 *ʔit brick.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer ʔɿt, Khasi *it*; ~ Late Old Mon *la'at* /lʔət/, Modern Mon *dot*; → Burmese *'ut*, → Shan *üt*, → Palaung *ut*.

941 *[ʔ]iit; *[ʔ]iət coucal.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [iar] i:t *coucal*, *Centroccocyx rulipennis*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ye:t [irɔ:k], djɛ:t [djrɔ:k] *lesser coucal* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Or *y-?

942 *ʔiət; *ʔət; *ʔut (& *ʔuət?) to listen to.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Biat iat *to listen to*, Chrau ʔyet *to listen, hear*.

B: (Katuic, Palaungic; ~ *[ɲʔət >) Kuy ɲat *to listen to*, Bru saɲat *to listen*, Praok ɲet *to listen (to), obey*.

C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔoat *to hear, listen* (< *ʔuət?); ~ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔɲot *to hear, listen*.

Vocalism obscure.

(BLOOD 1966 112.)

*943 *ʔət; *ʔəət; *[ʔ]it used up, finished, lacking.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Old Mon *'ut* /ʔət/ *all*, Modern Mon *nt* also *to be exhausted, have exhausted* (or variant), Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔət (DIFFLOTH 1984 V124), Khmer ʔət *to be without*, Kuy ʔat *to lack, to restrain, to hold [breath]*, Sre ət *restrain, to hold [breath], suppress [cough &c.]*, Chrau ət *lacking, to hold [breath]*, Biat ɔt *to abstain from*, Bahnar ət [wind] *to stop, to hold [breath]*.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔət *to cease*.

C: (Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔɿt = ʔət, Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *hết* *to end, be finished, cease, to finish*; ~ Khasi *jing-it, jynit* *fast, abstinence from food*.

Connect Central Nicobarese *leət* *finished, to cease?*

(SMITH 1972 209)

Sora (i) rə'jad- *to be exhausted, used up*; (ii) a'ni(:)d- *to be exhausted, over, finished*.

944 *ʔ[ɔɔ]t to saw.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng o:t *to make fire by friction*, Biat ɔ:t [drɔ:] *to fiddle*, Bunör ʔɔ:t, Sre, Jeh o:t *to saw* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bahnar ɔ:t *to saw, scrape, plane, file, fiddle, make fire by friction*, Khasi ot (perhaps merging variant of 972 *sguut ...to cut) *to cut, pare, reap, saw, fiddle*; ~ (*rnʔ[ɔɔ]t >) Sre rəndɔ:t, Jeh ranɔ:t *saw* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

(BLOOD 1966 65.)

945 *ʔut; *ʔuut *cloud*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Biat **nʔot** *cloudy*; ~ (*[]mʔut >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔbot** *to cloud over*.
 B: (Palaungic, ʔKhmuic, ʔKatuic) Palaung **ut** *cloud, to be cloudy, to cloud*; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan **pú:t** *cloud, fog*; (?) ~ Bru **ʔu:t** *to smoke v.t.*

946 *ʔuət *to wipe*.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ɔ:t**, Riang-Lang **ːvat**, **ːwat**, Praok **ɔt**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔuat**; ~ (*[]mʔuət >) Lawa Umphai **ʔbuat**.

947 *kʔaat (*kind of*) *mosquito*.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **kʔa:t** *kind of fly with painful bite, mosquito (maringouin)*; ~ (*kpʔaat >) Kammu-Yuan **pəʔa:t** *mosquito*.
 Or construct *kʷʔaat?

948 *cʔit; *cʔiit *sticky*.

- A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ʔKhmer) Khmer **sʔɿt**, **chʔɿt** (probably, rather than B), Kuy **sʔət**; ~ (*cnʔit >) Sre **ɗit** *viscous, sticky*, Chrau **səʔuət** *sticky*.
 B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[tɛh] e:t** *clay*; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Bahnar **həʔni:t-[həʔna:t]** *to feel sticky*; ~ (*cmʔiit >) Biat **mʔe:t** *glutinous rice*.
 Connect 1040 *cɓiit &c. But connection obscure Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **tit** *to stick, adhere, to attach*.

949 *cʔiit; *cʔiət; *chiit; *chait *to confine, restrict*.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat **e:t** *to confine, pack close together*, Khasi **shyit** *to pinch*; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Kuy **ŋʔi:t** *narrow, confined*, Bahnar **jəŋi:t** *packed close together* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **syngid**, **syngit** *tight, choking; col, valley between ridges*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (*cnʔiət >) Mon **həet** *to be parsimonious*, Khmer **cəŋʔiət** *narrow, confined, cramped*, Nancowry **ɲiat** *tight, to bind completely (& ɲát to fill in, to cram into)*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **pəniət** *to crowd together (v.i.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ciət** *to crowd [someone]*, Chrau **che:t** *to pinch*.
 D: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **hə:t** *parsimonious*.
 For Kuy **h-** cf. **hu:n** ad 887 *jhuun. Connect Bahnar **təniət** &c. *to stop up, force in, stuff in* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), contaminated by **miet** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) < 1039 *[c]/n/ɓiət, which compare (the converse in West Bahnar **pəmiət**, East Bahnar **pəmet** = **pəniət**); perhaps West Bahnar **hnet** *to press against, jostle, compress, encroach*; & A82 *[c]wiit *narrow, confined*. Cf. also 977 *c[n]ŋiət *to crush*.

950 *cʔaat *pleasant to look at*.

- A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer sʔa:t *clean, nice-looking, beautiful*, Riang-Lang ʔat *beautiful, pretty*, (~?) Lawa saʔat *clean*.
Clean by attraction 7 *cʔaʔ &c.?

951 *cʔ[ə]t; *cʔən *sated, cloyed*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer chʔaet! *sated*; ~ cəmʔət *satiety*, (~?) cəmʔaet *to satisfy*; ~ (*crʔət >) Mon həpət ca'uit *to be nauseated*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer chʔən *nauseated*; ~ Mon həpən ja'uin *to be nauseated through satiety*, Bahnar dialects səñn, həñn *to be sated* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 Khmer cəmʔaet < *cəmʔat with secondary palatalization, chʔaet by levelling; cəmʔət by levelling on original **chʔət? Cf. further Khmer kʔu:ət, Kuy (k)ʔu:t *to vomit*, Bru kaʔu:t *to feel nauseated*; Khmer ph'öt ph'ūm *(to smell) musty* (GUESDON 1930); Biat mʔnʔ *disgusted*; Khmer chʔəl *to gasp for breath*; (GUESDON 1930) *nausea, to overeat* (contaminated by 1695 *ʔəl[]); Khasi kynshin (< *-[n, l]) *to dislike eatable things*; & 1301a *cʔəəm *nauseated*.

*952 *lʔit *pulverized*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon dət, Khmer lʔt (with initial levelled on causative lūmʔt); → Thai laʔiat, Lao lã iat̃ (→ Kammu-Yuan lʔiat); (?) ~ Khasi lwit *very finely broken or pounded, lwet broken, powdered*.
 Cf. Khmer lʔaoc, Kuy lʔɔ:c.
 Sora by metathesis lati- *to be reduced to powder*.

953 *lʔiit; *lhiət *smooth, slippery*.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer lʔt *smooth-mannered*, Kuy lʔe:t *smooth*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ləhiət *slippery*.
 Biat lwt *well-worn*, Kammu-Yuan ləmè:t *smooth* may belong here rather than with 1076 *lit &c., which compare.

*954 *lʔuət; *lʔət; *lhəət *wet, cold*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lʔuət *moist, wet*; ~ (*lnʔuət >) Sre noat *to be, feel, cold*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ləʔət (→ Biat lʔət?) *damp, wet*, Chrau ləʔət *cool, shady*; ~ (*lnʔət >) Biat nʔət *damp, wet*.
 C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau ləhə:t *cool, breezy*, Praok lwt *to be wet*.
 Cf. 277b *lʔu(u)k *wet, soaked*; 795 *kʔaac *wet*. *Cold* perhaps contaminated by Mainland Austronesian *l[ae]ʔən (Cham lian, North Röglai laʔət); Jarai rəʔət is perhaps ← South Bahnaric.
 Santali ləhə'd *damp, wet*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 531; Proto-Munda *ləwə'd).

955 *sʔuut rotten, inedible.

A: (Mon, Aslian) Mon **ut s'ut** to be, go, stale, Che' Wong **haʔüt**, Jah Hut **siʔin**, Semelai **səʔit**, Mah Meri **suʔüt** rotten (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 292 (b).)

956 *kit; *kiit; *kət; *kəət; *ku[ə]t frog.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Kontum Bahnar **kit**.

B: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar **ki:t**.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **kə:t** (BLOOD 1966 **kuut**), Biat **kət**.

D: (Bahnaric) Biat **kə:t** [**ndra:t**] toad, Bahnar **ku:t** frog.

E: (Katuic) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**ku:t**, Bru **ʔakùat**.

Tabu deformation likely. Cf. Thai **kʰiat**, Shan **khět** (→ Praok **khiat**). But Cham **kiewʔ**, North Röglai **kiəʔ** reflect *-p.

(SHAFER 1965 508; BLOOD 1966 140; SMITH 1972 205.)

†957 *kiit; *kiət; *kət to bite, to itch.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **kit** to bite, Praok **kit** (contaminated by following, which compare) to cut, sever, Mnar **hit** to bite.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy **ki:t** to nibble, Sre **kiat**, Chrau **kiət** to itch, Biat **ciat** to sting, smart; → Cham, Jarai **keʔ**, North Röglai **keʔ** to bite (or < Proto-Austronesian, below?); ~ Khasi **dkhiat** itch, scabies.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **kat**, **kət** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **kət** to bite.

Cf. further 964 *giit &c.; 1125 *kiən to gnaw; 972 *sguut &c. to (be) cut; 981 *cit &c. to cut up. (BLOOD 1966 104, 356.)

Sora **id-** to scratch, to write.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kitkit: Cebuano Bisayan **kitkit** to nibble, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 160; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *kətkət: Lawangan **kitit** to bite, &c. (cf. ib. no. 149; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 301-2, gnaw.

958 *kat; *kaat to cut.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer, Kuy **kat** to cut, Biat **kat** to saw, Bahnar **kat** to to cut, Khasi **khet** to to cut down.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ka:t** to to cut, Bru **kaka:t** to slide finely.

Mon **kut** to to cut off, ↔ Thai **kùt**, → Kuy **kut**; if → Thai, contaminated by 972

*sguut? Cf. besides preceding. 800 *kac to pluck, break off, to cut (< *kat-s?);

1969 *kəh to to cut (down).

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

958a *kət to stop.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **kət** to stop (v.t.), Palaung **kət** [**un**] to hold back, restrain, to refrain (MILNE 1931); ~ Middle Mon **kanat**, Modern Mon **kənot** end; ~ Literary Mon **kamnat** end, Khmer **kəmnət** limit.

(*[]kut see 315 *[ʔ]tuuk to scoop up... .)

***958b *kuut; *kuət; *kət to scrape, scratch, comb.**

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Khmer **ko:t** to *scrape, scratch*, Bahnar **kōt** to *scrape clean* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese **ko:tə-[ko:i]** to *comb*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kərnù:t** *scraper*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[et]-ko:ət** to *comb*, (— **-hətə**) to *scrape (off)*, Nancowry **ʔitkúat** ad **kúat** to *smooth with hand &c.*

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat **kət** to *comb*.

Kammu-Yuan **khú:t** to *smooth, shave* is ← Lao **khûut**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kutkut:** Malay **kokot** *clawing, to claw*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 221, ***ku(Ct)ku(Ct)**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 371-2.

†959 *[c]kuut; *[c]kuət; *[c]kət; *[c]kat to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Central Sakai **chěkot** to *knot*; ~ Vietnamese **gút** to *knot*; by secondary derivation Vietnamese **nút** *knot*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **ku:əc!** to *knot*, Sre **koat**, East Bahnar **kuət** to *tie, knot* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ŋkwat** *knot*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **kəmnu:əc** *knot*, Kuy **k(ə)lu:c**, **lu:c** to *tie [knot]*.

C: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **kət** to *tie together*, Biat **kət** to *knot*, Bahnar **kət** to *tether out to graze*, (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, Rōngao) to *knot*, Jah Hut **jəkət** to *tie*.

D: (Mon) ~ Mon **həkət dakat** to *knot*.

Khmer/Kuy **-c** by metathesis or assimilation. Cf. Palaung (MILNE 1931) **thəkít**; & connected 967 ***[]gut** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 56, 527; SMITH 1972 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 214.)

Sora (i) **ji'kud-** to *knot*; (ii) **jəni(')ka'd-ən** *knot* (**ji-** &c. perhaps = **ji:-** to *bind*).

Proto-Austronesian ***ikət:** Malay **ikat** to *tie*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68). See BENEDICT 1975 323.

960 *[t]kiit; *[t]kiət to have dysentery.

A: (Mon) Mon **[nèa] kit**; ~ **həkít thakit** &c. *dysentery*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **kiết [ly]** *dysentery*.

Connect following, & so 1007 ***ktiit** *posterior...*?

961 *tkiət anus.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon **təkət**, Proto-Semai ***kiət** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Originally by metathesis 1007 ***ktiit**? Connect perhaps preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 118.)

962 *tkat; *tkiæt; *tkuæt (& *tkut?) cold.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat **kat** *cold*, Kammu-Yuan **kát** *cold [weather]*, Palaung **kæt** *[weather] to be cold*, Proto-Semai ***dkat** *cold* (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Shan **kāt**, → Palaung **kat**, Riang-Lang **ṭkat** *cold*; ~ Mon **həkət** *cold [season]*, Chrau **təkāt** *cold*, Rōngao **təkāt** *ague, fever* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Sakai **teket** *cold* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (c)); ~ (***trkiæt** >) Praok **sikiat** *cold [water]*, by metathesis Khasi **khriat** *cold*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **kuat**, (***tkut** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **koat**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kət** *[weather] to be cold*.

Cf. Kuy **ckɑ:ʔ** *cold*; Chrau **dəgət** *chill, shivering*; & **976 *cɲiit** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 340, 354; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (c-e).)

(***dkiæt** see **1010 *gtit** ...*parakeet*.)

963 *d₁rkuæt varan.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon **dirkot** /**dərkot**/, Modern Mon **həkot** *varan*, Khmer **trəku:ət** *Varanus nebulosus*, Kuy **tkɑ:t**, Stieng **rəkɔ:t** *varan*, Chrau **rəkɔ:t** *black varan*, Bahnar **təkōt** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **tərkɔ:t** *varan*; → Thai **cakùat**.

(***rkiæt** see **1064 *krit** *to creak*..)

***964 *giit; *giæt to bite, to itch, scratch.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_kit** *to scratch*; ~ Mon **həkìt** *bed-bug*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sarian **kiat**, Lawa Umphai **chiat** *to bite*. Connect **957 *kiit** &c.

Sora (i) **gɪd-**, (**gɪd-**)**ged-** *to scratch*; (ii, cf. Indonesian) **gu'd-**, **god-** *to scratch*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***gi(t)git**: Malay **gigit** *[insects] to bite*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 55, ***gigit**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, cf. Sora) ***gu(t)gut**: Javanese **gugut** *to crush between teeth*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 56, ***gugut**, discarding Tagalog; Proto-West-Indonesian). (ii) Hardly ← Mon-Khmer!

965 *gæt; *gut to kill.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **kùæt**, Thin **gũt** (also *to cut down*, < **972 *[s]gæt**, which perhaps connect).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kùt**.

966 *gut to go round.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gut** *around*, Bahnar **gut** *to curve, bend*.

(SHAFFER 1965 113.)

967 ***[]gut**; ***[]guət**; ***[]gat** to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cột* to tie.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar *guət* to knot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar *təguat* to knot.

C: (Mon) Mon *kòt gat* to knot; ~ → Cham *pagat* to tighten.

Khmer *kù:əc* to knot perhaps = *ku:əc* < 959 ***[c]kuət**, which connect; West Bahnar **(h)əŋɔ:c** to tie up [hair] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) also may belong there. (SHAFFER 1965 527.)

968 ***guut**; ***gu(ə)t** to enter.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kù:t*, Riang-Lang *_kut*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi *kot* to reach.

Cf. 1046 ***mut** &c. Add as derivation ***pguut** = B71 ***[]guut** to force in?

969 ***t₁gut**; ***t₁[g]uut** quail.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *tgīt* &c. /*tgōt*/; ~ (***t₁rgut** >) Mon *həkət*, Sre *rəgut* (→ Rōglai); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau *vəgut*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan *təkú:t* (!), (?) Khasi *t'ut*, (!) Vietnamese **[chim] cú:t**; ~ Mon *həkùt*, Riang-Lang *_rəkut*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar dialects (**ku:t ku:t* > ?) **[sɛ:m] kəkut** kind of quail (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang *kuut*; Mon *həcem əkhət*; Khmer *ʔù:t lark*, quail. Onomatopoeic?

970 ***rng[ɔ]t** to search, quarter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *lagñat* /*ləŋgət*/, Modern Mon *təŋòt* to study, Khmer *rùəŋkə̀ət*, TANDART 1935 also *rùəŋkùət* to explore, go to and fro, traverse.

971 ***s[g]ət** to press down on, press out juice.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) (Khmer ***skət* → ?) Stieng *səkət* to press down (on); → Thai *sakòt* to restrain, repress; ~ (***sn[g]ət** >) Mon *kəhət* to crush juice out of, chew to extract nourishment, Khmer *səŋkət* to press down on, suppress, oppress.

Thai is evidence for Khmer ***skət*; head register in derivation then by levelling. Connection dubious Kharía *ta'gə'j* to chew, &c., PINNOW 1959 307. Cf. 977 ***c[n]ŋiət** to crush.

††972 ***sguut**; ***[s]gət**; ***sgat** to be cut short, to cut.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *sgūt* /*sgut*/ to be interrupted, cut short, Khasi *kut* to come to an end (& *dkut* to snap, break), Vietnamese *cút* to be too short, to be crippled; ~ Old Mon *sirgūt* interruption, Middle Mon *sagut* **[crawāt]** ruling, decision.

B: (Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *kùt* to cut vertically with knife, Kensiu *gət*, Temiar *gəd* to cut; ~ Besis *tegöt* to break (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 112).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **skat** to *interrupt, to take a short cut*. (→ Biat **kat** to *decide judicially, to take a short cut*), Biat **[ntok]** **gat** cut; → Cham **saket**; Thai **sakàt** to *obstruct, interrupt*.

Connect 965 ***gət** &c. to *kill*? C perhaps contaminated by 958 ***kat**, which compare; as Khasi **ot** to *cut...*, under the entry 944 ***ʔ[ɔɔ]t**. Khasi **dkut**, Besis suggest variants in ***dg-**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

Sora **gad-**, Santali **ge'd** to *cut*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 334).

Proto-Austronesian ***pu(N)gut**: Javanese **pugut**, **punggut** *cut off*, Cebuano Bisayan **punggut** to *behead* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; → Proto-Semai ***bgut** to *snap* (v.i.), DIFFLOTH 1977?).

973 ***ɲət** to be extinguished.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **ɲət** to *extinguish*, Riang-Lang **_ɲat** to be *extinguished, to extinguish*; ~ Chrau **təɲət**, Riang-Lang **_təkɲat** to *extinguish*.

Cf. 1053 ***yə(ə)t**; 1077 ***lət** &c. Connect following?

*974 ***ɲut**; ***ɲuut**; ***ɲuət**; ***ɲit** dark.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ngut**; ~ **jngut** *murky, turbid*.

B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semnam **həɲɔ:d** *night*; ~ Semai II **məɲɔ:t** *night*.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **[twe:ɲ]** **ɲɲə:t** *pitch-[black]*.

D: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **ɲut** *dark* (TANDART 1935), Khasi **ngit** *black, dark*; ~ Khmer **ɲəɲut** *dark, dim*.

Connect preceding? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (b).)

Santali **ɲũ'd** *darkness, dark*; Sora **'luɲud-**, **'luɲad-** *dark* (PINNOW 1959 390).

975 ***ɲut**; ***ɲuət** to be hungry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Stieng **pəɲot** to *go hungry, be starving*, Vietnamese **ngố́t** to *crave for*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **[ji:] ɲɔ:t** to *be hungry; hunger*, Riang-Lang **_ɲuat** to *starve, to be hungry*; ~ Chrau **pəɲɔ:t** to *be hungry*, Bahnar **pəɲɔ:t** to *be starving*, Jeh **pa?ɲo:t**, Halang **mə?ɲoat** *hunger*.

Connection uncertain Sakai **got** (i.e. Jah Hut), **pögōt** *hungry* (Semaq Beri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 173; with them cf. (***guət** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **kuat**, Lawa Umphai **khuat**, Mae Sariang **ɲguat** to *want, wish*; Mon **[tək]** **kòt** to *be poor* is probably ← Sanskrit **gata-** *deprived of*.

(BLOOD 1966 64; SMITH 1972 235.)

976 ***cɲiit**; ***cɲiət**; ***cɲait** cold.

A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ɲit** *cooled, cold*, Sakai **səngit** *cold* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (a)); ~ Biat **[nʔi:k]** **ɲɲɛt** *cool*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **təɲiet** to *feel cold*.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (**c**)**ɲe:t** *cool, cold*, Bahnar **ɲa:c** *to cool* (v.i), *have a cold fit*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **pyngngad** *cool, refreshing*.

Cf. 962 ***tkat** &c.

(SMITH 1972 229.)

977 *c[n]ɲiət to crush.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **təŋet** *to crush in mill* &c. (beside **təŋèt** *to squeeze, crush*), Sre **səŋiat** *to crush, compress* (→ Röglai).

Cf. 949 ***cɲiit** &c. *to confine...*; 971 ***s[g]ɔt** *to press out juice...*

(***t₁ɲut** see 1135 ***t₁ɲun** *nape of neck*.)

978 *lɲuut; *lɲuət sweet, mild-flavoured.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ləŋout**, Chrau **ləŋo:t**, Biat **ŋo:t** *sweet, mild-flavoured*, Bahnar [**ɲām**] **ɲūt** *very sweet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **ləŋuət** (or A, with post-nasal vocalism?), Vietnamese **ngọt** *sweet, mild-flavoured*.

***978a *sɲiit to burn (v.i.).**

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ɲi:t** *to burn* (v.i.), Sre **hit** *burning brightly* (→ Biat **hi:t** *alight*).

Cf. Mon **heak** **sɲek** &c. *to be burnt, scorched*.

Proto-Austronesian ***t' []/Saŋit**: Malay **sangit** *burnt, singed*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148-9, ***t'aniit**; Proto-Hesperonesian, ~ ***Saŋit** = *(**qS**)**ani(Ct)** *smell of burnt rice*, BLUST 1970 no. 319, adding Cebuano Bisayan **anghit** *to smell offensive*).

Indonesian not obviously → Mon-Khmer.

***979 *sɲut (?); *sɲuət; *sɲət deserted, quiet.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ɲot** *to be afraid* (?).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer [**mùk**] **sɲuət** (!) *sad*, Sakai **singoit** *afraid* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49; ?); ~ Khmer **srəŋo:t** *wistful, sad*, Chrau **səŋo:t** *deserted*, Biat **ɲo:t** *silence; secret, lonely [place]*, (— **ɲat**) *silent, deserted*, Bahnar **rəŋo:t** *to miss [person]*; ~ Central Sakai [**göi**] **těrnguit** *to keep motionless*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **het** **sɲit** *to be quiet, (— a) to faint*, Khmer **sɲat** (early → Thai **saŋàt**) *solitary, deserted, silent, still*, Kuy **sɲat**, **ɲhat** *quiet, silent*, Sre [**ɲit**] **ɲət** *silent*, Vietnamese **ngất** *to faint*; ~ Khmer **srəŋat** *solitary, silent*, (**srəŋo:t** —) *moved to sadness*, Biat [**ɲo:t**] **ɲat** *lonely, deserted, (gu? —) to be silent*, Praok [**yen**] **sɲet** *to be absolutely quiet*.

Back vocalism perhaps secondary, cf. Sora, below. Separate ***sɲu(ə)t** *afraid*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 44.)

Sora **ɲad-ɲad-[dəm** &c.] *silently*.

980 *sɲuət; *sɲət (& *sɲat?) to dry up.

A: (Khmer, ?Khasi) Khmer **sɲuət** *dried up*; ~ Khmer **raɲuət** *withered* (GUESDON 1930), (by labial absorption, or < *-at?) Khasi **rngat** *to dry up*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **sɲit** [**jra**] *to be withered*, Riang-Lang **ɲat** *to dry up*.

Cf. 1101 *suət; 1095 *swiit &c. *to wither*.

†981 *ciit; *ciit (& *ciit ciit > *tciit?); *ciət (& *tciət?) to cut up.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **set** *to cut, carve (up)*.

B: (Katuic, ?Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cɔt** *to slice* (probably, rather than A), Kuy **ce:t** *to slice, chop pieces off [edibles]*, (→, or *tc- >) Chrau **ci:t** *to cut (up)*.

C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **siet** *to cut [meat] into small pieces*, Sre **sia:t** *to cut, sever*, Biat **chiat** *to cut up*, West Bahnar **cɛt** *to chop [edibles &c.] obliquely* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < tc-? Jölong also **sɛt**), Riang-Lang **ɲset** *to cut, gash*, Central Nicobarese [**et**]-[**ʃi:ət**]-[**həŋə**] *to carve wood*.

Cf. Vietnamese **chặt** *to cut*. POU & JENNER 1973 140 derive Khmer ← Hokkien **ciat** 切 *to slice, mince*; rather Hokkien ← Mon-Khmer? Connect perhaps 957 *kiit &c. *to bite...* (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to cut (off)*.

†982 *cat; *cuət; (*cuut cuut >) *tcuut; *cət to stab, pierce, stick in.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **cət** *to prick, sting, to stick in, plant upright*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cɛc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V97; by assimilation?), Kuy **cat** *to poke, stab, to thread*, Bahnar **sat** *to pierce, to dibble, to make nets*, Palaung **sət** *to insert, to tattoo*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **ɲəs** *to pierce, stab, tattoo*; ~ (*cat cat > *tcət >) Mon **chət khyat**, **chat** *to put in, insert*, Biat **cat** *packed tight*, Bahnar **cat** *to stick claws in* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or D) Nancowry **siát**; **ʔisiát** *to insert*; ~ Khasi **kynsat**, **tynsat** = Mon **chət**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Halang **coat** *to puncture*, Jeh **co:t** *to pierce*, Praok **suat** *to prick, pierce*, Central Nicobarese [**ɔ:t**]-[**həŋə**] *to pin, fasten*.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **cú:t** *to touch, poke, prod*.

D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy **ɲcət** *to stick into*; ~ (*cɲpət >) Biat **ɲpət** *spit*.

Back vocalism probably secondary in view of Sora, below; contaminated by 986

*cuut &c. ...*to affix*, which compare? Note also Palaung **sit** *to stab with, pierce with*; Sedang **ʔnie** *to wound*, Kammu-Yuan **ɲiat** *to stick, prick, pierce* (& Bahnar **hiət** *to cut oneself*, &c.: SMITH 1972 230).

Sora **sad-** *to sting*.

983 *cat to gather up.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **ɲsət**, Praok **sut** *to pick (up), collect (up)*, Lawa Bo Luang **səwɔk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sət** *to pick up in fingers*, Sakai **chōd** *to pick up* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 68).

Cf. Khasi **sot** *to pick up, to catch in fingers*; Bel&as **chêchêt** *to gather*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 10.

984 *caat to comb.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **sat**, Khasi **sad**.

985 *cət to return.

A: (Bahnaric, South Asian) Stieng **se:t**, Chrau **si?**, Biat **chət**, Alakong Bahnar **su:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Besis **yut** (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 84). Fronting environmental; Chrau implies palatalization of final. Mon **chut** to go back (wards), compared at SCHMIDT 1905 24, is < **1109 *jhuut**. (BLOOD 1966 146.)

986 *cuut; (*cut cut >) *tcut; *cat to put away from one, to pour, to affix.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **cut** /cut/ to put away from one, to put in, to pour out, Middle Mon **also** to affix, Modern Mon **cut** to put in..., Khasi **suit** (!) to pour, to gild (with *-c by assimilation?); ~ (***cuut cuut** > ***tcuut** >; with vocalism as in **527 *cuuŋ**) Bahnar **cət** to fix on, fasten in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **cot** to affix, Bunör **cut**, Central Rölöm **cuit** to insert, fill a hole (contaminated by **982 *cat** ...to stick in).

C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chắt** to drain off; ~ (*[b]**cat** >) Khmer **cəət** to drain off; ~ Mường **chắt** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **giắt** to fix.

C by attraction **982 *cat**?

(BLOOD 1966 155.)

986a *.cat to emerge, grow.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **cat** to come out, sprout, grow, to well up, Biat **cat** [ka:ɔ] to flower, Bahnar **cat** to put out leaves, take root, flower.

***987 *kc[ə]t to die.**

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **kcit** /kcət/, Modern Mon **chət** to die, Kuy **sət** extreme, last, to end, Stieng **cə:t**, Sre **chət**, Chrau **cuit**, Jeh **kaciat** to die (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), West Bahnar **kəcit** to die miserably (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khmu' **su:t** to be finished, Palaung **cuət** (!) [ghost] to leave the world (MILNE 1931), Mường **chít** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **chết** to die; → Lao **cêet**; ~ (***kbc[ə]t** >) Old Mon **kucit**, Modern Mon **həcət**, Kuy (k)**cə:t**, Sre (gə)**sət**, Vietnamese **giết** to kill.

Add perhaps Bunör **khit**, Central Rölöm **khuit**, Biat **khət** to die, Bru **kucə:t**, with k- originally by hypercorrection; & note Khasi **jot** to perish. Front vocalism in North Bahnaric &c. probably environmental; but Palaung -uət obscure. Kuy **sət**, Khmu' by attraction **943 *ʔət**? Connect perhaps **1053 *yə(ə)t** to be extinguished.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 139.)

Sora **kə'jed-** to die ~ 'kajjed-, 'kabjed- to kill, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 324f).

988 ***kcuaet**; ***kcæt** (& ***kcæet**?); by regressive assimilation ***ktuaet**; ***kt[ə]t** to *jump, to run*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Bunör **newat** to *run, jump*, Biat **ncuat** to *run*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Khasi **sied** to *leap (on)* (originally compounding form?; with secondary lengthening, or < ***kcæet**), Pangan [ya]-**kēsöt** to *run* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 198), Central Nicobarese **cæt** to *jump, leap* (?; & **ca:t-həŋə** to *skip*), Nancowry **cát**; ~ Khmer **kəŋchat** (!) to *assume fighting posture with a leap*, Chrau **nchət**, Biat **nchat** to *jump*.

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ntoat** to *run*, Central Rölöm **tuət** to *run, jump*.

D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **ntə:t** to *jump, to jump in, cause to splash up*.

Cf. Lao (**ká**) **dōot** to *jump* (→ Kammu-Yuan [kə]dó:t, Bru **do:t** to *jump on to*); Riang-Lang **təkdot** to *jump*.

(BLOOD 1966 85.)

(***tcut** see **986** ***cuut** ...to *affix*; ***tcuut** see **982** ***cat** to *pierce, stick in*; ***dciit** see **1144** ***dciin**[?] *nine*.)

989 ***pcæt** *bitter, astringent*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **phynt** to *be astringent*, Khmer **cət** *bitter*, Stieng **cət** *bitter, astringent, sharp*, Bahnar **tsi:t** *harsh-tasting, bitter* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **cet** (or ← Tai, cf. below?), Central Sakai **běchut** *sour*, ?Nancowry **síat** *spleen, coconut bud, betel nut*.

Khmu' **cat** *sour*, Thin **glaŋ căt** *alum* are apparently ← Tai (← Mon-Khmer?); for Vietnamese **chua-chát** *sour, acid* see **1074** ***sraat**. Connect by assimilation Khasi **btet** *astringent*? Cf. **294** ***[?]ciik** &c. *astringent*; **1895** ***pcaas** *sour*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

990 ***jat** to *run dry*.

A: (Mon) Mon **còt jat**.

Sora **ja:j'jad-** [*rain*] to *cease; to wipe dry*.

991 ***jat** to *follow*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau **jat**, Besis (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 211) **jet**.

Cf. Thin **yǎt**.

992 ***jaat** *cobra*.

(Mon) Mon [sùm] **căt**.

Sora **jʔa:d-ən**, compounding form **ja:d-ən** *snake*.

PINNOW 1959 K 187 compares Santali **jam(b)ro** *rat- snake*, &c.

993 *jət *ten*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Chrau jət *tens*, -ty, Sre jət, Biat jət, Bahnar jīt, Jeh jàt, Halang jət *ten*, Bru mancīt; ~ Stieng (BLOOD 1966) jmət, Chrau mət *ten*; ~ Kuy ꦑꦺꦴꦠ (!). (SHAFFER 1965 350; BLOOD 1966 118; SMITH 1972 208.)

*994 *[]jut; *[]juut *to wipe*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon -jīt /jət/, Modern Mon cət; ~ (*[g]rjut >) həcət *gajuit to wipe esp. on a mat*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?North Aslian) Khmer cù:t, Kuy chù:t, Bru cùat, Stieng jūt, ju:c, Sre, Chrau, Biat jūt, (or A) Kensiu jəd *to wipe*, Nancowry cúac *to massage*; ~ Khasi kyrjuid *to rub, abrade*.

Stieng, Khasi, Nancowry final /c/ by assimilation

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFFER 1965 494; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 105, R 194.)

Sora jo'd- *to smear*, Kharia jə'd *to wipe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 189; Proto-Munda *jə[t]).

995 *jut; *juut *kind of bamboo*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat jut; ~ Sre njut *Arundinaria falcata* (→ Röglai).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar jut *kind of bamboo* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

996 *ju[t]; *juə[t] *to fall, drip*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok cot *to fall (in a shower)*, Central Nicobarese cuʃ, cuiʃ *drizzle, shower, spray, cuiʃ-[lə] to splash*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Palaung juət *to drip, to dangle*, Bru yə:t (suggests *f-; ~ (*[j]rjuə[t] >) Palaung rəjuət *falling of raindrops or tears* (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese giọt *drop*.

Connect Sre phat *drop*. Nicobaric *-c by assimilation; or Praok (& Sre) *-t by dissimilation?

997 *ɲ[uə]t *wrinkled, shrivelled*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric, Central Aslian) Chrau ɲə:t *shrivelled, paralysed*, Nancowry ɲúat *to shrivel*; ~ Bru rapə:t; ~ Central Sakai pə̀rnyoʔt *wrinkled*; ~ (*s.ɲ[uə]t >) Mon həɲot *to be deeply wrinkled, furrowed, flabby*.

Less probably *ɲə:t, since Mon post-nasal raising is undemonstrated following ɲ; unless Mon contaminated by həɲon ad 896 *sɲuəɲ, hətot < 1155 *[t]ntuət.

998 *t₁iit *to go out, away, to project*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon tīt /tit/, Modern Mon tət *to go out, issue, depart*, Riang-Lang ʔtit *to be final*; ~ Riang-Lang ʔkəntit *to go away*; ~ Bahnar pətīt *bump on head, ridged scar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1007 *kt₁iit *posterior, to break wind*.

†999 *t₁at to be severed, broken, to sever &c.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon **tət** to cut across, sever, to cross (in part perhaps < 812 *t₁ac, which connect), Palaung **tət**, Riang-Lang **tət** to be torn, broken, cut off, to break; → Thai **tət** to cut, → Khmer **tət**; Shan **tāt**, → Riang-Lang **tət**, Praok **tət**; ~ Praok **dut** to be cut off, to cut off, Central Sakai **kuntut** maimed, truncated; ~ Khasi **bthat** to broken with the hands, to snap, [**dkut**] **btat** [to broken] with a snap.

Connect (***btət** >?) Kuy **thət** to brake, snap, to be torn; perhaps 1003 *[]tət &c. blocked, to block.

Sora **tad-** to snap, break (v.i.t.).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 262. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***tat'tat'**: Javanese **tatas** cut right through, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***kətat'**: Iban, Tiruray **ketas** to cut (BLUST 1973 no. 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***tət'tət'**: Malay **tētas** slit open..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1000 *t₁aat hot, to warm.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **tat** to be hot, Riang-Lang **tət** to warm oneself at, Khasi **thad** to dry in sun, to bask in sun.

†1001 *t₁ət mouth.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Aslian) ~ Jehai **tənəd**, Semnam **təni:d**, Semaq Beri **kənət**; ~ (*t₁mət >) Khmer **mət** (contaminated by 1045 *mat eye?), Palaung dialects **muət**, **mot** (MILNE 1931).

*t₁ in view of Munda, below.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 203.)

Sora **'tʔo:d-ən**, **'tʔud-ən**, &c., ~ Kharia **tə'mə'd**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 393).

†1002 *t₁ət; *t₁əət to pull out.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung **tut** to pull (out), Riang-Lang **tət** [**ple**] to pull [out] (B), (A) Lawa Bo Luang **təuk** (→ Lawa Umphai **təic**?) to pull.

Sora **tad-** to pull out (RAMAMURTI 1938).

1003 *[]tət; *[]tat blocked, to block.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **tət** to block (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & **dət**, East Bahnar, by back-formation?); ~ Sre **bətət** to dam, Bahnar **pətət**, **pədət** to obstruct, prevent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ntət** dam.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tat** blocked up, compact, Chrau **tat** solid, dense.

Bahnar variants obscure; perhaps ***bt-**. Cf. Khmer **tan** compact, solid, dense, ↔ Thai **tan** blocked up. Connect 999 *t₁at to be severed, to sever...?

†1004 ***t₁ut**; ***t₁uut** (?); (***t₁ut-s** >) ***t₁uc**; ***t₁uuc** to light.

A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **dot** to set light to, burn, grill, Sakai **tot** to burn (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 467).

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₁muut** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **?mauk**, Lawa Umphai **?maut**, Mae Sarian **?maut** smoke.

C: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre **tuc** to revive [dying fire], Khasi [**pluh**] **thuit** to catch fire, Mường **tốch** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **đốt** to light fire, by metathesis Bahnar **cut** to revive [dying fire] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Riang-Lang **ˀtuc** [**ɲal**] to light, set fire to, burn; & originally as sandhi-form Thin **tuɲ** to light, set fire to, burn?

Cf. 549 ***t₁uuy**.

Sora **tud-** to burn (v.i); (-ən; compounding form) fire.

1005 ***tut**; ***tuut**; ***tuət** to thread, skewer, insert.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **təmbot** small skewer; ~ (by back-formation, or by metathesis < ***ptut** causative) **tbot** to skewer.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **tut** /**tut**/ (PAHTOTHAMYA FRESCOS), Modern Mon **tət** to weave, Khmer **daot** to thread together, skewer, to plant, stick in (→ Cham **đut**), Kuy **tə:t** to insert, stick in, Sre **tout** to stick. in [e.g. drinking-tube in jar], plant upright (in hole), Bahnar **tət** to thread (together), pierce, insert (in hole &c.; tube in jar); ~ Mon **kənot** (&/or C; merging 822 ***c/r/nuəc** spit), Khmer **trənaot** skewer, string.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **tuət** to thread [needle], skewer [meat].

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**.

1006 ***t₁uut** to toot.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **tut!** to whistle, hoot, Praok **tuut** horn.

Onomatopoeic?

*1007 ***kt₁iit** posterior, to break wind.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **kdət** buttocks, anus, Riang-Lang **ˀtit** anus; to break wind, Vietnamese **đít** anus; perhaps ~ Bahnar **kətēt** clitoris (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Note Central Nicobarese **det**, **dit** anus (< ***d-**); (~?) Bahnar **kənit** base of spine (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Khmer **cəmtət** to stick one's bottom in the air. Hence by metathesis 961 ***tkiət** anus? Connect perhaps 998 ***t₁iit** to go out...

Proto-Austronesian (i) *(**k** [**ɟ**]-)**qə(N)t₁ut₁**; Javanese **əntut** wind, Malay **kəntut** to break wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; 79, ***kə(n)tut**; cf. DAHL 1973 § 8.4, 14.10; prefixed form Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***[q]u(N)t_[1]ut_[1]**; Toba Batak **uttut** wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163; BLUST 1972 no. 86); (iii) ***b** [**ɟ**]**uNtut**; Malay **buntut** posterior, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36, tail; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 285, fart.

(*kt[ə]t see 988 *kcuət to jump... .)

1008 *ktɔ:t; *ktaat; *g[d]ɔ:t; *g[d]aat to cluck, cackle.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kətɔ:t**, Khmer **khtɔ:t**.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ (*kptaat >) Biat **pta:t** (!), Bahnar **kəta:t** to cluck, cackle (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **gəltat** clucking (DOURNES 1950), Biat **rtat** brood [of chicks].

C: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung, Riang-Lang **kədɔ:t** to brood.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **khtɔ:t**; ~ Bahnar **kəda:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Connect Kammu-Yuan **kətɔ:t**. Onomatopoeic; so too Burmese **katok**, **katô**; Biat **rtok**.

***1009 *kt₁uut; *kt₁uət wart.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **tut** wart, Palaung **tot** wart, spot on skin; to be warty.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **kətot**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kətuac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N127; *-c?), Kuy **ta:t**, Stieng **tɔ:t**, Chrau **cɔ:t** wart; → Burmese **katwat**; Cham **katwaʔ**, Acehnese **götuət**, Malay **kətuat**, **kətuat**; ~ (*kptuət >) Khmer **phdo:t** wart.

Sre **[toh] tət** (→ Röglai **[kətal] tət**) may reflect a chime-word ***ktiit**.

Sora **bo'to:d-ən**, 'bo'to:d-ən wart, wen.

(*ktuət see 988 *kcuət to jump, to run.)

1010 *gtit; *gtiət lorikeet, parakeet.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *grtit >) Sre **rətet** green lorikeet, *Loriculus vernalis*.

B: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng, Biat **tət**, Bahnar **[sɛ:m] dɛ:t** parakeet (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), perhaps by metathesis (*dkiət >) Vietnamese **két**; ~ (*grtiət >) Chrau **kətiət** parakeet.

(*[t]ntuət see 1155 *[t]ntuun wrinkled; *btat, *btət see 1003 *[]tət blocked, to block.)

1010a *d₁ai[t] to strike, beat.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **tət** to strike with flat of hand, slap, beat out, Khasi **tied** to strike, knock, beat; ~ Old Mon **ḍaṇmāc** /**dəmmac**/, Modern Mon **həmāt** smith.

Distinguish 1014 *ɗat.

1011 *kdaat kind of yam.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Katuic) Mon **kətət** kind of yam (→ Burmese **kadat**), Khmer **kda:t** *Arum indicum*, (→?) Kuy **kda:t** (!) *Caladium* species.

1012 ***kduut**; ***kduət** *kind of tree with astringent fruit.*

A: (Katuic) ~ (***knduut** >) Kuy **nthù:t** *star gooseberry*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (***krduət** >?) Mon **hətòt** *Ficus hispida*; ~ Old Khmer **kaṁdvāt**, Modern Khmer **kəntù:ət** *Phyllanthus emblica and acidus*.

1013 ***[d̥]iit**; ***[d̥]əət**; ***[d̥]uut** *to wobble, stagger.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon **dit** *to spin, rotate* (?), Kammu-Yuan **[kəltù:t]-tì:t** *to run around confusedly*, (?) Khasi **[kyllai doh]dit** *wagtail*; ~ Chrau **ndi:t** **[ndə:t]** *wobbly*; ~ (***dr[d̥]iit** by metathesis >) Khmer **tətrè:t-****[tətrò:t]** (& by back-formation **trè:t-[trò:t]**) *shaky, staggering, unsteady*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **[ndi:t]** **ndə:t** *wobbly*; ~ Biat **rdə:t** *off balance; pitching motion*, by metathesis Khmer **tətr̥:t** (& by back-formation **tr̥:t-tr̥:t**) *tremblingly*.

C: (Khmer, Khmuic; ~ ***dr[d̥]uut** >) Kammu-Yuan **kəltù:t-[tì:t]** *to run around confusedly*, by metathesis Khmer **[tətrè:t]-tətrò:t** (& by back-formation **[trè:t]-trò:t**) *shaky*...

Note further Khmer **tətr̥:t** *[moving] jerkily*, perhaps < ***dr[d̥]ət** with secondary lengthening.

1014 ***ḍat** *to strike, beat.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **təət** *to kick*, (TANDART 1935) *to strike*, Khasi **ḍat** *to beat*; ~ (***dpḍat** >?) Mon **həḍət** *to snap [fingers]*, Khmer **phtəət** *to tap, fillip*; ~ (< ***ḍat-s**?) Bru **kaldəy?** *to snap, flip*.

Connect Biat **ḍat** *to beat [cotton], to flip*; by back-formation from unattested nasal-affix form? But Mon **tət** (SCHMIDT 1905 44) is < **1010a** ***d̥ai[t]**.

1015 ***ḍat**; (***ḍat-s** >?) ***ḍac** *near.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **ḍət**; → Shan **lāt** *short cut* (→ Riang-Lang **ṭat** *to cross, pass (through, by)?*); ~ Khasi **ḍyndat** *in passing, [to go] past*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat **ḍac** *near, nearly*; ~ Khasi **ḍyndait** *to put edge to edge*. Connect obscure Riang-Lang **ṭhat** *to be near, to approach*.

1016 ***kḍit**; ***kḍiit**; ***kḍiət** *small.*

A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Sre **dit**; → Jarai **det**, Acehnese **dit** (or B?); ~ Lawa Umphai **saʔlet** *little finger*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Vietnamese **nít** *small*; ~ Chrau **nde:t** *a little*, (or A) Khasi **khyndit** *a little, few*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **liət** *to be short* (?), Palaung **ḍiət**, Mường **ḍét** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese (***ṇiət** >) **nhất** *(to be) small*; ~ Riang-Lang **kəndiət** *(to be) small*, Khasi **khyndiat** = **khyndit**, (?; or variant?) Mendriq **kanet**, Jah Hut **kapet**, Semaq Beri **keʔnet** *small*.

Add perhaps Riang-Lang **ṭət** *to be short* (< ***kḍut**?; ↔ Shan **lṣt**). Cf. **939** ***ʔit** &c. *small in quantity*; **817** ***ḍuuc** &c. *small*; **816** ***ḍəc** ... *to be small in quantity*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 280 (a).)

1017 *[k]dūt; *[k]đuut *tip, tail*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **tut** *stump (of tail, limb)*, Biat **dut** *end, tip*, Sre **dut** *blocked, going no further* (DOURNES 1950; or B?).

B: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **dut** *tail of bird*, Stieng **dut** [ier] (or A?) *rump of fowl*; ~ Khmer **kəntù:t** [ʔo:ŋ] *rump of fowl*.

Connect Nancowry **rét** *tip, end*.

Hence perhaps, contaminated by **798** *rʔuuc, Riang-Lang **ˉdut** *to be complete, to come to an end*. Cf. also Lawa Bo Luang **lawk** *end, extremity*.

(*g[d]aat, *[g]d[ɔɔ]t see 1008 *ktɔɔt *to cluck, cackle*.)

1018 *knaat *measure*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Literary Mon [bat] **knāt** *measure, to measure*, Khmer **khna:t** *measure, ruler*, Kuy **khna:t** *size, capacity*.

1019 *tn[oo]t *sugar-palm*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Khmer **tnaot**, Biat [tɔ:m] **no:t**, Vietnamese [thót]-**nót**.

Or *tnu(u)t. Vietnamese may be a loan from Khmuic, cf. with **thót**-Kammu-Yuan **tut** *plant*, Thin **tút** *tree*.

†1020 *pit; *piit; *piət *to pinch, squeeze, press*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Stieng **pít** *to seize, appropriate, filch*, Sre **pet** *to pick, pluck* (by attraction **823** *pic, which compare), (or B) Sakai **pít** *to pinch* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 106); ~ (*jnpit >) Khmer **cùmpùt** *to pinch, cùmpùt* *to pinch*; ~ Bahnar **kəpít** *to crush, press down with hand*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian) Biat **pɛ:t** *to husband, spend with care*, Bahnar **pít** *to press with finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kammu-Yuan **kəmpít** *to rub against*; ~ (*jpiit >) Khmer **chpít** *pinch [of powder &c.]*, Kuy **bi:t** *to nip, pinch*, (probably, rather than A) Jehai **cəpid**, Lanoh Jengjeng **cəpē:d**, by metathesis Semelai **pəcɛ:t** *to squeeze*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **biət** *to brush or press against, to annoy*, Stieng **piət** *to get one's fingers pinched*, Chrau **piət** *to crowd in on, jostle*, Biat **pɛ:t** *to press, squeeze*, Bahnar **pɛ:t** *to squeeze with fingers*, Kammu-Yuan **púat** *to press*, Riang-Lang **ˉpiet** *to squeeze, massage*; → Thai **biat** *to squeeze between (in crowd)*; ~ (*jpiət >) Kuy **bi:t** *to rub against*, by assimilation Biat **piac** *to massage*; ~ Biat **mpɛ:t** *to press with hands*, Bahnar **cəpet** *to massage*, Praok **biat** *to extract by pressing*.

Connect following & **1024** *puut &c. *to stroke, rub*; & cf. **1036** *cbiit *to rub*; **830** *c[ɓ]ic &c. *to take in fingers*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 28; SHAFER 1965 99.)

Sora **pe'd-** to *pinch*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***pitpit**: Javanese **pipit** pressed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***[qS]a(N)pit**: Malay **apit** to *squeeze between two surfaces*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, ***h-**; cf. DYEN 1953 § 124); (iii) ***d'əpit**: Acehese **cōpet** to *pinch, squeeze*, Cham **tapi:ʔ** to *pinch, wedge*, Malay **jēpit** to *nip, pinch*, Javanese **jēpit** to *nip, to hold under arm...*, Ilocano **dippit** to *press, press near, crowd in...* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); & numerous related bases. Mon-Khmer forms in ***jp-** ← or contaminated by (iii)? Note further Sanskrit **√pīd-** to *press*! (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1.)

1021 *pat; (*pat-s > ?) *pac; *paac to press, squeeze.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **pat** /**pət**/ to *press, stroke*, Modern Mon **pət** to *rub, press, knead, massage, polish*, Kuy, Chrau **pat** to *squeeze, wring*, Sre, Biat **pat** to *wring out*; ~ Vietnamese **vắt** to *wring out*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **crəbac** to *squeeze, knead, massage*.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pa:c** to *stroke* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect preceding & **1024 *puut** &c. to *stroke, rub*; & cf. **863 *wac** ...to *twist*. (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1022 *pət; (*pət-s > ?) *pəc to abandon.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **phet** to *leave, abandon, run away*; ~ Vietnamese **vắt** to *throw away*.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmu' **pīc** to *throw away*, Thin **pīk** to *leave, abandon, to pay out, spend*, Semai **pəc** to *throw*; ~ Vietnamese **vứt** = **vắt**.

Connect Burmese **prac** /**pyiʔ**/ to *throw (away)*?

†1023 *puut; *p[əə]t to blow.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **put** to *blow*, Riang-Lang **put** to *blow [wind instrument]*, Semai **po:t**, Jah Hut **put** to *shoot with blowpipe*; ~ Che' Wong **hapud** to *shoot with blowpipe*.

B: (North & Central Aslian) Kensiu **pət**, Che' Wong **pət**, Jah Hut **pə:t** to *blow*.

Or, if Che' Wong **hapud** & Jah Hut **pə:t** are loanwords, B = A? Khasi **put** = Riang-Lang, implying ***b-**, may belong ultimately with **A80 *knbuət** mouth-organ, which compare; as **2028 *puh** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 145a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256.)

Sora **pe'd-** to *play on a flute*, Kharia **pe'd** to *pipe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 157, with variant vocalism; cf. ib. 162).

Proto-Austronesian ***putput**: Acehese **pot**, Malay **puput** to *blow*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 122, ***puput**). See BENEDICT 1975 236-7.

‡1024 *puut; *puət; *[ɭpuəc to stroke, rub.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **bo:t** to stroke; ~ **cbo:t** to stroke; ~ (*crpuut >) Sre **rəpout** to rub oneself, Chrau **ləpo:t** to rub, Biat **rpo:t** to rub oneself, to caress, Khasi **syrypud** to rub gently.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pot** to rub, stroke, Khmer **pù:ət** (!) to rub hard, Stieng **puət** to rub, Biat **pə:t** to besmear (oneself), Bahnar **pə:t** to brush against (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **po:t** to compress in hand (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Rieng-Lang **puat** (& Palaung **puən**!) to smear, Praok [co] **pət** to clean; → Shan **pət** to rub; ~ Old Mon **sunipot** /**səmpot**/ to stroke, Vietnamese **vuốt** to smooth with hand, to caress.

C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **pə:c** to stroke (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C probably rather by assimilation < *c-puət than < *puət-s. Connect 1021 *pat &c. to press, squeeze; North Bahnaric shows contamination with this &/or 1020 *pit &c. Cf. also 1042 *[j]bat &c. to feel, grasp.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFER 1965 467.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'əNput: Malay **jəmput** to take in the fingertips, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 48); (ii) *d'u(N)put: Javanese **ju(m)put** to take in the fingertips, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 49; Proto-West-Indonesian). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 4.)

1024a *puut to strip off.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **bo:t** to strip off, Kammu-Yuan **pú:t** to scrape off [hair &c. from skin], to slough.

1025 *kpət to struggle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng (**ta-)**pot to fight with fists, Sre [**tam**] pət to wrestle, try one's strength against (→ Röglai), (> secondary *kpuət >?) Central Nicobarese **kəpə:t** to wrestle, Nancowry **kapót**; ~ (*kpət >) Mon **həpət khapuit** to twitch, to thrash about, flounder, Sre **rəpət** to struggle, throw oneself about; → Jarai **pəpɔ?** (!), Röglai **rəpə?** to struggle.

For Stieng vocalism see 345 *pək. Cf. Vietnamese **vật** to wrestle, to toss in bed.

‡1026 *cpaat to pull sharp instrument across.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **hwat** to shred with a sharp instrument, Khmer **pa:t** to trim down, filed, Stieng **pa:t** to cut oneself on a sharp instrument, Bahnar **pa:t** to whet, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **phát** to cut, trim.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **pà:t** to sharpen. But Kammu-Yuan **pát**, Praok **pat** to cut are ← Tai (SCHMIDT 1905 18.)

By metathesis Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)pat': Malay **tampas** to lop off, Tagalog **tápas** dehusking of coconuts, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 103; Proto-Hesperonesian). Connect perhaps further Malay **pəpat** pollarded, [teeth] filed level... (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 to *pətpət close(d), dense, & at BLUST 1972 no. 14 compared with Tagalog **pítpít** flattened by pounding). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 264, to cut off, cut up.

1027 *[d]paat to strike.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *pāt*, Khmer *p̄i:ət*.

†1028 *[d]put; *[d]puut; *[d]puət; *[d]pət to be severed, broken.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon *puit* to be cut off, truncated, Modern Mon *pōt* to break, part, to cut, Proto-Nyah Kur **(m)-pūt* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V138), Praok *pōt* to beak, (or C) Khasi *phot* to cut, nick; ~ **(d)bp-* >; or D) Mon /həpōt/ *thapuit*, *dapuit* to cut off, break off, (~) Khmer *kambot*! amputated, cut off.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *pōt* to be broken, to break off, cut off, Riang-Lang *pūt* to be severed, to be maimed; → Shan *pūt* to be broken off, cut.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *puat*! to cut (off, up); ~ *təpuət* cut in two (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Biat *[pah] pōt* to be too short [to reach], Central Sakai *pāt* to pull [cockle shell] apart, Besis *pōt* to cut (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 302).

Rather than **(t)p-* in view of Munda, below; so Bahnar *puat* by levelling? Connect **(dpəc > ?)* Biat *pēc* to crumble, be eroded, become jagged, Khasi *pait* to break, crack, crumble; perhaps 824a **pac* to cut through. For Kammu-Yuan *pāt* to cut, &c. see 1026 **cpaat*.

Sora *rə'pərd-*, Santali *rəpu'd* to break, &c. (PINNOW 1959 66).

Proto-Austronesian **pud_{2/3}*, *pud_{2/3}*: Toba Batak *purpūr* bare, without vegetation, Javanese *pupur* [end, tip] broken off, Cebuano Bisayan *pudpud*, Ilocano *pudpód* to wear down, decay, at end or tip (PRELIMINARY STUDIES...), &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

*1029 *[l]pət to fold.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer *pat*, Modern Khmer *bət* to fold, pleat, bend (→ Stieng *bə:t* to fold (back)?), Palaung *pət* [kəp] to tuck [trousers] right up (MILNE 1931); by secondary derivation ~ **(prpət >)* Mon *həpōt* folding book, → Burmese *parapuik*.

Cf. 1038 **bət* to bend...; 1086a **[t]lə(ə)t* to be folded back.

Proto-Austronesian **lipət*: Malay *lipat* fold, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98; & by metathesis **lə(N)pit*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 95). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (a).)

*1030 *[s]puut (& *[s]put?) to wrap round.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *put* to tie, [plant] to climb (< variant? BLOOD 1966 *pu:t*), Sre *pout* to roll [cigarette], roll round, bandage, Chrau *pu:t* to wrap (BLOOD 1966), Biat *pu:t* to roll up, to bandage.

(BLOOD 1966 235.)

Proto-Austronesian **t'aput*: Malay *saput* filmy cover; to cover with hangings, creepers, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, source obscure. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 15.)

1031 *[b]et out of true.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bet** *edge of blade which is no longer straight* (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **bet** *to drive in on a slant* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SHAFFER 1965 135.)

†1032 *bat; *buət to tie, bind.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Palaungic) Middle Mon **bat** *to secure, bind on*, Modern Mon [pən] **pòt** *to be firm, secure*, Khmer **pə̀t** *to tie round, to spin [web, cocoon]*, (or 1042 *[j]bat *to feel* > ?) Palaung **bət** *to twine round* (MILNE 1931).
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **buət** *to bind*, Biat [tə:m thə:i tə:m] **buat**, (by contraction, or ~ *tnbuət causative >) Bahnar **təmət** *to join end to end* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B secondary. Connection uncertain Riang-Lang **təkbət** *to knot*; or **səmvət** *turban*. Sora [to(l)] -**ba:d-** *to tie, bind*, 'bad-ən *cord of twisted straw* (unless ultimately ← Sanskrit *baddhā-* bound or related form).
Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)bat: Malay **tambat** *to tie up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 233.

†1033 *buut; *buət to wring, roll up, turn.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pùt** *to operate rotary mechanical device*, Khmer **pù:t** *to roll into a ball, to wring out clothes*; ~ (*bpuut >) Old Mon **buwut** /bəwut/, Modern Mon **həwùt** *rotary machine*.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **bə:t** *to roll up, to follow curving path; meanderings of path* &c. (& to fold (back)), ← Khmer < 1029 *[l]pət?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian *butbut: Malay **mēm-bubut** *to turn on lathe*, &c. (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 198; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, to be separate from *butbut *to pull out*).

1034 *kbat; *bat grass.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Central Rölöm **bat** (BLOOD 1976); ~ Old Mon **kañbat** /kəmbət/, Modern Mon **kəmot** *grass*, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəmpət (DIFFLOTH 1984 N71), Khasi **kynbat** *herb*.
B: (Katuic). Kuy, Bru **bat** *grass*.
Note Ong-Be **bət** &c., BENEDICT 1975 306. Connect following?

1035 *g[b]uut tuft, clump.

- A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **bo:t**, **buo:t** *tuft, clump, uncleared site* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (→ Cham **kaput**); ~ Khmer **kùmpò:t** *clump [of trees]*, Palaung **kənbuut** *shoot of pampas grass* (MILNE 1931).
Cf. Kuy **puc** *tuft*. Connect preceding?
But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *ruNput *grass* (Malay **rumpu**, &c.; DEMPWOLFF 1938 104).

†1036 ***cbiit** to rub.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **jwīt** to pass one's hand over, Modern Mon **hwīt** to stroke, Khmer **b̥r̥t** to rub on, apply (& by secondary derivation **kb̥r̥t** to rub (on)).

Cf. 1020 ***pit** &c. ...to squeeze, press.

Sora **bid-'bid-** to rub.

1037 ***rb̥ət** to whip, thresh with flail.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **_pat** to fan, winnow, to wag tail, (?) Vietnamese **b̥āt** to strike [fire]; → Shan **p̥āt** to beat; ~ (***rn̥b̥ət** >) Literary Mon **lamuit**, Bahnar **r̥əm̥r̥t** to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **r̥ump̥d̥ət**, Kuy **m̥ph̥ət**, (→?) Stieng **r̥əmbat** whip; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **_səmpat** flail, fan; to thresh, beat.

Cf. variously West Bahnar **habat** to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **h̥əlp̥ət**, Khasi **sympat** to beat, whip; Biat **r̥pat** to whip, to thresh with flail; **m̥hat** to whip; Vietnamese **v̥ut** to lash with whip; & 1092 ***kwit** &c. to beat.

1038 ***ḡət** to bend, manipulate.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Literary Mon **ḡuit** to press with fingers, straighten, Khmer **p̥u̇ət** to bend (straight), Kuy **ph̥ət** to bend straight, Stieng **b̥əit** to soften [cane] by bending (beside **b̥ət** to bend, stretch, ← ?Biat), Chrau **v̥ət** to bend, (— **saʔ**) to stretch [oneself], Biat **b̥ət** to bend, Bahnar **ḡət** to press with fingers, straighten; → Cham **b̥əʔ** to bend, curl (v.t.), Acehnese **b̥ət** bent over backwards; to stretch.

Cf. 1029 ***[l]p̥ət** to fold. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (b).)

(***ḡut** see 1178 ***ḡun** to heap up.)

†1039 ***[c]ḡiit**; ***[c]ḡiət** to cover, close, block up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Khmer **b̥r̥t** to cover, close, Thin **bit** to extinguish, to be extinguished (?), Riang-Lang **ṽbit** to cover, close, stop up, Vietnamese **m̥it** to be hermetically closed; → Thai **p̥it** to close; ~ Palaung **kənbit** to block; ~ Riang-Lang **ṽsəmbit** cover, stopper.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ ***[c]n̥ḡiət** >) Bahnar **m̥iet** to stop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Earlier ***cb̥ḡiit** &c., ~ 949 ***c̥ḡiit** &c. to confine, restrict? But perhaps ***t̥ḡ** if Munda, below, is not cognate. Cf. further 1098 ***s/mp/iit** stopper.

Kharia **ja'pi'd̥** to shut one's eyes, &c. (PINNOW 1959 93; ?; perhaps contaminated by cognate of 1020 ***pit** &c. to pinch, squeeze...; so semantically e.g. Acehnese **pet** to close eyes, Toba Batak **pitpit** closed [eyes] < Proto-Austronesian ***pitpit** to clamp, DEMPWOLFF 1938 119, to which Khmer is compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1).

1040 ***c̥ḡiit**; (***c̥ḡiət** >) ***c̥ḡait**; ***c̥ḡət**; ***c̥ḡəət** sticky, to stick on.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **b̥r̥t** to exude, to stick, affix, Palaung **bit** to be sticky, Lawa Bo Luang **pit**, Lawa Umphai **ph̥it** glutinous [rice], Khasi **bit** to stick.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **pə:t** to *stick on, affix*, Bru **tapet**.

C, D: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) (apparently) → Stieng **pot**, **pə:t** to *stick on, affix* by interdialectal borrowing; **(C)** Cham **pàʔ** to *stick to*; ~ (***crɓ-** >) Literary Mon **jaɓuit** to *be sticky*; ~ Mon **həbət**, **(D)** Riang-Lang **ʔsəbət** *gum of tree*, by metathesis **(C/D)** Sre **bəsət** *latex*.

Khmer **cəə bət** *mastic* is perhaps < ***crɓiit** by popular etymology, cf. **cəə gum**, **bət** to *rub on*. For Stieng **pot** < *-ət see 345 ***pək**. Earlier ***cbʔiit** &c. ~ 948 ***cʔi(i)t** *sticky*? The following may be connected by metathesis: Vietnamese **nép** (< ***c[ɗiɓ]**?), Kuy **[do:i] di:p** (< ***[c]ɗiip** or ***[c]ɗiəp**), Biat **[pih] lʔe:p** (< ***cndiip** by hypercorrection?) *glutinous [rice]*; Khmer **dəmnaəp** *glutinous [rice]* (by secondary derivation < ***cdəəp**?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

†1041 ***[j]ɓiət**; ***[j]ɓaat** to *suck in mouth*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **biət** to *purse [lips] in token of disapproval* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?), Khasi **biat** to *eat [pulses] a little at a time*; ~ Mon **həbet** to *suck in mouth*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **(k)bi:at** to *chew*, Bru **kubat**.

B contaminated by 1371 ***ɓaam** to *chew* (& 1375 ***kɓiim** &c., 1376 ***gɓam** to *have in one's mouth*?).

Sora **be'd-**, **be:d-'be:d-**, **sa'be'd-**, Santali **jembe'd** to *sip, suck*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 251; Santali perhaps compound, cf. Kharia **ʒə'b**).

†1042 ***[j]ɓat**; ***[j]ɓaat**; ***[j]ɓuut**; ***[j]ɓuət** to *feel, grasp*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **[cəm] bət** to *feel, palpate*, **bət [toa]** *fist*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khəbat** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V142), Biat **bat [ti:]** *fist, to clench*, Riang-Lang **ʔbət** to *feel, palpate*, Khasi **bat** to *hold, catch hold of, grasp*; ~ (***[j]nɓat** >) Sre, Biat **mbat**, Chrau **səmvat** *handful*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **hməuək**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hmət** to *hold, catch hold of, grasp*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **pɨ:ət** to *rub [ointment] on*.

C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau **vu:t** to *grope for [fish]*, Biat **bu:t** to *feel, grasp*, Bateg Deq **bət** to *hold*.

D: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ɓɔ:t** to *put hand &c. in hole, grasp for fish, take fish from trap*; ~ Kuy **(k)ma:t** to *clench; handful*.

Connect by metathesis 1262 ***[j]ɗaap** to *pass hand along*. Cf. also Kammu-Yuan **səpát** (**səpó:t**), **səpú:t** to *snatch, grab*; & 1024 ***puut** &c. to *stroke, rub*. **C, D** perhaps secondary, or contaminated by this, but cf. Munda.

Kharia **ce'pu'd** to *hide in fist, to clench*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 137; Proto-Munda *-ud). Proto-Austronesian ***d'a(N)bat**: Malay **jabat** to *touch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45).

1043 ***rmɓ[ɔɔ]t** *tears*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **rumbat** /**rəmbət**/, Modern Mon **[daik] kəmət**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamboāt**, Lawa Umphai **rambuat**, Mae Sariang **yambuāt**, **lambuāt**.

†‡1044 *[l]b[a]t soft, tender.

(Mon, Katuic) Mon **bət** *to be soft, tender, delicate, young*, Pakoh **labɔət** soft, pliable (so *-ɔət?)

Cf. Sre **m̥bə:c** soft.

Sora 'lama'd-, 'labad- soft [clay &c.].

Proto-Austronesian ***lənbut**: Malay **lěmbut** tender [meat], gentle, soft [voice], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94).

†‡1045 *mat eye.

(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **mat** /mət/, Modern Mon **mòt**, Kuy **màt** eye, Sre **mat** face, eye, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Halang **mat** eye, Jeh **mat** eye, face, Kammu-Yuan **màt**, Khasi '**mat** eye, Mường **mặt** eye, face (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mặt** face, Kensiu **məd**, Temiar **mad**, Semelai **mət**, Central Nicobarese [oəl]-**mət**, -**ma:t** eye, Nancowry **ʔuálmát**, **ʔumát**; ~ Khasi **khmat**, Vietnamese **mắt** eye.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 163; BLOOD 1966 357; SMITH 1972 222; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 83 (a).)

Sora '**mʔo:d-ən**, compounding form '**mad-ən**, Kharia **mə'd**, **mǝ'd**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 250).

Proto-Austronesian ***mat₂a**: Malay **mata**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 206; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 10.6, 14.13). See BENEDICT 1975 283-4.

1046 *mut; *muut; *mæt to enter.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **muut** (BLOOD 1966), Sre, Bahnar, Halang **mut**, Jeh **mòt**.

B: (Katuic, ?Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Kuy **mù:t**, Sakai **mɔit** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 77; or A?), ?Nancowry **mút** to hide.

C: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar **mæt**, **muut** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **təmæt** to cause to enter.

Cf. 968 *guut &c.

(SHAFER 1965 348; BLOOD 1966 162; SMITH 1972 212, 227.)

1047 *mut; *muut hammer.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **mut** (→ Röglai).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mu:t**; → Jarai **mu:t** (& **t̚mu:t**!), North Röglai **mũ:ʔ**.

Chamic finals indicate borrowing. Sre excludes ***tm-** or ***dm-**; Jarai **t̚mu:t** ← A variant ***muut muut**?

(***muut** see also 1186 *mun[] pimple.)

1048 *k[p]mat; *k.mət gall.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Mon [klɛŋ] **kəmot**, Sre [play] **mat** (DOURNES 1950), Biat [plai] **mat**, Bahnar [ɗa:k] **kəmat**, Riang-Lang **kəmət**, Central Sakai **kəmat**; (or B) by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prəmat**.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Kuy **mət**, Bahnar **kəmət**, Vietnamese **mật**, Pangan **kəməd** (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 4).

(SHAFER 1965 356.)

1049 *kmuət; *kmiət woodworm, weevil.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **khmo:t** *woodworm, weevil*, Kuy **kma:t** *weevil*, West Bahnar **mə:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [con] **mọt** *woodworm*; ~ Bahnar (kə:n) **kəmə:t** *woodworm*, Palaung **kərmuət** *weevil*.

B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 957 *kiət to bite...) Stieng **kəmie:t** *weevil*; ~ Biat **rmiat** [coh] (beside **rpiat**...) *weevil*.

THOMPSON 1967 367 gives Mường **mọch**, Vietnamese **mọt** *termite*. Distinguish Sre **mo?** *weevil*, ← Röglai **mo?**, : Tagalog **umok**.

1050 *cmuət to question.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **cmot** /cmot/; ~ Palaung **sərmuət**.

1050a *tmit short post.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **tmit**, Modern Mon **met** *post supporting veranda*, Biat **mit** *marker stake*.

1051 *tmaat[] vulture.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Old Khmer **tmāt**, Modern Khmer **thma:t**, Stieng **kəma:t**; ~ Old Mon **tinmāt** (& **timān**) ?/təmmat/, Modern Mon **kəmat**, Kuy **mì:t**, Bru **mìət**.

On Old Mon variants see 416 *mraik[]; perhaps /təmmāt/ or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1052 *rmit; *rmiit; *rmiət Curcuma species; yellow.

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Khasi) Mon **mìt** *turmeric*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***muyt** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N28), Sre **rəmit** *greenish- yellow*, Chrau **rəmyut** *yellowish*, Biat **rmuut** *saffron* (→ Stieng **rəmət?**), (or B) Khasi **lmit-lmit** *rather [yellow]*; ~ Khasi dialect **shyrmìt** *turmeric*.

B: (Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **rəmit** *turmeric, yellow*, (or A) Central Sakai **rēmít** *saffron*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **rmyat**, Modern Khmer **rəmiət**, **lmiət** *saffron*, Kuy **lmi:t** *yellow*, Khasi **lmet-lmet** *very [yellow]*, Proto-Semai ***rməet** *yellow* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(*yiit, *yiət see 941 *[?]iit coucal.)

†1053 *yət; *yəət to be extinguished.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yət; ~ piət to extinguish; ~ (*[t]nyət >) Stieng jɛt to extinguish, extinguished, Biat phət to extinguish.

B: (Palaungic) Praok yut to be extinguished; ~ (*pyəət > ?) Lawa Bo Luang ʔyut, Lawa Umphai ʔut to extinguish.

Cf. 973 *ɲət; 1077 *lət &c.; 987 *kə[ə]t to die.

Sora pa'ni(:)d- to be extinguished.

1054 *[s]yət grass.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon sət thatching-grass, Imperata arundinacea, Jeh set (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) Kammu-Yuan cít, Thin kyit, kīt grass; ~ (*[s]nyət >) Sre phət, Bahnar ʔnet grass.

Khmuic, Bahnar suggest (secondary) *cy-!

(SHAFFER 1965 167; SMITH 1972 221; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 96.)

1055 *rit kind of palm yielding writing-material.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon rət Corypha umbraculifera, (manuscript written on) palm-leaf, Khmer rūt Latania rhaps leaves.

†1056 *riit; *riət to rotate, go round, to grind.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Palaung grit, Praok krit to grind [grain]; ~ (*[t]lriit >) Kuy lɛt to grind, to gin cotton.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ret /ret/ to visit, Modern Mon rət to go round, go about; ~ (*[t][r]riət >) Khasi tylliat to grind; ~ (*rniət —properly nominalisation— > ?) Riag-Lang _niet to grind.

For cognacy of CVC form cf. Munda. Connect 1064 *krit &c. to creak; A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass?

Sora rid-, Kharia ri'd to grind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 76).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman *krit to grind, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 119; Karen *gr[e]t, ib. 141-2 n. 382.

1057 *rət; *rəət; *rat to be startled, alarmed.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Khmer rat, Modern Khmer rūt to run (away), Vietnamese giật (for **răt) to jerk, (— mìn) to be startled (≠ to pull forcibly, < 1058 *rət); ~ (*rnr- >) Mon kərət to cry, whimper (or B), Sre nrət, Biat ndrət to start with fright; ~ (*rət rət > *trət >) Khasi thred, thret very much [startled].

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer prət startled.

C: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ndrət spasm, to jerk, Bahnar kədrat to start with fright.

Separate Central Nicobarese dət-ɲərit to be startled, < *d-.

†1058 *rut; *ruut; *ruət; *rət; *rat; *raat; ruc; *ruuc; *rəc (& *rəəc?); *rac to pull hard on, pull up, out, reap.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Sakai **rot** to pluck out, uproot (or < variant?); ~ Palaung **bruut** to extract [tooth] (MILNE 1931); (or C?) ~ Khasi **kynjrot** to pull off bit by bit; ~ Nancowry **hayúut** to push or pull away, **tiyúut** to jerk.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Biat **ru:t** to slide (v.t.), Nancowry **yúk** to cut something smooth, (or *c-rat >?) Praok **rut** to pull apart, away; (or H) → Thai **rúut** to strip [leaves &c.], milk; ~ Khmer **cro:t**, Stieng **səru:t** to reap, Bahnar **h^aru:t** [h^arə:t] to pull hard on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **rút** to pull (back, out), withdraw.

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon) Mon **ròt rat** to reap; ~ (*rn- >) **nòt not** sickle (&/or E, J); ~ (*cruət >) Biat **rhuat** to withdraw, Bahnar **hrə:t** to pull on, out, up, Jeh **so:t** to reap, Halang **soat**, Kammu-Yuan **ró:t** to strip grain (& **hó:t**; by back-borrowing ← Tai?).

D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mường **giật** to pull on (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **giật** to pull forcibly, snatch (for **răt; ≠ to jerk, be startled, < 1057 *rət); ~ Bahnar **hərət**, Gölar Bahnar **gərət** to pull with a jerk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **h^(a)rə:t**).

E: (Khasi, Mon, Nicobaric) Khasi **rat** to uproot; ~ **prat** to cut [grass], clear [bushes], Mon **ròt rat** to reap, Proto-Nyah Kur *rəc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V104; *-c?), Nancowry **yat** to cut.

F: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru **rìat** to snatch; ~ Bahnar **bra:t** to pull on, out, up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **ruit** to pull out; ~ Bahnar **hruc** to yank out [branch] after cutting.

H: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:c** to pull out, draw out, Kuy **rò:c** to withdraw [fuel from fire]; ~ Khmer **rəbaoc** pulled away, out, uprooted, Kuy **po:c** to uproot, pull out; ~ (*cruuc >) Praok **ruuc** to uproot, Mường **rúch** to withdraw (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

I: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Katuic) Proto-Semai *rəc to uproot (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Khmer **krəc grec** dislocation, to dislocate, (or J?) Kuy **khàc** sprained, Bru **rì?** to harvest; ~ Bahnar **h^(ə)rək**, **h^(ə)rəc** to reap, sever, tear (off) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or J), (*-əəc >? but cf. D) **h^(ə)rəc** to pull on, out, up.

J: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **rút** to pull, to tear out; ~ Khasi **kynjrait** to jerk, pull with a jar.

G &c. in part or wholly by assimilation < *c-rut &c. rather than < *rut-s &c. Cf. 866 *[]wəc &c. to cut, reap; 839 *rəc to slice, cut through; A28b *ruuk to pull up.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40, 60; SMITH 1972 237)

Sora **rud**-(**rud**-) to pluck [flowers], **ruj**-, **rui**- to pluck, to pull out, to snatch, to wrench (PINNOW 1959 381).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***Surut** to *pull between hands*: Malay **urut** to *stroke, rub, massage*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *c-; BENEDICT 1975 358, which see, adds Ami ***mi-Surut** to *pull*); (ii; ***parut**) Ilocano **parut** to *uproot*, Pangasinan **pálot** to *pull out*.

†1059 ***rut**; ***ruut**; ***ruət**; ***rət** to *sprinkle, scatter*.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **phruut** to *sprinkle, scatter*.

B: (Katuic) Bru **rù:t** [*flowers, fruit, leaves*] to *drop off completely*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **ruat** to *sow broadcast*; ~ Praok **pruat** [**ruac**] to *be scattered*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung **rət**, Riang-Lang **rat** to *sprinkle*; ~ Palaung **prət** to *scatter*.

Cf. 837 ***ra(a)c**; 843 ***ruc** &c. to *fall, drip*.

Sora **jo'or:q-** to *drip*, [*tears to flow*].

Distinguish forms with other finals at PINNOW 1959 219. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 395.

1060 ***rut**; ***ruut**; ***r[ə]t** (to catch fish in) kind of fish-trap.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:t** to *catch fish in fish-trap* (ʔəŋrùt) resembling lobster-pot, Sre **rut** trap for flying white ants (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **ruut** large open-mesh fish-trap.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **kərət karut** basket with open bottom for catching mudfish, basket for penning fowls.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **nthrət** basket for penning fowls.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

*1061 ***ruut**; ***ruət**; ***rət**; ***rat**; ***rit**; ***riit**; ***riət** to *tighten, constrict*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer **rù:t** to *draw* [e.g. curtains] together (or < 1058 ***ruut** to *pull hard on...?*; → Thai **rûut** to *pull* [curtains &c.], probably → Kuy **rù:t** to *pull, slide*), Kuy **rò:t** to *shrink, to hunch up*, Biat **ro:t** to *shrink, become tight*, Palaung **rut** to *draw in with drawstring* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_rut** to *draw in*; → Shan **hùt** to *tighten*; ~ Mon **hərət sarut** to *pull* [string] tight, close [bag] with string.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **rù:ət** to *seize round top or neck*, Stieng **ruə:t** to *tighten, pull in*, Praok **rət** to *gird*, Lawa Umphai [**hau**] **ruat** rice-sack; → Acehnese **ruət** to *secure* [trousers] firmly; ~ Palaung **kruət** to *strangle with a cord* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_səkruat** to *strangle, choke, smother*; ~ Mon **kròt grot** to *fit closely*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Kuy **rət** to *tie, bind* (or E); → Shan **hùt** to *tighten* [belt &c.]; ~ Biat **krət** to *shrink, huddle together*; ~ (***sr-** >; or D) Kuy **sat** to *tie*.

D: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rət** to *gird*; → Thai **rát**, Shan **hăt**.

E: (Khmer) Khmer **rùt** to *draw up tight*.

F: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Kuy) Kuy **rì:t** (or G; → Thai **rîit**) to *squeeze out, press on*, Sre **ri:t** tight, Biat **re:t** to *tighten*, Chrau **re:t**, Bateg Nong **rit**, Semai I **ri:d** to *squeeze*; → Cham **ri:ʔ** to *draw net in*.

G: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Stieng **riət** [kɔu] *to strangle with a cord*, West Bahnar **rɛ:t** *to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **riat** *to tie together*, Temiar **rəyəd** *to squeeze*; ~ (*[s].riət >) Bahnar **hərə:t** *to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size*, Vietnamese **riết** *to draw tight*.

Connect Nancowry **ʔɛc** *tight, to strangle*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***Səyət**: Malay (**h**)**ěrat** *constriction*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 425; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; ***ka[r]rt**) Ivatan **kalút** *to close with a draw string*. Note also Malay **chěrut** [*python, belt, noose*] *to squeeze*; ← Mon-Khmer?

1062 *ruut; *ruət to buy.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rət** (& **rat**!) *to barter, buy*.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **roat**, Biat **rwat**, Jeh, Halang **ruat** *to buy*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**.

(BLOOD 1966 83; SMITH 1972 232.)

1063 *ruət tier.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **rù:ət**; ~ **tru:ət** *to lie one upon another, piled up*; ~ Middle Mon **tambrot** /**təmrot**/, Modern Mon **pərot** [caik] *small stupa on tiered base of large one*.

*1064 *krit; *kriit; *kriət; by metathesis *rkiət to creak.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **krit** *creakily* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kre:t** *creakily* (TANDART 1935).

C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **kret** *to creak*, Khmer **kriət** *creakily* (TANDART 1935), Khasi **khret-khret** *grating*, Nancowry **ʔiāt** *to squeak*.

D: (South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Sre **rəkiat** (→ Rōglai), Biat **rciat** *to grind, creak, gnash*, (or C?) Central Nicobarese **kěət**-[cəka:] *to gnash*.

Connect perhaps 1056 ***riit** &c. ...*to grind*, whether or not original. Onomatopoeic (As D) Sora **ri'ked-** *to creak*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kiət**: Acehnese **k/r/et-k/r/et** Onomatopoeic for *creaking, grinding*, Malay **kiat** *to creak*, **k/ěr/iat**-[**kěriut**] *creaking*, Javanese **kět-kèr-kěr-kèt** *to creak, squeak*, Tagalog **k/al/it** *creak*, Cebuano Bisayan **k/ág/it** *to make a creaking sound*, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 168; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Note also Javanese **krěkět** *grinding or grating sound, to grind* [e.g. *teeth*] (< ***k/ar/ətkət**, cf. Cebuano **kagitkit** *n.*?).

1065 *kruət (& *krut?) kind of bee.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre **krot** *kind of bee of medium size* (< variant?), Bru **krɔ:t** *bee*; ~ Stieng **kəndrɔ:t** *wasp*, Chrau **kəndrɔ:t** *small kind of bee*, Bahnar **kədrɔ:t** *kind of bee of medium size nesting in hollow trees*, Jeh **kadro:t** *honey-bee*, Halang **gədroat** *kind of apid*; ~ (***kpruət** >) Khmer **prù:ət**, **pru:ət** *kind of bee building layered nest in hollow trees* &c.

Connect obscure Mon **hərot** *kind of bee nesting in hollow trees*.

(SMITH 1972 236.)

1066 *graat to scatter.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **krad**; ~ Riang-Lang **kənatrat** *seed-harrow*.

Connect 837 *ra(a)c.

***1067 *criit; *criət to cram in.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chre:t** *close together*; apparently by back-formation ~ Sre **ri:t** *close together*, Biat **re:t** *to pack close together*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **criət**, TANDART 1935 also **criət** *to intercalate, press on, pack in, jostle*, Kuy **si:t** *to crowd against, crowded*; ~ Literary Mon **taret** *to press into*. Sora **sə'ried-** *to be overfilled, crowded, to become tight, rigid, swollen*, 'sare'd- *tight*.

1068 *criit; *t₁riit cricket, to chirr.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian) Central Sakai **jarét** *variety of mole-cricket*, Besis **sērē-it** *to whine* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (a)); ~ Mon **kəret canrit**, Khmer **cəŋrət** *cricket*; ~ Bru **ʔabri:t** *cricket*; → Thai **cīŋrīit** *cricket*; Malay **chěŋkěrek** *mole-cricket*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tre:t**, Chrau **[kɔ:n]** **tre:t** *cricket*, Sre **tri:t** *to whistle*, Palaung **[ə]krit** *cricket*.

Onomatopoeic? Note Ilocano **kuriat**, Pangasinan **kóryat** *cricket*. Otherwise B by assimilation

(SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

(*t₁riit see preceding.)

1069 *drit; *driit to slope.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[ŋke:ŋ]** **dru:t** *sloping*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **trè:t** *to slope, lean, incline*, Bru **trè:ʔ** (by dissimilation?).

1070 *priit; *priət banana.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **pri:t**, Jeh, Halang **priət**.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **pri:t**.

(SHAFFER 1965 104; BLOOD 1966 224; SMITH 1972 214.)

1071 *mraat rough, untamed, viovlent.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **pərət** *to be viovlent*, Khasi **mrad** *animal; cruel, inhuman*, Central Nicobarese **maiya:t** *rough, unplaned*, Nancowry **yāt**, **puyāt**.

1072 *sriit rhinoceros.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *srīt* /*srit*/, Modern Mon *set*, (~?) Lawa Umphai *raip*; → Thai *rêet*.

Also Khmuic, see SHORTO 1971.

1073 *sriit; *sriæt cold.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *sre:t* *cold to the touch* (TANDART 1935).

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *rét* *to be cold, feel cold*.

1074 *sraat sour, acid.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng, Sre *səra:t*, Chrau *sa:t* (BLOOD 1966 *srə:t*), Biat *chra:t* *sour, acid*, by vowel metathesis (**sa(a)rət* >) Central Nicobarese *haiyət*, *hă:yət* [*fluid*] *to turn sour*; ~ (**spraat* >) Vietnamese [*chua*]-*chát* (for ***trát*) *sour, acid*.

(BLOOD 1966 332.)

***1075 *lit; *liæt; *lait to lick.**

A: (Khmer) Khmer *lùt* *to lick, lap*.

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *leæt* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *liæt*, Praok *let* *to lick*, Bru *liæt*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *klè:t* *to lick*; ~ (**lmpiaet* >) Sre, Biat *mpiat*, Chrau *ləpiaet*, Bahnar *rəpiet*, Jeh *lapiat*, Halang *rəpiat*, (by metathesis, or ~ **p*[*liæt* >?) Semnam *pələd* *tongue*.

C: (Khasi, North Aslian) Semang *lat* *to lick* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 65); ~ Khasi *thyllied* *tongue*.

Cf. Khasi *jliah* *to lick*; 1286a **liəp* *to lick*; 1409 **[c]lim?* &c.

(SHAFER 1965 351; BLOOD 1966 105; SMITH 1972 228; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 164.)

Proto-Austronesian **l₁id₃aq* *tongue*: Malay *lidah*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 16.3; cf.

DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, **dilah*). So connection dubious Proto-Austronesian **Zilat* *to lick*: Malay *jilat*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, **d-*; DYEN 1951; DAHL 1973 § 16.4; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 328.

***1076 *lit (?); *liit; *liæt slippery, to smear on.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat *lūt* *worn, well- worn, well-trodden* (or ad 953 **l?iit* &c., which compare?).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Semang *lit[lut]* *smear* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 291), Central Nicobarese *le:tə* *to smear face with pigment*; → Röglai *lit [dou]* *sticky*; ~ Mon *kəlet* *to be smooth, to slip*; ~ Sre *kəni:t* *red clay*, Biat *ɲle:t* *dirt, dirty*; ~ West Bahnar *bli:t* *to waterproof with wax or oil* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai *bli:t* *to stick*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *let* /let/, Modern Mon *lèt* to smear on, Khmer *liət* to caulk, Kuy *li:t* to scoop up, smear on (probably, rather than A), Khasi *liat* to fall through, slip, miscarry (contaminated by 1081 *lut &c., which compare); → Malay *liat* (in sense) clayey; ~ Mon *klet* to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive, Palaung *kleət* to be smooth, slippery; → Acehnese *kliət* clayey; ~ (*[k]pliət >) Mon *kəlet* to smear with, smear on, Vietnamese *trét* to smear, to caulk; ~ Biat *glə:t sprain*, (nti:ŋ *glə:t*) dislocation; ~ Kammu-Yuan *ləmè:t* smooth (or ad *lʔiit &c.?).

Slippery contaminated by *lut &c.? Cf. further Vietnamese *trát* to coat, smear, *trượt* slippery ~ *mướt* to be smooth and shining; *sét* clay; & 1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.

Sora 'tule(:)d-ən gum, pus.

Proto-Austronesian by metathesis *li(N)kiət: Acehnese *lōkiət* viscous, clayey, Malay *lekit* adhesive..., Javanese *lèngkèt* to cleave to (→ Malay *lengket* sticking together), &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 198; Proto-Hesperonesian; also *likət: Javanese *likèt* to stick, sticky, Pampangan *likat* stickiness, &c., Proto-Hesperonesian; *ləkət to stick, DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, Proto-West-Indonesian; perhaps contaminated by *Zəkət to stick, DAHL 1973 § 14.5 &c. = DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (*d-), 47 (*d'-)).

1077 *li[i]t; *lət to be extinguished.

A: (North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *leət*-[ŋoŋ &c.] burnt out, quenched, Nancowry *liát* completed, finished; ~ Semang [ya'] *pělit* to extinguish (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (b)), Semaq Beri *pəlet* night.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer *lùət* to extinguish, Central Sakai *lô^t* to be extinguished; ~ Old Mon *plit* /plət/, Modern Mon *plət* to be extinguished, Pangan [ya]-*plöd* to extinguish (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Connect Praok *pruut* to extinguish? Cf. 973 *ŋət, 1053 *yə(ə)t; 423 *lək &c. to sink, be immersed, 854 *ləc &c. to be flooded, to sink, 1287 *ləp &c. to immerse; 721 *lɔŋ to be immersed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 18.)

†1078 *laat to be spread out flat.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *li:ət* to spread (v.t), to extend, be spread out; flat, Central Rölöm, Bahnar *la:t* flat; ~ (*lmlaat >) Biat *bla:t* bottom (e.g. of river), East Bahnar *bla:t* flat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 324.)

Sora *la'd-* to spread out [cloth], to hold [legs] wide apart, *la:d-'la:d-* to spread, unfurl, stretch (v.i.t.).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *dayat: Malay *darat* dry land, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37; BLUST 1972 no. 89 adds Oceanic).

1079 *laat (laac?) bare.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Semai **la:d** (TAUERN 1914); ~ Mon **həlat** *to be bare, bald, shaven, to bare*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***təlaac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V106), Khmer **sralāt** *to bare* (GUESDON 1930);

Connect Proto-Semai ***laac** *bald* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

1080 *l[o]t to jump, to run.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lò:t** *to jump, spring*, Kuy **lò:t** *to jump*, Sre **lot** *to go*, Chrau **lo:t** *to run (away)*. (Cf. B61.)

†1081 *lut; *luut; *luət; *lət; *lat; (*lut-s &c. >) *luc; *luuc; *luəc; *l[ə]c to slip (off, down).

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **lūt** *to slip away, to let go of*; ~ (*[r]mlut >) Bahnar **təblut** *to cave in*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer **rəlù:t**, **ləlù:t**, Stieng **rəlu:t** *to abort, give birth prematurely*, Biat **[prah] rlo:t** *to fall [head over heels]*; ~ (*[r][b]luut >) Biat **rblo:t** *to slip off*, Vietnamese **trượt** *to slide down*; ~ Palaung **plut** *to take off [clothes &c.]*, Vietnamese **trút** *[rain] to pour; to shed [load], to yield up [soul]*; ~ Bahnar **hlūt** *to fall into a trap* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **lot** /lot/, Modern Mon **lòt** *to fall prone*, Lawa Bo Luang **[hlai?] luat** *[rain] to fall*, Vietnamese **lọt** *to slip into, pass through, fall into*; ~ (*[r]mluət >) Jölong **təbluət** *to slip, to slip from hand &c.* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **sibluat** *to shake out, shake off*; ~ (*[t]rluət >) West Bahnar **təduat** *[tool] to fly off handle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **lət** *to abort (v.t.)*; ~ **rlət** *to slip off*.

E: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **phlòət** *to falter...*, (— **sniət**) *slip up*.

F: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi **loit** *to take off, undress, untie, detach* (or H?), Vietnamese **lột** *to strip off, to slough* (rather than A); ~ Sre **pluc** *to come loose, fall off* (→ Röglai), (or H?) Khasi **phloit** *[ring round handle] to come off*.

G: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung **lut**, Mon also **luit** *to take off [clothes &c.]*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-lo:ic-[həŋə]** *to slough*, Nancowry **ʔitlúc**, **ʔitlíc** *to skin, to peel*; ~ Khmer **plœc** *slippery*; ~ Khasi **[kaba mih] phylluid** *prolapsus*; ~ Bahnar **təplœc** *to lose hold of [fish]*.

H: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **lùac** *to skin, to take off*; ~ Bahnar **təblœc** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **təbluəc** *to slip, to slip from hand &c.*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **klúac** *to slip*, (or F?) Khasi **khloid** *to dislocate*.

I: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **lac** *to fall out through hole*, Central Rölöm **lac** *to fall* (BLOOD 1976); ~ Mendriq, Jah Hut **bəlac** *smooth*; ~ Kuy **slec**, **lhec** *to slip*, Temiar **səlej** *smooth*.

Cf. 1076 ***lit** &c. *slippery, to smear on*, with perhaps mutual contamination Connect as causative 856 ***luc** &c. *to steal*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

Sora **pa'lud-**, '**pa:lo:d-** to *slip through*; ~ Kharia **ǰə'ɓ'd** *slippery, to slip*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 259; Proto-Munda ***ǰələd**); Sora **ǰə'loj-** (beside **ǰə'lo:-**) to *slide*.

1082 *luut; (?) *luət to err.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lūt** to *commit a fault*, Palaung **lut** *fault*, (MILNE 1931) to *err*, Praok **lut** to *err*; ~ Middle Mon [**byi**] **plut** to *impute blame*, Modern Mon **plut** to *slander, traduce*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***luuc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V107; *-c?); (~?) Riang-Lang **plut** to *repent*.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **plòt blot** [**plèt**] to *miss the mark, go astray* (or < 861 ***[b]lac?**).

1083 *[]luut; *[]luc to sprout.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **lūt**; ~ Middle Mon **klut**, Modern Mon, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khluuc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V108; *-c?); ~ Middle Mon **talut** to *cause to spring up*, Modern Mon **kələt** to *plant*.

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **shylluit** to *bloom*.

Perhaps ***t₂l-** or ***cl-**, Khmer by back-formation; Khasi **then** by progressive assimilation < *-**ut**? Connection uncertain Kharia **kə'le'd** *bamboo shoot*, &c., PINNOW 1959 256 (Proto-Munda ***qəlit**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58)

1084 *luət; *luus; *luəs to draw out.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lòt** *drawplate*, Palaung **luət**, Praok **lət** to *draw out*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **luat** to *draw out, take out*; → Shan **lòt** to *witharaw [bolt]*; ~ (?***luət luət** > ***t₁luət** >) Riang-Lang **truat** to *draw out*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang **lu:yh** to *pluck feathers*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lù:əh luəs** to *draw (out), cut strips off; wire, cord*, &c., Stieng [**se:**] **lu'h** *brass wire*; → Thai **lûat** *wire*, → Kuy **lūt**.

A hardly all ← Tai ← C; the same final variant between 1078 ***laat** and 191 ***laas**. Cf. Röglai **ləh** to *withdraw*; ← a variant ***ləs**?

(SMITH 1972 509.)

1085 *kl[ɔɔ]t kind of creeper from which ropes are made.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng [**tə:m**] **klət**, Sre **klot** (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **klət** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Semang **hadlud** *Daemonorops species (?)* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 41?

(SHAFFER 1965 67.)

1086 *[c]laat frightened.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **hlit** to *flee in terror*

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **lat**, Lawa **hlat** to *be afraid*; ~ (***[c]blaat** >) Khmer **cùmlì:ət**, Bahnar **pəlìt** to *frighten* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& by levelling **pəhlit**); ~ (***[c]rlaat** >) Kuy **ra:t** to *be afraid of [someone]*.

Bahnar fronting probably normal in context. Cf. 857 ***klaac**.

(***clu(u)t** see 1083 *[]**luut** to sprout.)

1086a *[t]læt; *[t]læt to be folded back.

A: (Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy **k(ə)læt** to roll up, fold back, turn inside out; ~ (→) Sre **plot** to folded back (DOURNES 1950); by secondary derivation ~ Sre **tərplot** to folded back.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **rlæt** to be turned up, folded back; ~ **plæt** to be turned up, folded back.

Or ***plə(ə)t** by metathesis < 1029 *'[l]pæt to fold, Kuy by secondary derivation?

(***t₂lu(u)t** see 1083 *[]**luut** to sprout.)

1087 *[t]luæt (whistle) flute.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **lu:t** [tu:t], Khasi (compounding form!) [ʼdong] **lot-lot**; ~ Mon **kəlot talot** &c.

Earlier *[t]luy [t]luy, connected Khmer **khloy**?

1088 ***t₁luæt**; ***t₁læt**; ***t₁læt** to swallow.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric; ~ ***t₁nluæt** >) Kammu-Yuan **klùat** to swallow [sth. large], Vietnamese **nuốt**, Central Nicobarese **cínlu:ət-[həʃe]** to swallow.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₁blæt** >) Riang-Lang **təklat** to swallow.

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ ***t₁mlæt** >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmlə:t**, Praok **bluət** to swallow.

Originally perhaps all ***t₁nl-**, > ***t₁ml-** by dissimilation, denasalized in Riang-Lang Cf. 1201 ***lu[u]n** &c.

(***plə(ə)t** see 1086a *[t]læt to be folded back.)

1089 *[s]luut (& *[s]lut?) deaf.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hlut**, Riang-Lang **lut**, Praok **lut**, Lawa Bo Luang **hlauk**, Lawa Umphai **hlaut**, Mae Sariang **hlaut** [suak]; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səlút**; by secondary derivation (*-ut?) ~ Khasi **kyllut**.

†1090 ***wit**; ***wiit**; ***wiæt**; ***wæt**; ***wat**; ***waat**; ***wut**; ***wuut**; ***wuæt** to go round, curve, bend, turn.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **vùt** to stir repeatedly, beat, Bahnar **wit** curve, eddy (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (— **wi:ŋ**) to whirl round, (**wit wih**) (in) return, to return; (or B) → Malay **wet**, **uet** to turn by back-paddling, to waggle [finger], wriggle [buttocks], Iban **uit** to turn by back-paddling; ~ Sre **kuit** (& **kuet**) to bend back; ~ Khasi **kyrwit** round, turn.

- B:** (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **wì:t** *dizzy*, Riang-Lang **_vit** *to surround; to turn round, stir round and round*; ~ Sre **kui:t** *bent, to bend (v.t.)*; ~ Lawa Umphai **rawit** *to surround*.
- C:** (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Chrau **wè:t** *to turn round*, Bahnar **wēt** *to turn [e.g. collar] back* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **_viet** *to wring [clothes]*, Praok **vət** [və] *to change direction*, Lawa Bo Luang **wiat** *to turn*, Khasi **wiat** *to bend [bow]*, Temiar **wē:d** *giddy* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar **ruet** *to wring [clothes]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- D:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng **uə:t**, Bahnar **wət** *time, (recurrent) occasion* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has Bahnar **wə:t**, **wɜ:t** *to turn (v.t.)*), Kammu-Yuan **wùt-[rəŋwùt]** *[many] wagging, wagging, Khasi wet-wet [to go] round hurriedly*.
- E:** (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **wat** *time*; ~ Khmer **khvat-[khvaen]** *intertwined, meandering*, Biat **kwat** *hooked, bent back*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kətwət** *to wag, wave*; ~ Mường **quăt** *to bend* (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **quăt** *to turn (v.i.)*; ~ Khasi **kyrwat** *turn of path*.
- F:** (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vì:t** *to turn boat by paddling*, Stieng **ua:t** *to wag [tail]*, Bahnar **wat** *circular, to encircle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **quăt** *to fan, to winnow*; ~ Khasi **kyrwad** *turn*; ~ West Bahnar **təwət** *to turn (v.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- G:** (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_wot**, **_vot** *to be bent, crooked, to arch*.
- H:** (Palaungic) Praok **vut** *to turn away (v.i.)*.
- I:** (Bahnaric) Bahnar **wə:t** *to turn (v.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Chrau **[rəwi:] rəwə:t** *dizzy*.
- G-I secondary.** Connect besides Sre **kuet** (above, **A**; ~ **tərkuet** caus.) Sre **wè:t** *to turn round (v.i.t.)*; & **862 *wic** &c. *twisted*. Add **B73 *wiət** *to repay?*
Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to circle, wind* (or : **1794 *wi(i)l?**).

1091 *wat; *waat to throw.

- A:** (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **vəət**, Kammu-Yuan **wat**.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa **wat**.

1092 *kwit; *kwiət; *kwət to beat.

- A:** (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **kwut** *to lash*; ~ Khasi **kyrwit** *to beat with stick, kyrwit to beat*.
- B:** (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **hviət** *small stick*; (~) Khasi **kawiat** *to beat with sth. small*.
- C:** (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Palaung **hvət** *to hit with small stick* (MILNE 1931), (!; ?) Vietnamese **quăt** *to whip, beat*; ~ (***krwət** >) Halang **wot** *to hit*, Praok **sivət** *to beat, flog*.
Vietnamese tone obscure. Note Gölar Bahnar **huat** *to whip*; Palaung **hviən** *to hit*; Khmer **rəvəc** **ravic** *to swish to and fro*. Cf. **1037 *rbət** *to whip, thresh with flail*.

(***[g]wat**, ***gwaat** see **867 *kwaac** *to scratch*.)

1093 ***rwia̯t** *subject to fits, mad.*

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **rəvət** (*to go*) *mad*, Central Nicobarese **əroa̯t** *fits, spasm, convulsion*, (**əroa̯t -paiyuh**) *mad*.

Assuming (i) *-**wi-** inhibits Nicobaric ***r** > **y**, (ii) *-**wia̯-** > *-**wia̯-** > **-oa̯-**.

Connection uncertain Bahnar **hawɛ:n**, **hawɛ:ŋ** *mad* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1094 ***[r]wət**; ***rwə̯t**; ***[r]wəc**; ***rwə̯c** *inattentive, to forget.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon) Old Mon **wit** /**wət**/, Modern Mon **wət** *to forget*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***thəwət** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V144), Biat **rwət rwət** *vague, obscure*, Chrau **[cwt]** **ləwət** *to faint*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **rwu:t** *imprudent, careless*.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **wait-[ŋəyən]** *to forget*, Nancowry **wác** *to miss a target*.

D: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***rawuuuc** *carelessly* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect (via a form ***s-rwi(i)c?**) Stieng **auic**, Sre **hui?**, Chrau **huc** **[cɛʔ]** *to forget*; Bahnar has **hiə̯t**.

1095 ***swiit**; ***swia̯t**; ***swat** *to wither.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer) **svət** *not as when new or young..., to wither*, Kuy **swet**, **fet**, Praok **vit** *to wither*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **wúat** (& **wúat**) *to shrivel, shrink*, Palaung **hviət** (MILNE 1931) (& Palaung **hiət**; contaminated by 1101 ***suət**, which compare?) *to wither*, Riang-Lang **˜viet** *wrinkles, to be wrinkled, to wither*.

C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer (GUESDON 1930) **svāt'** *to wither*; ~ Vietnamese **quắt** *to shrivel, shrink, dry up, be wizened*.

Khmer has further **svə̯t** *flaccid*; (GUESDON 1930) **svöt** *to wither*. Cf. also 980 ***sɲuət** *to dry up*. (Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 525.)

1096 ***swat**; ***suət** *thin, small.*

A: (Mon, North & South Aslian) Middle Mon **swat**, Modern Mon **hwət** *to be small*, Sakai **wat** *thin* (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 65); ~ Old Mon **sunwat** /**səmwət**/ *small; child*, Modern Mon **həmot** *child*, Pangan **hamad** *thin* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **kərhuət** *to be thin, slender* (MILNE 1931).

1097 ***siit**; ***siət** *to comb.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sət**; ~ Khmer **snət**, Chrau **səni:t** *comb*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng, Biat **nət**, Central Rölöm **niət** *comb*; ~ Semang **könsiet** *comb* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 210A).

Cf. Bru **nci:ʔ** *to comb*.

(BLOOD 1966 93.)

1098 *siit; *siət to stop up.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **se:t** to plug up; ~ Biat **nche:t** to plug up; ~ Stieng, Chrau **səpɛ:t**, Sre (→ Röglai) **səmpit**, Biat **mpe:t** stopper, cork.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **siət**, Kuy **si:t** to insert in sheath, slot, &c., Stieng **siət** to stop up.

(* []siit see 1103 *[s]rsiət kind of tree.)

1099 *sut; *suut kind of bee.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **sut** small kind of bee, Stieng **su:t** (or B?), Chrau **suut**, Biat **chot** bee.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?South Aslian) Bahnar **su:t** large kind of bee, Kammu-Yuan **hu:t** kind of bee, Besis **shūht** small wild bee (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 140; or A?).

Connect 873 *suc &c. to sting?

(SHAFFER 1965 253; SMITH 1972 218.)

1100 *suut to sharpen; sharp.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **sout**, Chrau **so:t**, Biat **cho:t** sharp, Khasi **shut** to sharpen.

(BLOOD 1966 17.)

1101 *suət to dry up.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng **suət**, Sre **suat** dry, dried up, Chrau **suət** to dry up, Biat **chuat**, **chwat** to (get) dry, Rōngao **tsət** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *soot [stream] to dry up (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect Kuy **sʔa:t** to be dry; & cf. Kuy **se:t** to dry up, Bru **thre:t**; & cf. 980 *sɣuət to dry up; 1095 *swiit &c. to wither.

(BLOOD 1966 84.)

(*suət see also 1096 *swat thin... .)

†1102 *gsuut to rub.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar **su:t** to rub (on), wipe, Palaung **sut** to rub, Nancowry **sút** to rub; ~ Biat **rchu:t** to rub on, Khasi **kyrshut** to rub, scour, Pangan **gersoyd** to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 194); ~ Mintil **ngəsōt** to wipe.

Cf. 879 *khuc &c. to wipe, wash; & Central Nicobarese -**ʃe:c-** to (wipe) clean, Nancowry **séc** (rather < *cʔaʔ-s?).

(SMITH 1972 219.)

Sora **go'soid-** to wash, wipe (& with variant vocalism **go'sad-** to wipe dry), Kharia **gʷsəʔ** to anoint, &c. (PINNOW 1959 207).

(***psi(i)t** see 1903 ***ptis** *fungus*.)

1103 ***[s]rsiət**; ***[]siit** *kind of tree*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **kəset** *Pentace burmanica*, Khmer **trəsiət** *Pentace* sp. (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Bru **kasiat**; → Burmese **kasac**[*khā:*] *Pentace burmanica*; Thai **sīsiət** *Pentace burmanica*, *Acacia catechu*.

B: (Katuic, ?Palaungic) Kuy **se:t** *Acacia farnesiana* (?; Thai **kràt^hin**), perhaps (~?) Riang-Lang [**khe?**] **khit** *Dolichandrone* spp.

1104 ***hiit**; ***hət** *to sniff, pant*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, North Aslian) Khmer **hət** *to sniff (at), inhale*, Stieng **hi:t** *to sniff; cold in the nose*, Bahnar **he:t-he:t** *to pant, be out of breath*, Mường **hút** *to smell* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 106), Vietnamese **hút** *to inhale*, Pangan **häd** *smell* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 292 (a)).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer **hət** *to be out of breath*, Biat **hət** *to be out of breath; cold; tobacco*, Bahnar **hət** *(to smoke) tobacco*, Bru **het** *to sniff*, Central Nicobarese **hət-[hətə]** *to smell*, Nancowry **hüt** *to sniff*.

Cf. Khmer **hət** *asthma* (→ Kuy, Biat **hu:t**); **1106** ***hut** &c. *to suck...*; **1294** ***hiip** &c. *to suck in, to inhale*.

1105 ***hat** *narrow, crowded*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau **hat** *crowded*, Sre **hat** *narrow, restricted in size*, Biat **hat** *narrow*, Bahnar **hat** *crowded together* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (BLOOD 1966 351.)

***1106** ***hut**; ***huut**; ***huət**; ***huc**; ***huuc**; ***huəc** *to suck, drink*.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **hot** *to suck up, to (swallow in one) gulp*, (or B) Stieng **hu:t** *to inhale, to suck up last of drink*, Nancowry **ʔitjót** *to suck*; ~ (***huc-hu(u)t** > ?) Kensiu, Sabum **jəhud** *to suck* (& Kintaq Bong **jət**, Temiar **jəd**?).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Vietnamese **hút** *to suck, inhale*; ~ Thin **hmut** *to suck up*, (~?) Praok **ɣət** (!) *to nose-kiss*, Lawa Bo Luang **hjaɯk**, Lawa Umphai **hjaut** *to smell*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer **hu:ət** *to absorb water and dry up quickly* (contaminated by **1101** ***suət**); ~ (***huəc-huət** > ?) Biat **chuat** *to absorb*; ~ (***cnhuət** > ?) Palaung **pu:t** *to absorb, suck up* (MILNE 1931), Teresa-Bompoka Nicobaric **pu:t-[hətə]** *to suck*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **huc** *to drink [water]*, Temiar **huj** *to sip* (BENJAMIN 1976B 138); → Jarai **huc** *to drink from a glass*.

E: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **ho:c** *to sip [hot liquid]*, Chrau **hu:c** *to drink*, Bahnar **hu:c** *to drink from spoon*, (so probably, rather than B) Jeh **hut** *to drink, suck*, Halang **hu:t** *to drink*.

F: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **hɔ:c** *to drink by sipping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **huy?** *to drink [soup] from spoon*, (or C) Acehnese **uət** *to swallow*.

Note semantic consistency of forms with each final; *-c by expressive deformation?

Munda supports their unity. Connect perhaps 1104 *hiit &c. *to sniff...*; 796

*[c?]u(u)c *drunk*; but connection dubious 829 *bu(u)c *to suck*; or Mon sòt **jrot** &c. *to suck*.

(SHAFFER 1965 274; SMITH 1972 243; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (b).)

Kharia **u'd** *to drink, to sip*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 142).

Proto-Austronesian *u[d₁]u[d₁]: Malay **udut** *to smoke*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159;

Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay; →

Thai **dùut** *to suck, to absorb*, Shan **lūt** *to smoke*, → Riang-Lang [i] **ˀdut** *tobacco*).

See BENEDICT 1975 401.

1106a *[k]hɔ:t *to dry up*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon **khɔt** [*e.g. plaster*] *to dry*, Bahnar **khɔ:t** [*water*] *to dry up*, Bru **khɔ:t** *to evaporate*.

1107 *[k]huut; *[k]hu(ə)t *to call*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **khut** /**khut**/ *to call, summon*, Modern Mon **khut** *to name*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **khót** *to call, summon, denominate*.

(*chiit, *chait see 949 *c?iit *to confine, restrict*.)

1107a *chət *insipid, tasteless*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **chət**, Palaung **cət** (MILNE 1931).

1108 *chut; *chuət *to escape, to deliver*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **chət** *to be healed, saved, to heal, save*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **chót** *to avoid, escape, not to be*, Palaung **cuət** *to deliver, disenchant* (MILNE 1931).

Connect obscure Vietnamese **thoát** [**khỏi**] *to escape*.

1109 *jhuut *to go backwards*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mon **chut** **chut** *to go back, backwards* (→ Burmese **chut**), Vietnamese **tụt** *to slide down, fall behind* (contaminated by **trụt**, ~ 1081 *luut *to slip*); ~ Proto-Semai *krɣɣɛt *to go backwards* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect 876 *huc &c. *to decrease...*?

1110 *[t₁]hat *to excess*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Old Mon **thatta** /**thət**/ [*earth to quake*] *violently*, Khasi **that** [*to shake, tremble, stink*] *very much*; → Acehnese **that** *excessive, very*.

Cf. following.

1111 *dhat *thick, well-built.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon **that** *to be powerful, severe* (separate probably Old Mon **thatta**, see preceding), Modern Mon **thot** *to be strong*, Khmer **thət** *to be fat* (→ Biat [deh] **rdhot** *thickset*, with secondary prefix?), Palaung **hət** *to be thick*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭhət** *to be thick*; ~ Old Mon **dirhat** / **dərhot** / *strength, magnitude*, Modern Mon **səṭhot** *strength*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20.)

1112 *phat; *phaat *to distribute, disburse.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phat** *to spread evenly, sprinkle, dissipate, to repay [debt]*, Biat **phat** *to hand over*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **pha:t** *to pay, repay, (tam —) to distribute* (→ Röglai **pha:**), Vietnamese **phát** *to distribute*.

1113 *phut *to cease.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **phuit** *to cease, to sever*, Khmer **phot** *end; to cease, to end, exceed, come up to*.

Connect probably **875 *huc** &c. *finished*, **1539 *həy** &c. *finished*.

1114 *rhat *rotary device.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **hot** *spinning-wheel, cotton gin, windlass of well, sugar-cane crusher* (→ Burmese **rahat** *spindle, wheel*), Khmer **rəhat** *spindle, winder, rotary machine*; ~ (***rnhat** >) Kuy **ṛhat** *spinning-wheel*.

(***lhiet** see **953 *lʔiit** ...*slippery*; ***lhəet** see **954 *lʔuət** *wet, cold*.)

(***ʔiən** see **882 *ʔa[i][n]** (*elder*) *brother*.)

†1115 *ʔ[anʔ; *ʔən[] *3rd person singular pronoun.*

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bru **ʔan**, Palaung **ən**, Riang-Lang **ṭnʔ** *3rd person singular pronoun*, Vietnamese **hắn** *he, she*, Central Nicobarese **ən** *3rd person singular pronoun*, Nancowry **ʔən**.

- B: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Stieng **ə:n** *who, what, which?*, Riang-Lang **_an** *clause-subordinating particle*; → Shan **án** *which* (or ← A, or ad Praok **an**, below; then → Riang-Lang?).

Connect Praok **an** *that, in this* (< ***ʔaa-n**, ***ʔii-n?**); ~ Palaung **nan** *this*, Praok **nan** *thus*, probably → Shan **nần** *that*, **nán** *thus*, **nàn** *there*.

Sora **'an[in]** *3rd person singular pronoun*.

1116 *ʔaa[n] *tray of betel-box.*

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **an** [**hədoʔ**], Palaung **an**.

Or ***-n**.

(*ʔain see 882 *ʔa[i][ɲ] (elder) brother.)

1117 *ʔən to be, exist.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **ən** to exist, to have, Riang-Lang **ṭan** to be the case, be true.

1118 *ʔɔn to be small in quantity.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **'an** /ʔɔn/ to have few, little of, to lack, Modern Mon **on** to be small in quantity, to lack, Khmer **ʔɔn** to diminish; → Cham **'an** diminution.

Mon vowel raising regular, as following nasal?

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 28.)

1119 *ʔun; *ʔuun; *ʔuən; *ʔan; *ʔaan to give.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **uun**.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **ù:n**.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **ʔa:n**, Bru **ʔõ:n**.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar **an**, Thin **ʔăn**.

E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau, Biat **a:n**.

Vocalism obscure, though E probably secondary.

†1120 *ʔuun (& *ʔun?); *ʔən to place, put.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔŭn** (< *ʔun?), Palaung **un**, Praok **uun** to place, put (down), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔauŋ** to make [e.g. promise], put.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **ən** to place, put, Biat **ɔn** to keep, Khasi **en** [rob] to dress, put on.

Kharia **un** to put, keep. (PINNOW 1959 377).

1121 *[ʔuun[]; *[ʔən[s] to hide.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **o:n** v.t., Riang-Lang **ṭun** to be hidden, to hide.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ẩn** to hide (v.i.).

Perhaps *[t]ʔ-, ~ following Cf. 1168 *[d]puun &c.

(*cʔən see 951 *cʔ[ə]t sated, cloyed.)

1122 *[t]m[ʔ]uun; *[t]m[ʔ]uən; *[t]m[ʔ]aan false, untrue.

A: (Mon, ?Nicobaric) Mon **həmɔn** *thamun*, *samun* to be untruthful, to be untrue (or Mon < *mun cf. 1185), ?Nancowry **ɲŭn** lie (suggests *snʔuun).

B: (Palaungic) Praok **muan** [ti pɛ len] to falsify.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *man* to be false.

~ preceding? Probably not *sm-, since *sbmuən > Praok **simuan; but perhaps *dmʔ-, if further connected 1168 *[d]puun &c. to hide.

1123 *lʔaan path.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **dan** path, Khmer **da:n** path, trail, scent (& by levelling **lʔa:n**) (→ Cham **ḍan**); ~ Khmer **lùmʔa:n** path, trail, scent.

1124 *lʔun; *lʔuun; *lʔuən; *lʔən soft, tender.

A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer **don** soft, weak, Old Mon **lu'in** /ləʔən/ to soften, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ləʔun** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V149).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **on** [meat] to be tender (MILNE 1931).

C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **ḍ:n** soft, mild, pale, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **non** to be tender, young, weak; ~ (***lmʔuən** >) Bahnar **rəmuan** (→ Jarai **r̥muan**) soft, flexible; ~ Pangan **tələmoyñ** soft (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 335 (b)).

D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **ḍon**, Khmer **tùən!** to be soft, Kuy [lʔi:] **lʔən** limp, unresisting, Sre **lən** (& **də:n**) docile, (easy to) tame, (probably =) **lən** young, tender, Praok **ɔn** to be soft, tender, ?Nancowry **ḡón** soft; ~ (***lmʔən** >) Sre **ləbən** soft, Biat **rban** (→ Chrau **ləvan?**) soft, flexible, Bahnar **rəmən** soft, flexible, weak, debilitated; → Cham **laman** tender, weak, Röglai **ləhmən** soft, North Röglai **lahmĩn** soft, tender.

Khmer at D obscure; Middle Khmer **pantan** to soften is regular. Cf. 909 ***ḍuun** &c. soft; & Bahnar **həbo:n** soft and springy.

(SMITH 1972 74)

1125 *kiən to gnaw.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng **kie:n**, Sre **kian**, Biat **cian**, Kammu-Yuan **kíḍṇ** (!); (?) ~ Vietnamese **ghen** to be jealous, envious.

Connect 957 ***kiit** &c. to bite...; & cf. Mon **kəhèn** **gañen** to gnaw (< ***ngiən?**); Khmer **ʔəŋkiəm** to chew at, nibble. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 28.)

†1126 *kan; *kaan woman, female.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **kan** female [animal], Bahnar **[dra]kan** woman, female, Thin **kũn** woman, girl, Lawa Bo Luang **kəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **kən** female [animal]; ~ Bahnar **akan** wife, Kammu-Yuan **cəmkũn** woman, Thin **cəmkũn** girl, woman.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ka:n** wife, Nancowry **kán**.

Add Kammu-Yuan **kəm[ràʔ]** wife, &c., by contraction (Khmuic; under the entry 183 ***mraʔ**).

(SHAFFER 1965 44; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 64.)

Kharia **kən[səl'duʔ]** woman (≠ child —for which see following— in view of **kəḍpəʔuʔ** man?), Sora **ən[sə'lo:-]**, **in[selo:-]**, **un[sə'lo:-]**, &c. (cf. PINNOW 1959 330).

(***kun** see 892 ***kuj** to bend down... .)

†1127 ***kuun** (& ***kun?**); ***kuən** *child*.

A: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **kon**, **kvan**, Modern Khmer **ko:n**, (***kun** > ?) Khasi **khun** /**khun**/, Nancowry **kón**.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Asian) Old Mon **kon** /**kon**/, Modern Mon **kon**, Kuy **ka:n**, (Stieng **ko:n**, Sre **kon** ← ?) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kɔ:n**, Jeh **ko:n**, Halang **koan**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:n**, Palaung **kuən**, Riang-Lang **ṭkuan**, Praok **kɔn**, Lawa **kuan**, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **con**, Temiar **kəwət**, Central Nicobarese **ko:ən**, Nancowry **kúan**; ~ Bahnar **kəno:n** *number of a woman's births* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semai **kəno:n**, Semelai **kənən** *child*.

~ 1187 ***kmun** &c. *sibling's child?*

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 4; BLOOD 1966 57; SMITH 1972 75; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 C 102.)

Sora **oʔo:n-ən**, compounding form 'o:n-ən, Kharia **kəŋ-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 205; Proto-Munda ***kɔ(:)n**).

(***kuun** see also 892 ***kup** *to bend down, bent*.)

1128 ***ŋkiən** []; ***ŋkən** []; ***ŋkuən?** *finger, toe*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **ken**, **təken** (Mon dialect also **təŋen**) *finger, toe*, Praok **gen** *finger*, Lawa Bo Luang [**ʔdɔih**] **kean** *little finger*, ?perhaps by metathesis Central Nicobarese **kəne**-[**tai**, **la:h**] *finger, toe*, Nancowry **kané** *hand*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang [**ʔdɔih**] **kəuŋ**, (!; with secondary lengthening?) Lawa Umphai **ŋgum** [**te?**] *thumb*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ngón** *finger, toe*.

*1129 ***d₁kan** *bamboo rat*.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi **dkhan** *hill-rat, mole*, (~?) Kammu-Yuan **təkán** *bamboo rat*; ~ Nyah Kur **ŋkán**.

(Proto-Austronesian ***dəkan**) Malay **děkan** *bamboo rat*.

(***d₁kuun** see 892 ***kup** ...*bent*.)

1130 ***gan** *to cross*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gan** *to cross, go through*, Chrau **gan** *across*, Bahnar **gan** *to cross* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFER 1965 108; BLOOD 1966 344.)

1131 ***gən** *stable, enduring*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kòn** **gan** *to be original, primal*, Biat **gən** *stable, fixed*, Praok **kən** *still*, Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **còn** *to remain; still*.

Add, by assimilation, Old Khmer **gan** *to remain*, Modern Khmer **kùəŋ** *to stay, last out?*

1132 *t₁gin *to concentrate mentally.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **-tgin** /tɡɔn/ *to apply [mind]*; ~ Middle Mon **taguin**, Modern Mon **həkɔn** *to observe, keep [ritual practice]*, Palaung **təgen** *to consider well* (MILNE 1931).

1133 *pgeen *to offer to a superior.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **pəkìn**; ~ Old Mon **pirgin** /pərgin/, Khmer **prəkè:n**, Kuy **khè:n**; → Thai **prak^heen**.

1134 *pgan *to take hold of.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **pəkòn** *to yoke*, Literary Mon **bgan** *also to take hold of, come to grips*, Old Khmer **kān**, Modern Khmer **kan** *to hold* (→ Stieng **kan** *to take, accept*), Kuy **kan** *to carry, hold, in hands*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 61.)

1135 *t₁ɣun; *t₁ɣuən; *t₁ɣut *nape of neck.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **ɣu:n** [kɔu], Mendriq **ʔuɣut**, Temiar **taɣən** *neck*.

B: (Katuic) Bru **ɣu:n** *nape*.

C: (by assimilation: Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **təɣət** *nape of neck*.

Connection dubious Sre **jənkout**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 27.)

1136 *lɣ[uə]n; *lɣaan *dew.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[da:k]** **ɣu:n**.

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **[om]** **rəɣan**.

Vocalism unusual.

***1137 *ciin?** (> Pre-Bahnaric ***cin**); ***ciən** []; ***cain** [] *cooked.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon **cin**, Khmer **chʔɣn**, Stieng **si:n** (BLOOD 1966 **sin**), Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Sre, Bahnar **sin**, Jeh, Halang **cen**, Kammu-Yuan **sín** (*to be*) *cooked*, Palaung **sin**, Riang-Lang **˜sin** *to be cooked, ripe*, Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **chín** *cooked*; ~ Mon **həcin**, Kammu-Yuan **pənsín** *to cook*.

B: (Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar **cət** (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Proto-Semai ***cæ^dn** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **ɪʃi:an-** *cooked*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **cɛ:n** *to be ripe, cooked*.

Bahnaric, Palaungic appear to exclude ***ʔc-**, which Danaw **ă tsən** suggests.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 246; BLOOD 1966 145; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 237.)

Sora (**ə**-)'**sin-**, Kharia **i'sin** *to boil, bake, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 86).

1138 *ciin, (*ciin ciin >) *nciin to look at.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **si:n**, Chrau **se:n** to look at, (*nc- >) Vietnamese **nhìn** to look (at), stare.

1139 *cən; *cəən leg, foot.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chân** leg.

B: (Viet-Mường, ?North Aslian) Vietnamese **chơn**, (or A?) Kensiu **can** foot.

Cf. 538 *juŋ &c.

***1140 *cuun; *ciin to desire.**

A: (Palaungic) Riag-Lang **sun** to desire, wish to.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **sin** to desire, wish to, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **xin** to ask for.

(?) Sora **o:n-** desiderative/habitual prefix.

1141 *.caan to borrow.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör, Central Rölöm **ca:n** to borrow, Sre **ca:n** to borrow, hire, buy on credit, Bahnar **ca:n** [to buy] on credit (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Praok **san** debt.

(SHAFFER 1965 71; BLOOD 1966 287.)

1142 *[?]cuun to walk bent over.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Mon **cun** to walk with a stick, Sre **cun** to walk bent over (DOURNES 1950), ?Nancowry **sónsiri** to stop, bend, bow; ~ Old Mon **circūn** /**cərcun**/, Modern Mon **həcun** staff.

(***cnciən**[] see 1145 ***nciin**[] ring.)

1143 *[c]ncan; *[c]ncaan to brace oneself, kick off.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəcan** to brace oneself, be ready to spring.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **həcan** **dacān** &c. to push laterally against a firm surface, to brace, prop, (— **kri:p** **kləŋ**) to leap away, Biat **ncha:n** to leap away, take off with a bound.

1144 *dciin[?] (> Pre-Bahnaric *dcin); *dciit nine.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **se:n** (BLOOD 1966 **sin**), Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Sre, Bahnar **sin**, Vietnamese **chín**; ~ Bahnar **təsin**, Jeh **tacèn**, Halang **cəcin**.

B: (Mon) ~ late Old Mon **dincit** /**dəncit**/, Modern Mon **həcit**.

Earlier ***dciint**? But B perhaps by assimilation Cf. 1351 ***ctiim**; in view of Sora **'tim̩ji-**, **tin̩ji-**, &c., & Kharia **'təmsin̩** (PINNOW 1959 372) perhaps by metathesis from a common source, ***dciim**-(**t**[]) or the like.

(SHAFFER 1965 242; BLOOD 1966 145; SMITH 1972 50.)

†1145 *nciin[]; *nciən[s]; *nciən[] *ring*.

A: (Mon, North Aslian) Middle Mon *lacin*, Modern Mon *kəcin*, Pangan *chin* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (a)).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer *ʔənciən* (→ Stieng *nciən*), Kuy *ɲci:n*, Lawa Umphai *ɲjaim*, (by palatal absorption) Vietnamese *nhấn*.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *cancyan*, Modern Khmer *cənciən*, *cùənciən*, Bahnar *təkhien* (!; & dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, *tətia:n*, *təca:n*, &c.). (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

Sora *en'si:-n* (by popular etymology referred to *-si:-n hand*, : 244 *sii[?]). Proto-Austronesian **k'ink'in*: Malay *chinchin*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-West-Indonesian; Philippine langs. have **k'ink'ɪŋ*); probably → Central Sakai *chinchit* (&c., cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (b)).

Proto-Austroasiatic **ciinciin* or the like; C then contaminated by Indonesian.

Note Ancient Chinese *jiuən* 環 *large jade ring*, from which POU & JENNER 1973 no. 144 derive Khmer.

(**nciin* see 1138 **ciin* to look at.)

1145a **[p]cun*; **[p]cuun*; **[p]cuən* *shelter*.

A, B, C: (Bahnaric) Stieng *cuən* *temporary hut for travellers* (C), (B) Biat *cu:n* *shelter, shed*; ~ (A) Bahnar *bəsun* *hut, shelter* (& East Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, *pəsuən*: C).

1146 **jən* (> Waic **jiən*); **j[u]n* *heavy*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *jən*, Praok *cən*, Lawa Bo Luang *cian*, Lawa Umphai *chian*, *chuan*, Mae Sariang *chian*; ~ Riang-Lang *kəcan*.

B: (North Aslian) ~ Kensiu *hənjut*.

Cf. 52 **kjə?* &c.

1147 **jən*; **jəən* *back of knee*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *jən*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat [*chəŋ*] *jə:n* *hock* (or A?), Chrau *jə:n* *heel* [?], Bahnar *jə:n* *back of knee*.

†1148 **jun*; **juun* *to hand over, bring*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Old Mon *jīn* /*jən*/ *to make over, hand over*, Sre *jun* *to bring*, Biat *jun* *to convey*, Chrau *iun*, (or B) Semaq Beri *jon* *to give*; ~ (**jnjun* >) Mon *həyən* *to carry on shoulder*, Chrau *njun* *to hand over, to lead*, Biat *njun* *to convey, to send*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *jvan*, *jon*, Modern Khmer *cù:n* *to offer, to escort*, Kuy *chù:n* *to give back, to see off*, West Bahnar *je:n* *to bring, carry* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; with secondary vocalism); ~ Khmer *cùəncù:n* (& *ʔəncù:n*) *to carry*, Kuy *ɲchù:n* *to carry from one place to another*.

Cf. Biat **ncuan** to carry from one place to another.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 32, S 99.)

Sora **ʃʔu:n-** to be within reach, ~ **ab-ʃʔu:n-** to reach, present, place within reach, hand to.

1149 ***t₂jun** ***t₂juun** to bend knees.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂pjun** >) Riang-Lang **səkɔn** to squat.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) ~ (***t₂rjuun** >) Mon **həcùn** [animals] to sit, lie, crouch; ~ (***t₂njuun** >) Vietnamese **nhún** to lower oneself by bending one's legs.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect by interdialectal borrowing Sre **cu:n** **kəltəŋ** to kneel (→ Röglai). Cf. **938** ***chop**.

1150 *[**p**]jun; *[**p**]juun large kind of deer.

A, B: (Stieng, Central Aslian) Stieng **jun** largest kind of deer (A), (B) Sre **ju:n** *Cervus aristotelis*, Chrau, Biat **ju:n** deer, (A/B) Sakai **pajón** roed (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 81 (b)).

1151 ***ʔənʔ**; ***ʔəən**[] to receive, to suffer, endure.

A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon **ñin** passive auxiliary (or B), Vietnamese **nhận** to receive.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔn** to receive, accept, collect, Riang-Lang **ʔən** to bear, endure.

Cf. **883** ***ʔəŋ** to endure ...; earlier ***ʔəŋ ʔəŋ**, *-n by dissimilation? Connect perhaps also Semang **jid** to get, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 14.

1152 *[**ʔnɔn** near.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ñan** /**ʔnɔn**/, Modern Mon **ʔnɔn**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ʔan** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V152; implies *-an), Old Khmer **ñyan**, Temiar **ʔəŋn**. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198.)

1153 ***tin**[ʔ] to go up.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **tin** /**tɔn**/, Modern Mon **tɔn** to go up, come up, Proto-Nyah Kur ***tun** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V153; implies *-un), Mường **ténh** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **đến** to arrive (at), come (to), reach; ~ (? , ***tpin**[ʔ] > ?) Vietnamese **bến** landing-place, station.

Vietnamese tone perhaps levelled on derivation, if cognate. Khmer (elevated) **taən** to wake up, get up is ← Tai **tũun**.

1153a ***t₁een** to tread.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **te:n** to tread on, run over, Bru **kate:n** to tread, Kammu-Yuan **té:n** to tread, step, stamp.

Cf. **1195** ***lin**ʔ to trample.

1154 ***t₁un**; ***t₁uən** *to carry, bring.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **ton** *to bring*, Riang-Lang **ṭon** *to hold esp. in fingers, carry.*

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tu:n** *to carry on shoulder*, Palaung **ton** = **ton**.

1154a ***t₁uun** *(kind of) bamboo rat.*

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **ton tun** *Rhizomys cinereus*, Kammu-Yuan **tú:n** *kind of bamboo rat larger than rat sumatrensis.*

1155 ***[t₁]nt₁uun**; ***[t₁]nt₁uen**; ***[t₁]nt₁uət** *wrinkled.*

A: (Palaungic) Praok **dun**.

B, C: (Mon) Mon **hətot** (**həton**).

C contaminated by 997 ***ɲ[uə]t**, which compare?

1156 ***btuun**; ***btuən** *to recur, to repeat.*

A: (Mon, ?Katuic) Old Mon **tūn** /**tun**/ *to return, do again*, Modern Mon **ton** *to recur*, ?Kuy **to:n** & Bru **ntù:n** *to follow*; (?) → Burmese **turn**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **phtù:ən** *to repeat.*

(***dun** see 1741 ***dul** *hill*.)

1157 ***duən** *pole, lance.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon **don** *lance, pike*, Khmer **tù:ən** *fish-spear*, (**lùmpè:ŋ** —) *kind of lance*, Mường **tòn** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **đòn** *lever, carrying-pole*; → Thai **t^huan** *tasselled lance*.

1158 ***ɖ[uu]n** *to perch.*

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ḍūn** /**ḍun**/, Modern Mon **dun**, Central Nicobarese **ɖuən**-[**hətə**], Nancowry **rúan**.

Note, Nancowry fronts following **r** : so ***ɖuən**? Cf. 1357 ***dəm** &c. ...*to roost*.

1159 ***ɖuən** *wide hat of straw &c.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **du:ən**, Bahnar **ɖuan**, Vietnamese **nón**; ~ (***nduən** >) Stieng **duən**, Sre **ɖoan**, Chrau **ɖuən**; → Cham **don**, Jarai **həɖoan**, Jarai dialect **ɖuan**, Röglai **ɖuət**, North Röglai **ɖuat**.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence, for which cf. Khmer Connection dubious Khasi **shaton**.

1160 ***kɖan** *restricted in size.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **ɖən** *to be narrow, restricted in size*; ~ Old Mon **kuɖan** /**kəɖən**/ *to cause to contract*, Modern Mon **həɖən** *to make narrow*; ~ Bahnar dialects **hədan**, **rədan**, **sədan** *below average length* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1161 *kɗɔn to fish with a line.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **ɗɔn** (*k*)**ɗan**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cərndɛɲ** *fishhook* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V117a; implies *-**ɲ**), Central Nicobarese **koron**-[**hətə**] to fish with a line.

1162 *peen to thresh by trampling.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **pin** to thresh, Khmer **baen**, Stieng **phɪ:n!** to thresh by trampling, Riang-Lang **ṽpɛn** to tread on, thresh; ~ Chrau **mpɛ:n** to thresh by trampling.

Cf. Biat **ple:n**, under the entry **1195 *lin?**.

1163 *pən female.

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung [i]**pən**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔapəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rapən**, Mae Sarian **ɣapən**; ~ Praok **bon** female, (~?) Semelai **kəmpə:n** wife.

Perhaps cognate with Lawa is Old Khmer **prapvan** wife; Modern Khmer has **prəpʊən**, apparently contaminated by Sanskrit **prabandha-** band, tie, connection; Old Khmer may be connected Malay **pěṛəmpuan** woman, wife. See LEWITZ 1967.

(SHAFFER 1965 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 67.)

1164 *p[ɲən[] to wind, coil.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **pən** to roll [turban], Bahnar **pən** to bandage, wrap, wind on to reel, Palaung **pən** to screw in, to crank, turn, Riang-Lang [li] **pan** to rotate (?); → Shan **pǎn** to revolve; ~ Biat **mpən** to roll [turban], (or next?) Vietnamese **vǎn** to coil [turban, hair] round; ~ Palaung **kərpən** to turn round (v.t.).

Or ***pwən?**, causative ~ **1208 *wən?** coiled...?

(SHAFFER 1965 102.)

1165 *pən; *pan to sit on eggs.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pən**, Sre **pən** to sit on [eggs], Bahnar **pən** to take to one's bed, be confined to bed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar **ʔəpən** to nurse (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **pan** to sit on [eggs], Bahnar **pan** to take to one's bed, be confined to bed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Stieng vocalism perhaps related to that before stop, for which see **345 *pək**.

***1166 *pun?; *puən[]; *pan[]** four.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Palaung **phon** (!), Riang-Lang **ṽpon**, Praok **pon**, Lawa Bo Luang **paun**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **paun**, Mường **pón** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **bốn**; ~ Serting **həmpudn** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 250).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **pvan**, Khmer **bu:ən**, Kuy **pɔ:n**, Bru **pɔ:n**, Chrau **puən**, Biat **puən**, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **puan**, Central Nicobarese **fo:ən**.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **pan** /pɔn/, Modern Mon **pɔn**.

Palaung **ph-** by counting deformation on **phən** *five*, ~ 1214 *sən.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 24; BLOOD 1966 82; SMITH 1972 72.)

Kharia 'iʔpɔn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 397; Proto-Munda *-pɔn).

1167 *kpuun raft.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kbo:n**; ~ Biat **mpu:n**.

1168 *[d]puun; *[d]puən to hide.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **poun**, Chrau, Biat **pɔ:n** v.t.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **pù:ən** v.i., Stieng **puən** v.t.

Connect perhaps 1121 *[]ʔuun[] &c.; 1122 *[t]m[?]uun &c. *false, untrue*.

(BLOOD 1966 13.)

1169 *biən plump.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **[pòk] pèn** *to be fat, plump*, Khasi **pian** *short and stout*.

1170 *baan pedestal dish.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pàn**, Old Khmer **vān**, Modern Khmer **pì:ən**, Kuy **phì:an** *pedestal dish*, Palaung **ban** (*pedestal*) *tray; tin bath*, Mường **pàn** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **bàn** *table*.

Connect variously Thai **p^haan** *pedestal dish*, Shan **pàn** *wicker or wooden tray*; Burmese **ban**: *wicker tray*. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 2 derive all the foregoing, with Malay **puan** *large betel-box*, ← Ancient Chinese **b^huan** 盤 *vessel; tub, tray, dish, plate...*; Palaung in sense *tin bath* is certainly likely to be ← Chinese.

1171 *bən? time.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **bən** (*future*) *time*, Praok **pon** *time of day*, Mường **pận**, Vietnamese **bận** *time (quantifier)* (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

1172 *bən; bæən we (inclusive).

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **bən** *we*, Central Rölöm **ban**, Bunör, Bahnar **bən** *we (incl.)*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **bə:n**, Chrau **və:n** *we (incl.)*.

(BLOOD 1966 115; cf. SMITH 1972 58.)

***1173 *jban; *jbaan; *jbən; *jbəən girdle, skirt.**

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi **pan-** *what is tied round* (compounding form!), Sakai **aban** *cloth* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 173; !); ~ Khasi **jympan** *girdle*; ~ (*jrb- >) Mon **həpàn** *skirting-board round outside of house* (B; probably → Burmese **khā:pan**: *skirting-board, monk's girdle*), (A) Gölar Bahnar **həban** (*to put on*) *cloth skirt*.

C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon **hwən** (in sense) *coping [of well]* (or D; ?); ~ Sre **mbən** *to wrap [skirt &c.] round*, Biat **mban** *[woman] to put on [skirt]*; ~ Bahnar **aben** (contaminated by Cham, below), Kontum **bəben** *skirt*.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **jympien** *woman's undergarment*.

Bahnar vocalism in C post-palatal, cf. 1054 ***[s]yət**. Note Mon **həpət** *belt*; perhaps by back-borrowing ← Burmese **khā:pat** /**khəba?**/, ultimately connected 1032 ***bat** *to bind*.

Proto-Austronesian ***a(N)bən**: Cham **apən** *woman's waistcloth*, &c., Minangkabau Malay **amban** (& by metathesis **əmban**) *breastband for knapsack, saddle-girth*, Javanese **amběn** *(to fasten) skirt-girdle* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

1174 ***[j]baan**; ***[j]buun** *bridge, causeway*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **svān**, Modern Khmer **spì:ən** (→ Thai **tàp^haan**, **sap^haan**), Kuy (th)**phì:an** *bridge*; ~ (***[j]rbaan** >) Mon **həpən** *highway*, (or Khmer →?) Stieng **səba:n** *bridge*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **pun** *to pave, to bridge over*.

Or ***so-**; then Kuy **th-** contaminated by Thai.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1175 ***dbaən** *to climb, scale*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **dwān** /**dwan**/ *to assault, march against*, Literary Mon **dwān** *to assault, to climb*, Modern Mon **kwən** *to climb*, Khmer **pì:ən** *to climb, to march against*.

1176 ***rbin**; ***rbən**; ***rban** *firm, secure*.

A: (Viet-Muong, ?Mon) Old Mon **rbin** /**rbən**/, Modern Mon **pən** *to be firm, secure* (or B), Muong **pèn** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **bền** *durable*; ~ (***rmb-** >; or B) Late Middle Mon **lamuīn**, Modern Mon **kəmən** *constantly*.

B, C: (Khasi) Khasi **lpən** *stoutly*; by secondary derivation ~ **pnen**, **pnan** *rigid*.

Add perhaps Khmer **lañbān'**, **rañbān'** *habit* (GUESDON 1930) (B/C; cf. Mon **kəmən**); & by metathesis Biat **nəp** (& **knəp**!) *firm, durable*. But Connection uncertain Palaung **mūn** *to be secure* (MILNE 1931).

1177 ***ḡan**; ***ḡaan** *interlaced*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) (Late Middle Mon **tḡan** [**tḡoy**] *to be thronged* contaminated by 910 ***tḡaṇ** *to twist (together)*, which compare,) Mon **bən** [**boa**] *to be interlaced, to throng*, Khmer **pḡən** *interlaced*; ~ Khmer **prəpḡən** *interlaced, heaped up*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **pì:ən** [**pì:ə**] *to be on top of one another*; ~ **prəpì:ən** *to pile on top of one another*.

heaped up &c. by attraction following.

‡1178 ***ḡun**; ***ḡuun**; ***ḡə[ə]n**; ***ḡut** to heap up.

- A: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Stieng **bun**; ~ Literary Mon *thaḡuin*, *saḡuin* to collect, amass (or C?), Biat **rḡon** to save (up).
- B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer **vvan**, Modern Khmer **pù:n**, Kuy **phù:n** to heap up, Biat **bu:n** to heap up, to amass, Jeh **bo:n** to stack (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **bun** /**buun**/ heap of leaves and branches for burning; → Thai **p^huun** to heap up to overflowing; Toba Batak **bun** to be plentiful (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 35, ***bun**; or A); ~ Biat **mbu:n** heap, Mae Sariang **moun** quantity, (or C) Praok **bun** sum, total.
- C: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Umphai **mbun** quantity.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **but** to have, possess, contain (?); ~ (***.nḡut** >) Sre **ḡut** heap, stack, mound.
- Cf. preceding; & note Biat **mbuc** heap (< ***.n[ḡ]uc**); Riang-Lang **ṽbuc** heap, band, share, to heap (< ***ḡuuc**).
- (SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
- Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bunbun**: Malay *bumbun* heaped up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 35; Proto-Hesperonesian; Tagalog doubtful, but other Tagalic cognates available); (ii) ***ta(N)bun**: Malay *tambun* heap, embankment, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125-6); (iii) ***tiNbun**: Malay *timbun* heap, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 312; 299, *gather...* (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 16.)

1179 *[**ḡ[ʷə]n**] to get, obtain.

- A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **bu:n** to get, obtain, to be able to, Kammu-Yuan **pùan** to get, to be able to, Palaung **bun**, Riang-Lang **ṽon**, Praok **pon** to get, obtain.
- Kuy suggests ***ḡ-**.

1180 ***[ḡ]ḡan**; ***[ḡ]ḡaan** relation by marriage.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar **ban** spouse's sibling's spouse of same sex as speaker (in double marriage alliance); ~ (***[ḡ]nḡan** >) Kuy **kman**, Sre, Biat **ḡan** daughter-in-law.
- B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon *gamān* /*ḡəmān*/, Modern Mon **həman** son-in-law.
- Derived perhaps by contraction ***kuən ḡa(a)n**; then cf. for Middle Mon **g-** 903 ***k/n/dīn**.

1181 ***min** to carry in arms.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **mìn**; ~ Bahnar **kəʔmìn**; ~ Old Mon [**ʔboʔ**] *minmin* ?/**mn̄m̄on**/ nurse.
- (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

1182 *m[]iən ring round haft of dah &c..

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mìən**, Stieng **miən**, Biat **mɛ:n** (→ Sre, → Rōglai, **mɛ:n**?).

Or ***mwìən**, ~ **1208 *wiən coiled...?** Sre may reflect a variant ***m[]iin**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

1183 *man; *maan to be competent.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **man** to be skilled, able.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **mān** [not] to be able, Modern Mon **màn** to win, to be able, Old Khmer **mān**, Modern Khmer **mì:ən** to possess.

Connect obscure Bahnar **gua:n** to be skilled, able (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1184 *maan to work clay.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **mān** /**man**/ potter's establishment, Modern Mon **màn**, Kuy **mì:ən**, Bahnar **ma:n** to work clay.

Connect A92 ***mə(ɔ)n** to mould?

1185 *mun true, manifest.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_mɔn** truly, definitely, Vietnamese **mồn** [mốt] to be clear, evident, manifest, Temiar **mun** true (BENJAMIN 1976B 137).

1186 *mun[]; *muun?; *muən[]; *muut pimple.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **mùn** pimple, acne, Biat **mun** [ndɔŋ], Bahnar **mun** pimple; → Cham **mun**, North Rōglai [cara]mũn.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **mun** pimple (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese **mụn** boil, pimple; → Jarai **mu:n** acne; ~ Mon **kəmɔn paman!**, Hre **?mɔn**, Sedang **mɔn** pimple.

C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **mùan**, Central Nicobarese **mɔ:n** pimple; → Acehnese **muən**.

D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [nói] **mụt**.

Literary Mon spelling follows learned derivation from Sanskrit **pāman**. Connect Kuy **mìn** (< ***məp**?).

(SMITH 1972 61.)

†1187 *kmun; *kmuun; *kmuən sibling's child.

A: (Mon, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon **kmun** /**kmøn**/ nephew, Modern Mon **mən** sibling's child, (probably, rather than B) Semang **těmun** nephew (i.e. Lanoh; (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 41), by vowel metathesis Temiar **koman** sibling's child (BENJAMIN 1976B 133).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **mun** son's wife; ~ (***knmuun** >) Sre **kəmo:n** sibling's child; → Jarai **amɔn**, Rōglai **kəmo:n** sibling's child.

C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **kma:n**, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **mɔ:n** *sibling's child*, Jeh **mo:n**, Halang **moan** *nephew*, Kammu-Yuan **kəmɔ:n** *classificatory nephew*, Central Nicobarese **kəmo:ən-[ji-yɔ:l]** *cousin*, Nancowry **kamúansi** *family*; ~ Chrau **kəmo:n** *sibling's child*; → Cham **kamo:n**, North Röglai **kamuān**, Acehnese **kömuən** *sibling's child*.

~ 1127 ***kuun** &c. *child*? Cf. also 1497 ***[g]m[uu]y** &c. *sibling's child*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 56; SMITH 1972 76.)

Kharia **ki'min** *daughter-in-law*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 287; Proto-Munda ***kimin**?).

1188 *smin? *to feel kindly towards.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **[chān] smin** ?/smøn/ *to have compassion for*, Vietnamese **mến** *to be fond of*.

1189 *[s][n]muən *hog-plum, Spondias mangifera.*

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **səmoan** (→ Röglai **həmoan**), Chrau **səmuən** *hog-plum, Spondias mangifera*, West Bahnar **həmuən**, East Bahnar **səmuən** *kind of tree with edible leaves and fruit and medicinal bark* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **[soh] mon** (compounding form!) *kind of edible fruit resembling guava*.

1190 *yɔn *to weaken, ebb.*

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **yùən** *to droop, go limp*, Palaung **yɔn** *[population] to dwindle* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **yɔn** *to be poor*, Praok **yɔn** *to fall back, retreat*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **cɔn**, Lawa Umphai **con** *poor*.

***1191 *[t]yun; *[t]yuun** *(to) swing.*

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nyun >) Biat **phun** *to start [cradle] swinging*.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) Mon **cùn!** **[cèa]** *baby's swing*, (~) Kuy **yò:n** **[yì:a]** *swing, to swing*; ~ Riang-Lang **jun** *to swing*.

Mon **cùn**, Kuy **yì:a** by opposite phrasal deformation?

Proto-Austronesian ***t[]-Saiun**: Iban **tayun** *swing*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 115, *(CtT)**ayu(nN)**; Proto-Hesperonesian); ~ ***Saiun** *to swing* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13, ***ajun**; add Bikol **hayon hayon** *to swing arms*, &c.; → Sre **əyun** *sling cradle, to swing*, Bahnar **apun** *hammock*).

1192 *riən *to learn.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **riən**, Kuy **rì:n**, Stieng **riən**, Biat **rɛ:n**; probably → Thai **rian**, → Lawa Bo Luang **hlian**, Lawa Umphai **hrían**, Mae Sarian **hian**.

1193 *run; *ruun *Maranta dichotoma reed.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùn**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ru:n** *giant reed*.

Connect by metathesis Khasi **nor** *reed*?

1194 *[b]ruun (& *[b]run?) *intestinal worm*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **pərùn!** (by spelling pronunciation? **barun**, **mr̥un**), Khmer **prù:n**, Kuy **phrù:n**, Stieng **brun** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 has **bru:n**), Chrau **vru:n**, Biat **bru:n**.

Connection uncertain Vietnamese **trùn** worm.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)

†1195 *lin? (& *liin[]?) *to trample*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **l̥ən** *to tread on*; ~ Mon **pl̥ən** *to thresh by driving cattle or buffaloes over*, (variant, or contaminated by 1162 *peen) Biat **ple:n** *to thresh by trampling*; ~ (*[l̥]nlin? >) Vietnamese **nện** *to trample, ram down*.

Cf. 1153a *t̥een *to tread*.

Sora 'ale(:)n- *to thresh by trampling*.

1196 *[]liin *fat*.

A: (Bahnaric) → Röglai **li:n** *fat, robust*; ~ Sre **kəni:n**, **kənin** *fat, robust*, Biat **ŋle:n** *fat*; ~ Bahnar **ple:n** *fat*.

Connect perhaps (*drl̥ən >?) Khmer [trəlùk]-trəlùən *to be fat, plump*.

†1197 *liən *to apply manual pressure*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lèn** *to stuff, cram in*; ~ (*[l̥]nliən >) Palaung **niən** *to strangle, throttle*, (MILNE 1931) *to roll [rice] into a ball*.

Santali **lin** *to press with the hands*, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 335).

1198 *laan *to be deceitful*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **làn**; ~ Khasi **phlan** *to flatter, cheat, to pretend*.

Praok **len** *to deceive* is perhaps ← Shan **lén**.

1199 *lən; *l[a]n *time (quantifier)*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lần**.

B: (Mon) Mon **lòn lan** (or *luən?).

†1200 *lun (?); *luən; *lən (& *lan?) *to pass, to exceed*.

A: (Palaungic; probably, rather than B) Lawa Bo Luang **loan**, Lawa Umphai **lən** *very*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon **l(w)on** /lon/ *to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed, exceedingly*, Modern Mon **lòn** *also to go past*, Praok **luan** *to go past, to pass, escape*, Vietnamese **luồn** *to pass, sneak [through], slip underneath*; ~ Riang-Lang **pluan** *to project*; → Shan **pùn** *to exceed*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **lùən** *very, excessive (ly)*, (*lan >?) Biat **lan** *past, ago*.

Cf. Sre **lin** to exceed & Nancowry **lián** to reach, (-la) to overtake.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

Proto-Austronesian ***lauan** to overtake: Singhi **rawan**, Maranao **laoan** (BLUST 1970 no. 238; Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡1201 ***lu[u]n**; ***luən** to swallow.

A: (Khasi, North & South Aslian) Sakai **lüt** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 526); ~ Khasi **klun** to gobble, gulp, swallow, Besis **gəloyt**, **gəloyn** to swallow (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

B: (Bahnaric) Biat **rwan** (with **r-** by levelling on derivation), Stieng **luən**, Sre **loan**, Bahnar **luan**, **luən** to swallow; ~ Biat **rɣuan** to swallow; mouthful.

Kuy & Bru have **lù:n** & Pakoh **lo:n**, ← or contaminated by Thai **klun**. Connect 1088 ***t₁luət** &c.?

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***lunlun**: Malay **lulun**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 99); (ii) ***tələn**: Malay **tələn**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134). See BENEDICT 1975 402-3.

‡1201a ***luun**; ***luən** round, to roll.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **lu:n** to roll (up), turn back, wrap up, Biat **lo:n** to roll (up) (v.t.), Khasi **lun** [**pyllun**] perfectly round; ~ (***t₁luun** >) Biat **klō:n** to roll (up) (v.t.), roll into a ball; ~ Khasi **tyllun** to roll (v.i.); ~ Chrau **təklo:n** to roll up by secondary derivation; ~ Khasi **pyllun** (large and) round.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) ~ Stieng **ləpuən** ball of thread &c.; ~ (***bluən** >?) Vietnamese **tròn** to be round; ~ Khasi **pyllon** (small and) round; (?) ~ Mon [**to**] **pəlon** skein; ~ Bru **kalō:n** to roll into a ball.

Cf. Mon **lè lìn** to roll.

Proto-Austronesian ***l₁ulu:** Toba Batak **lulun** rolled up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 99, ***lulun**; DAHL 1973 § 15.5, 7-8). Cf. Li ***bluan** round, BENEDICT 1975 367.

1202 ***luən**; ***lən** to go, proceed.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **l(w)on** /**lon**/ to go in procession, Modern Mon **lòn** to go from place to place.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **lan** to go; ~ (***lnlən** >) Praok **nən** to accede, come on [**to**]. SCHMIDT 1905 58 compares Khmer **lùn** to canter.

1203 ***[k]lun** tadpole.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **klun** (→ Röglai **klut**), Chrau **[kə:n] klun**; ~ (***[k]plun** >) Bahnar **plun**.

Cf. 1793 ***luul**.

(SMITH 1972 60.)

1204 ***ɟlan**; ***ɟlaan** *restless*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **trăn** *to roll, toss (in sleep)*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klàn** *to be restless, fidget*, Khmer **chli:ən** *incoherent, garrulous* (TANDART 1935), (— **-pì:ən**) *aggressive, threatening*.

†1205 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***t₁ulan** >) ***t₁lan**; ***t₁laan** *python*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Mon **klən**, Old Khmer **tlann**, Modern Khmer **thlan**, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **klan**, Lawa Bo Luang [saʔəuŋ], **kləuŋ**, Lawa Umphai [saʔoiŋ] **klən**, Khasi **thlen**, **ʔlen**, Vietnamese **trăn** *python*, by vowel metathesis Che' Wong, Jah Hut **talun** *snake*; → Cham, Röglai **klan**, Jarai **tlán**, **klan**, North Röglai **tlát**, Acehnese [ulöə] **lhan** *python*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **tula:n** *python*, Nancowry **tulán**.

(SHAFFER 1965 89; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 321.)

By metathesis Sora **tunal**-[ʔa:d-] *python*.

1206 ***pliin** *marvellous, to marvel*.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (***p[p]liin** >) Sre **pəli:n** *miracle, magic act* (→ Röglai); ~ (***p[r]liin** >) West Bahnar **pəle:n** *to be wide-eyed, look startled* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1207 ***slin**; ***slin** *to go up*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Mường **lênh** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **lên**; ~ (***splin** >?) Mường **trênh** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **trên** *(to be) above, on*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **lian** *(to go) out*; ~ Praok **klian** *to lift*.

†1208 ***win**; ***wiin**; ***wiən**; ***wən**[ʔ]; ***wan**; ***waan** *coiled, to wind, bend*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **win** *curve, eddy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese [en]-**win** *(a)round*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [en]-**weenə** *zigzag*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer **vìən**, Bahnar **wə:n** *to curl up*; ~ Mon **kəwen** *to be curly*, Khmer **krəviən** *to roll up, curl up*, Central Sakai **kör-yuwen** *to be curly*, (~?) Vietnamese **khuyên** *circle, ring*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Chrau **wən** *to wear*, Biat **wən** [man] *to put on [waistcloth]*; ~ (***kwən**? >? ***kwən** >?) Vietnamese **quấn** *to be rolled round, to roll round*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **vəən** *to put round*, Bahnar **wan** *to roll up [e.g. thread]*, Vietnamese **văn** [vəo] *to be winding, tortuous* (& **oăn**-[oai] *to squirm, writhe*), Central Nicobarese [en]-**wən**-[hələ] *to wind, coil (v.t.)*, Nancowry **hawən** *to roll*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kwán** *to wind [thread &c.]*; ~ Lawa Umphai [maŋ] **mon** *circular*.

F: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **wuan** *to roll, wind*.

F secondary. Add perhaps following; **A98** *wan to wear round neck...; & as derivatives *pwən? = **1164** *p[]ən[] to wind, coil; *mwien = **1182** *m[]ien ring round haft... For Vietnamese *vấn* to coil round see *p[]ən[]; for *vấn* to wring..., **931** *wəp?.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(?) Kharia *ũĩ* to twist, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317; or : **931** *wip &c.?).

1208a *wiin; *wiən crippled, deformed.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer *khvɔn* cripple, crippled, Biat *khwi:n* disabled, infirm.

B: (Mon, Khasi; ~ *lwien > ?) Mon *wèn* to be crooked, deformed; ~ (*lmwien >) Mon *kəmèn* cripple, Khasi *lymmen* digitless extremity.

= preceding?

1209 *kwan to grip, hold.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *kuan* to clench, grip with [hand] (DOURNES 1950), Biat *kwan* to hold, Bahnar *kuan* to grasp and hold; ~ (*knwan >) Sre *kəman* to grip with [hand].

(SHAFER 1965 47.)

1210 *swaan nerve, sinew, tendon.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat *chwa:n*, Bahnar *hua:n*; ~ Chrau *sənwa:n* vein, tendon.

(SMITH 1972 64.)

1211 *san in high degree.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon *san* very, indeed, certainly, Bahnar [*suk*] *san* perfect [contentment] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *hun*, Lawa Bo Luang *həuŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *hən* (by attraction **1219** *hə(ə)n) to be many; ~ Khmer *sban* clear, certain, sure, clearly... .

Connect obscure Khmer *sùn* most, very (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1212 *[s]əən to wedge.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *sə:n* to wedge, peg, West Bahnar *tsən*, *tsən* to raise with wedges

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1213 *suun; *suən to mould, cast in a mould.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer *so:n* to shape, mould [clay, wax, &c.], (?) Chrau *su:n* to bear [child].

B: (Mon) Middle Mon *s(w)on* /son/, Modern Mon *son* to cast in a mould; → Old Burmese *swan*, Modern Burmese *swan:*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

1214 *suun; *suən; *sən five.

A: (Mon, South Aslian) late Old Mon *sūnna* /sun/ in compounds *five*, Modern Mon [cəh] *sən* *fif[teen]*; (by contraction **muəy suun* *one five*) ~ Old Mon *m̥sūn*, Modern Mon *pəsən*, Sakai *m̥sogn* *five* (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 158).

B: (Palaungic; so by contraction ~) Praok *phuan*, Lawa Bo Luang *phoan*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *phən*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang *ṭhan*, (by counting deformation on saw *four*?) Khasi *san*; (by contraction) ~ Palaung *phən*.

Cf. Kuy *sə:ŋ*.

(SHAFFER 1965 365.)

(**rnsən*, **rnsuun*, **rnsuən* see 1421 **rmsuum* *nest*.)

1215 *hiən asthma.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Muong) Sre *hian* *asthma*, *tuberculosis* (→ Röglai), Biat *hian* *asthma*, Bahnar *hiən* *to cough*, Bru *ḥən*, Vietnamese [*ḅinh*] *hen* *asthma*.

1216 *haan goose.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *há:n*, Palaung, Lawa Bo Luang *han* *goose*, Khasi *han* *duck*; ↔ Thai *hàan* *goose*, *swan*, Lao *haan*, Shan *ḥăn* *goose*; ~ Mon *əhan* *goose* (< **ṭəhan* by popular etymology < **ṭhaan* < **hnhaan*, cf. Late Old Mon *ṇa-* onomatopoeic prefix?); ~ (**kuən haan* > **kṇhaan* >?) Khmer *khṇa:n* (→ Biat *kṇa:n*), Kuy *ṇa:n*, Kammu-Yuan *ṇà:n* *goose*.

Connected further Sre, Röglai *tahən*; Cham *liṇu:n*. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 201 derive Khmer from prefix + Ancient Chinese *ṇan* 雁 *wild goose*; whence doubtless Vietnamese *ngan* *swan*, *wild goose*.

1217 *ha[a]n place.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *hān* /han/, Thin *hən* (!; contaminated by Thai *ḥən*?); usually weak forms: Old Mon *han* /hən/, Literary Mon *huin*, *han*, Sre *hə* *locative particle*, Khmu' *ha?* *to*, *at*, Palaung *ha* *place*, Riang-Lang *ha*, in compounds *ha-* *place*; *where*; *at*, *on*, *to*, Praok *ha-* in *hakte* *earth*, *territory*, Khasi *ha* *locative particle*, Besis *ha* *at*, *in*, *to*... (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 178 (c)), Central Nicobarese *ən-* *at*, *to*.

Add as derivation 1222 **[t]haan* *time*?

1218 *haan to die.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *há:n*; ~ *phá:n* *to kill*; ~ Biat *pha:n* *corpse*.

1219 *hən; *həən to grow, to increase.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hən** to grow in height, Riang-Lang **ṭhan** to be long.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Thin **hɣn** more, Mường (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **hơn** to surpass, be more than; ~ Khasi **byrhien** [people] in large numbers (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Cf. Proto-Semai ***hii^dn** to grow taller (DIFFLOTH 1977). But connection dubious following

1220 *h[ɔ̌]n; *h[ɔ̌ɔ̌]n to grow.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **hɔ̌n**, Sre **hon** [plants] to grow (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **ha:n** to sprout, Sre **ho:n**, Chrau, Biat **hɔ̌:n**, Central Rölöm **hɔ̌an** [plants] to grow, Bahnar **hɔ̌:n** to grow.

Connection dubious preceding.

(BLOOD 1966 53.)

1221 *khɔ̌n thick, to congeal.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **khɔ̌n** [liquids] to be muddy, dirty, viscous, thick, Khmer **khɔ̌n** to congeal, become viscous, to crystallize.

Note Burmese **khan:** to be dried up, referred at BENEDICT 1972 166 n. 444 to Tibeto-Burman ***ka(ʔ)n** (: Ancient Chinese **kan** 乾 dry, ib. 191). But separate Kammu-Yuan **khun** dregs, Thin **khũn** to be dirty, muddy (< ***ksun?**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

***1222 *[t]haan time.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **tha:n**; ~ (***[t]phaan** or ***[t]mhaan** >) Palaung **phan** (MILNE 1931), Praok **[ju] phan**.

Riang-Lang **pan** era is ← Shan **pán**. ~ 1217 ***ha[a]n** place?

Remo **tam-[me]** (PINNOW 1959 184; ?).

***1223 *dhaan branch, palm-frond.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **thì:ən** [slɤk] palm-frond, Biat **tha:n** branch, fork, Kontum Bahnar **tha:n** branch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 789 ***dhaaŋ**, with similar semantics.

Proto-Austronesian ***daqan:** Malay **dahan**, Cham **tha:n** branch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41, ***[dd]ahan**; SHORTO 1975 92 n. 27).

See BENEDICT 1975 240-1.

1224 *ʔap; *ʔaap to suffer constraint.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***[p]nʔap** >) Biat **ɗap** to master, subdue.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Literary Mon **'āp** to be constrained by, Bahnar **a:p** [not] difficult; since, by the effort of (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; ?); ~ Old Mon **p'āp** /pʔap/ to compel, hold in subjection, Vietnamese **áp-[ou̯c** &c.] to oppress.

Connect Bahnar **pəɛ:p** to subjugate.

1225 *ʔap; *ʔaap; *ʔəp *dark, to shade.*

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer ʔap *mist, darkness, to obscure* (→ Cham ʔap *n.*), Palaung əp *to be dark* (probably, rather than C), Rieng-Lang ʔəp *shadow, to overshadow.*

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung ap *to be dark*, Central Nicobarese a:p *to close lid*, Nancowry ʔáp *to be shut*; ~ West Bahnar aa:p *shady retreat* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Palaung iʔap *darkness.*

C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan əp *cloudy*, Central Nicobarese ʔb *mist, fog*, (— cəka:) *overcast sky.*

Cf. 1268 *yup &c. *overcast sky.*

(*ʔuup see 1295 *haap *to eat.*)

1226 *kʔip; *[k]ʔiip; *kʔiəp; *kʔə[]p; *kʔup; *kʔaip; *khaip *centipede.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau kəʔup; ~ Sre kərip.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat e:p, Jeh kajip, Halang gəji:p, Kammu-Yuan kəʔi:p, (!) Lawa Bo Luang saʔaic, Lawa Umphai saʔaip.

C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar kəe:p, Proto-Semai *kʔeep (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese kəe:əp, Nancowry kaʔiáp; (or D) ~ Khasi nep [har-har].

D, E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kuə:p, kə:p, Biat op.

F, G: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer kʔaep, Kuy (kh)hə:p, Bru kahi:p.

E secondary from D, F-G from C. Lawa s- obscure. Cf. Thin kəʔit (beside kəʔip *scorpion*), Besis kiʔit (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 66, which see). (SHAFFER 1965 360; SMITH 1972 184.)

1227 *cʔaap *smelling of fish.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔa:p *smelling of fish*, Biat [bɔ:u cri? bɔ:u] a:p *to stink*; ~ (*cnʔaap >) Chrau cənda:p *smelling of fish.*

1228 *rʔip; *rʔiip; *rʔiəp *to close [eyes].*

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [khap]-rip *to wink*; ~ (*rnʔip >) Sre by sandhi nim [mat] *to close [eyes]*, Bahnar ʔnip *to blink, wink*, Khasi [khap] ngip *to close eyes*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrip *to look with eyes half closed, wink.*

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng ri:p (or A?), Praok yip *to close [eyes]*; → Shan yēp *to blink*; ~ Biat je:p *to close [eyes]*, Lawa Bo Luang hnip, Lawa Umphai rahnip *to close, shut*; ~ (*rrʔiip >) Mon hərep *to wink*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrib(-khrib) *twinkling.*

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **tɛp-tɛp** to blink, **tɛ:p**, Thin **yap**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **yiap** to close eyes; ~ (***rnʔiəp** by palatal absorption >) Chrau **ɲəm [mat]** to close [eyes] (by sandhi, with secondary lengthening), Vietnamese **nhấp [nháy]** to blink, wink, twinkle (& **nhắm [mắt]** to close [eyes], by sandhi & phrasal assonance), Central Nicobarese **ɲəp-** to wink, blink, Nancowry **ɲóp** [~ **ɲóp**]; ~ (***rpʔiəp** >) Khmer **ph'əp** to move [lips] nervously, to blink (GUESDON 1930); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Literary Mon **tha'ep** to close, shut (probably), Thin **kǎnʔyǒp** to close mouth, Palaung **kəŋɲəp** to close [eyes], to wink, blink (MILNE 1931); (ii) Palaung **kəŋʔiəp [ɲay]** wink.

†‡1229 ***sʔaap** to yawn.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **kəa:p** (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **həa:p**), Jeh **kaʔa:p**, Halang **kəʔa:p** (or < derivation?), Riang-Lang **ṭap**; → Jarai **hʔa:p**; ~ (***snʔaap** >) Mon **həap**, Khmer **sɲa:p**, Kuy **ɲʔa:p**, Sre **ɲgap**, Chrau **ɲga:p**, Biat **ɲga:p [bic]**, Bahnar **kəʔɲa:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **hɲa:p**), Thin **hɲap**, Lawa **ɲa:p** to yawn, Khasi **sngab** gills, Central Nicobarese **hiŋ-a:p** yawn, Nancowry **hiŋáp**; → Röglai **ɲgap**, North Röglai **samaʔã:ʔ** to yawn; probably Thai **ɲáp** [mouth] opening and closing rapidly.

Cf. Palaung **hiəp**.

(SMITH 1972 197.)

(Connect) Kharia **aŋ-gəʔb-ɬaʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 373a; Sora has **ɑ(·)ŋ-e:m-da:-, ʔe:bʔ**).

Proto-Austronesian ***Suab**: Malay **uap**, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 428; add as prefixed forms (i, ***təʔ[]-Suab**) to belch, DEMPWOLFF 1938 133, ***təʔab**, less Tagalog; with Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***təR₂R₂ab**, NOTHOFFER 1975 77; Bikol **tig-áb**, &c.; (ii) Acehnese **göröʔb, gömöʔb** to belch). Cf. further ***[]aŋap** to open mouth, DEMPWOLFF 1938 15; ***Səgab** to gasp for air, DEMPWOLFF 1938 63 (Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 427.

1230 ***[s]ʔəp** (to) sweat.

A: (Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi **s'ep** sweat, to sweat, Sakai **sěöpⁿ** sweat (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 533); ~ Sakai **seng[']öp** to sweat (i.e. Semai; ib.).

†‡1231 ***kap**; ***kaap** to bite.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kuy, Chrau, Bunör, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang, Kensiu **kap**, Temiar **kab**; ~ Central Sakai **kikap** to bite; ~ (***[k]rkap** >) Khmer **trəkap** to snap up (TANDART 1935; beside **trəkùp**!); ~ Khasi **jkap** snapping with teeth, **jkep** to bite with teeth.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[op]-ka:p-[hətə]**, **ka:pə** to bite, Nancowry **ʔupkəp**, ~ **kanəp** tooth.

(SHAFFER 1965 9; BLOOD 1966 356; SMITH 1972 191; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227-8.) Sora **ka:b-** (& **küb-, kib-**), Mundari **ha'b**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 294).

(Proto-Austronesian ***kabkab**) Pangasinan **kabká** *to gnaw*, Pampangan **kabká** *to bite*.

1232 *kap to fasten.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **khap** *to fasten, close*; ~ Sre **bəkap** *to fasten*.

Cf. 1240 ***p-gap** *to join*.

1233 *kaap chin.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ká:p**, Riang-Lang **ṭkap**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kap**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ṭgap**.

(SHAFFER 1965 9.)

1234 *kəp time.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **kup**, **kip** /**kəp**/, Modern Mon **kəp** *time*, Bahnar **kəp** *moment*, Palaung **kəp** *time* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **kap[si]** [*to*] *morrow*, Khasi **khəp** *occasion, time, turn*.

1235 *k[ɔɔ]p (& *kəp?); *k[a]p; *kaap tortoise, turtle.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ko:p** *swamp turtle*, Sre **kəp** (< ***kəp**?) *small species of terrestrial tortoise*, Chrau, Biat **kə:p** *tortoise*, Bahnar **kə:p** *tortoise, tortoise shell*, Jeh **ko:p**, Halang **koap** *turtle*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **kəp kəp** *tortoise* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ka:p** *turtle*, Nancowry **kap** (or B?).

A conceivably by secondary labialization.

(SHAFFER 1965 11; SMITH 1972 202.)

†1236 *[c]kiip; *ckiəp, *t_[1]kiəp; *ckap, *t₁kap; *[c]kuəp to pinch, grip.

A: (Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sakaip** *narrow*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **kep** **skep** *to pinch, grip with claws*, Khmer **kiəp** *to grip with tongs* (or = **kìəp** < 1239 ***giəp**, which connect?), **thkiəp** *to grip with claws or tongs*, Khmu' **ke:p** *to grip with tongs*, Thin **skěp** *to carry under arm*, Lawa Bo Luang **kheap** *narrow*; ~ (***.nkiəp** >) Kuy **ṭki:p** *to pick up with tongs &c., pick fruit with forked pole*, Biat **nce:p** *to carry on hip*; ~ Khmer **dəṅkiəp**, **təṅkiəp** *claws, tongs*; ~ (***cmkiəp** >?) Praok [**sikhəp**] **sigəp** *narrow*; ~ (***crkiəp** >) Middle Mon **sakep** (with *s-* by levelling on simplex), Modern Mon **həkep**, Khmu' **srke:p**, Lawa Bo Luang **sakeap**, Lawa Umphai **sakep** *tongs*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **nēp** *tongs* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thkap** *to grip with tongs*, Vietnamese **cáp** *to carry under arm*; ~ Biat **ṭkap** *to grip with tongs*, Khasi **tyngkhap** *to insert between, place under arm, hide* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường **cáp** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **gắp** *to pick up with chopsticks*; ~ Khmer **dəṅkap**, Biat **ṭkap** *tongs*; ~ Sre **səkap** *tongs* (→ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **nap** *tongs*.

D: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Praok **sikhəp** *narrow*.

A similar initial alternance is suspected in following. Connected further 1312 ***ckiəm** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26, 28; cf. SHAFER 1965 49, 318; SMITH 1972 185.)

Sora 'sakab- to grip (v.i.) ~ sab'ka'b-, 'sakka'b- to grip with tongs ~ 'sakkab-['la:ŋ-ən] tongs ~ sənabka'b° tongs.

Proto-Austronesian *t'i(N)kəp: Malay **sikap** *close-fitting*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153; incorporating *t'i(N)kəp to grasp, ib., cf. Cebuano Bisayan **sikup** *kind of bird of prey*, = Malay **burong sikap**). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

†‡1237 ***ckup**, (?) ***dkup**; ***ckuup**; ***ckuəp**; ***ckəp**; ***ckəəp**, *[d]kəəp; ***ckap**; ***[c]gəp** to cover.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre **kup** to take, seize, catch, Biat **kop** to put lid on, cover over, Khasi **kop**, **skop** cover; ~ Temiar **cərkəb** to close (BENJAMIN 1976B 158); (→ Burmese **dukut** monk's shawl); (or *[c]g-?) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **knup** rainshield.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ko:p-[hətə]** to close hand, Nancowry **ʔupkūp** to fold arms against cold &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋkú:p** to cover e.g. with net; ~ Chrau **nko:p** husk.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **ka:p** to catch, hold, arrest, Bru **kəp**.

D: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **kəp** to catch with a fish-basket, Literary Mon **skuip** to cover (or, with derivatives), Khmer **kəp** to bury, hide by burying, Central Sakai **köp** to get, catch; ~ Middle Mon **sakuip**, Modern Mon **həkəp** lid, Central Sakai **jərkəp** cover; (?) ~ Old Mon **dukup** /**dəkəp**/ chief, Literary Mon **dakuip** also lid, cover, Modern Mon **həkəp**; ~ Proto-Nyah Kur *[c]əŋkəp cover, lid (DIFFLOTH 1984 V163a); ~ Temiar **cənkəb** lid (BENJAMIN 1976B 146); ~ Khmer **bəŋkəp** to bury, hide by secondary derivation, (~?) Vietnamese **gáp** to fold, to close [book]; (or F/G?) ~ Nicobaric **hakəpŋaca?** to cover sth. tightly.

E: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gə:p** rock shelter, overhead cover (< *[d]k-); ~ Biat **ŋkə:p** field shelter, Chrau **səkə:p** lean-to, shed.

F: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre **kap** quantifier for clothes (DOURNES 1950), Khasi **skap** husk, Central Sakai **kap** to get, catch.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **kəp** to cover, Riang-Lang **_kap** to put on, wear; ~ Bahnar **həgəp** cave.

A similar init. alternance in preceding; but ***dk-** perhaps by metathesis < 1261 ***k-dukup** &c.; or ← Austronesian ***takub**, &c., below. Add A102 ***kəp** to wait, lie in wait for?

(SHAFER 1965 529.)

Sora **kub-** to be covered up, **in'kub-** to put on a cover or veil.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kubkub**: Javanese **kukub** *covered*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected further ***ta(N)kub** *to cover; lid* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128); ***təkub** *to cover, shut* (BLUST 1973 no. 109; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***tu(N)kup** *to cover*. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 142); ***tikup** *to shut, close* (BLUST 1973 no. 114; Proto-Hesperonesian); &c.; (ii) ***kəbkəb**: Javanese **kěkěb** *lid*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76-7; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected ***təkəp** *to cover; covering* (BLUST 1973 no. 108; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 258-9.

(*t_[1]kiəp, *t₁kap see 1236 *[c]kiip *to pinch, grip*; *[d]kəəp, *dkup see above.)

†1238 ***[p]kup**; ***[p]kuup**; ***[p]kuəp**; ***pkap** *inverted, face down*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ku:p** *to bend down, hide, to turn upside down* (or B), Bahnar **kup** *to bow, greet respectfully; face down*; ~ Chrau **ŋkup** *face down, prone*, Biat **ŋkop** *to turn over on one's face*, (— **ŋke:ŋ**) *to overturn*, (~? by secondary derivation?) Bahnar **səkup** *to be upside down*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **kup** *to fall prone*; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Palaung **səkup**, Riang-Lang **səkup** *to overturn*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋkú:p** *to turn upside down*, Riang-Lang **sənkup** *to overturn*, Praok **gup** *to fall prone*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **[kup] kəp** *[to lie] face down* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai ***kəəp** *to lie (face down)* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

D: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **phkap** *to turn upside down, to lie face down*; ~ (?Old Mon **pu'kap** /pəkəp/,) Modern Mon **həkəp** *to overt, turn upside down*.

Or ***kup** &c., ***kap kap** > ***pkap**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 16.)

Proto-Austronesian ***taNkub**: Malay **tangkop** *face down*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128; & variants, in ***-p** also, usually glossed *to cover*; cf. preceding). Cf. also Malay **lukup**, **lungkup** *inverted, capsized*, Acehese **lungkəb** *[to lie] face down*.

Senses *face down, to overturn* may be limited to Sumatra & Java languages; then ← or contaminated by Mon-Khmer?

†1239 ***giəp**; ***gap**; ***gaap** *to grip, squeeze*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kìəp** (TANDART 1935; & **thkìəp**, = or contaminated by **thkìəp** < 1236 ***tkìəp**, which connect), Stieng **giəp**, Bahnar **gɛ:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **giəp** *to grip with tongs*, Vietnamese **kẹp** *to press, squeeze*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Vietnamese **cấp** *to nip, grip*, Nancowry **káp** *to hold*; ~ Biat **ŋgap** *to press, squeeze*.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **kì:əp** *to press, squeeze*, Central Nicobarese **[hə]-ka:pi-[yənde]** *to grasp*.

Cf. Thai **kʰiip** *to grip with tongs or claws*; ← a variant ***giip**? Connected further 1242 ***[t]ga(a)p** *fork, clamp, to clamp*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 49.)

Sora **gab-**['tur-] *to hold between fingers or in fork, to pinch* (or : ***[t]ga(a)p**?).

POU & JENNER 1973 no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese **yiēp** 挾 *to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry...*

‡1240 ***gap**; ***gaap**; ***gup** *fit, fitting, sufficient.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **gap** /**gəp**/ *to be fit for, fit to, pleasing to*, Modern Mon **kòp** *to suffice*, (— **kò**) *ought, to be fit to*, Old Khmer **gap**, Modern Khmer **kəp** *fitting*, Bahnar **gap** *just enough* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **gap** *enough*, Jeh **gap** *adequately*, Praok **kup** *to suffice*; → Cham **kəp** *enough, just right*, Jarai **gap** *to suffice*, North Röglai **gap** [si] *enough*; ~ (***pgap** >) Middle Mon **pagap** [**gwor**] *to make fit*, Modern Mon **pəkòp** *to put together, join, to harness*, Khmer **phkəp** *to please, to adapt, adjust*, (or ***pgaap** >, with secondary shortening) Sre **gap** *to tie together*; ~ Khmer **caṅgāp** *joint* (GUESDON 1930) (cf. usual **dəŋkəp** &c.), (or B?) Central Sakai **janggap** *hip*.

B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **ga:p** *to suffice*, Biat **ga:p** *suitable, enough*, Central Nicobarese **ka:p**-[**tuələ**] *tight [knot]*, Nancowry **hakəp** *to fix, to fit*; ~ Kontum Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **bəga:p** *to harness together; growing together*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **guap** *enough*.

C secondary. *To join by attraction* 1232 ***kap** *to fasten?* Cf. following, & Khmer **kù:əp** *fold, to join*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

Proto-Austronesian ***gənəp** (sc. ***g/ən/əp**): Malay **gənap** *complete...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 54; Proto-Hesperonesian).

But connection dubious Sora **a(·)b-** *to fit, to be fit*.

1241 ***gəp**; ***gap** *friend, to associate.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kùp gap** *to associate with, meet*, Sre **gəp** *friend*, Biat **gəp** *I*; (?) → Cham **kəw?** *kin, one another*, Röglai **gəu** *friend*, North Röglai **gə?** *sibling*, Acehnese **gəb** *person, people*; ~ (***gməp** >) Biat **məp** *to meet*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **gap** *friend* (BLOOD 1976), Khasi [**ia**] **kap** *to make an alliance, meet friends with*; ~ Mường **căp** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **gặp** *to meet*.

B by attraction preceding? Or A contaminated by (rather than →) Indonesian?

1242 *[t]gap; *[t]gaap *fork, clamp, to clamp*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **kap** *prong*; by secondary derivation (?) ~ **khn̄ap** *cloven hoof*; ~ (*g[r]nap >) Bahnar **gənap** *reinforced rim of basket, binding*.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kèp gāp** *fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride*, Khmer **ka:p** *frame, crucible tongs, cramp-iron* (& by levelling on derivation, below, Khmer **thgāp** *to keep [legs] pressed together*) (GUESDON 1930), Stieng **ga:p** *to take in tongs, clamp*, Sre **gap** (or < A?) *to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]*, Jeh **ga:p** *to hold with slit stick* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Bahnar **ga:p** *to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fasten with clamp*; ← Jeh, or < *g-?), Palaung **gap** *to affix*, Vietnamese **cáp** *rim, edge, to edge mat*; → Cham **kà?**, Jarai **ga:p**, North Röglai **ga?** *to bind rim of basket &c.*; ~ Khmer **prək̚i:əp** *fork* (!; GUESDON 1930 has **tragāp**); by secondary derivation (?) ~ (*g[r]n- >) Sre **gənap** *bamboo fastening of thatch or basket* (DOURNES 1950; or A?), Jeh **kanə:p** *split stick*, Halang **gəna:p** *sticks for roasting fish*; (or A?) → North Röglai **ganā?** *frame of rim of basket*.
- Connect 1239 *giəp &c. *to grip, squeeze*, with which there is contamination; so *ga(a)p, if to be constructed as variants, are secondary. POU & JENNER no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese **kap** 挾 *to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry*, **kap** 夾 *to press from two sides, squeeze*, **kap** 挟 *pincers, chopsticks*.
- Sora **gab**-[ʔtur-] *to hold between fingers...* is more probably : 1239 *ga(a)p. (SHAFFER 1965 109; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

1242a *ŋ[a]p; *ŋaap; *ŋuup (*early*) *morning*.

- A: (Palaungic) Praok [pon] **ŋəp** (!) *morning*, Lawa **ŋəp** *early morning*.
- B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **ŋap** *to get up early*, Khasi **ngab** *early in the morning*.
- C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ŋup** *morning*; ~ Mae Sariang **sa?ŋaup** *dawn*.
Praok perhaps < *ŋuəp; back vocalism secondary.

1243 *cap; *caap; *ciəp; *cip; *cup *to seize*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer **cap** *to seize, catch*, Stieng **cap** *to take, accept*, Semai I **cap** *to hold*; → Thai **càp**; ~ Biat **map** *prey*.
- B: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **ca:p** *to catch, hold, between forefinger and thumb*, Central Nicobarese [op]-[ja:pə] *to seize*.
- C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong **cəp**, Jah Hut **cə:p** *to hold*; ~ (*ciəp by palatal absorption > *.cəp >) Bahnar **cəp** *to take hold of*.
- D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **cɔp** *to take a pinch of*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **ɲip** *to catch*.
- E: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **ɲup** *to take*, Biat **ɲup** *to seize*; ~ Bahnar **cup** *to seize with claws, take between fingers* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- C-E secondary. Bahnar ultimately < *pcap < *cap cap?
(SHAFFER 1965 361; BLOOD 1966 163; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 49 (a).)

1243a * [ʔ]caap *kind of small bird.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **ca:p** *sparrow*, Kuy [cɛ:m] **ca:p** *weaver bird*, *Ploceus philippinus*, Bahnar **ca:p** *paddy-field pipit*, *Anthus novae-seelandiae richardi*.

1244 * [ʔ]cuup; * [ʔ]cuəp; * [ʔ]ciəp *to put on, wear.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **cup**, Praok **cup**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **caup** *to wear*.

B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **sop** *to cover, wrap, thatch*; ~ Central Nicobarese **opcuəp** *woman's waistcloth*, Nancowry (ʔu)**cúap**.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [hai]-**ciəp**-[hətə] *to put on [woman's waistcloth]*; ~ **opciəp** *woman's waistcloth*.

C probably secondary. Note also Bru **səp, sup** *to wear [ring]* (or rather 1245?).

(***kciip** see 1252a * [k]ti[]p *cockroach*...)

1244a *krcaap *scales of fish.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **krəsa:p**, Chrau **gəsa:p**, Biat **rcha:p**, (Bahnar **kəca:p** ←?) Jeh **kaca:p**, Halang **kəca:p**.

(SMITH 1972 195.)

†1245 *bciip; *bciəp; *bcəp; *bcap; *bcaip; *bcup; *bcuup; *bcuəp *to adjoin, adhere.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **cip** *to be set edge to edge* (→ Burmese **cip**), Bahnar **ji:p** *joined edge to edge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **bsiap** *to put between two things, to insert*, **siap** *to insert*, (~?) Palaung **siəp** *to pile neatly, to lay [one thing] on another in a pile* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Khmer, Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang **ˈsap** *to put in, on*; → Shan **shāp** *to thrust into*; ~ Khmer **pracap'** *to cohere* (GUESDON 1930).

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **cap** /**cəp**/, Modern Mon **cəp**, Khmer **cəp** *to adhere*, Biat **cap** *to fasten together*, Sre **cap** *to fasten together; bundle, sheaf*, Palaung **cəp** *to affix* (or < C, or ← Burmese), Khasi **bsap** *to mix with, to insert*, Vietnamese **cháp** *to join, assemble*; → Cham **ca?** *to tie together*, Jarai **cap** *to tie up*; Burmese **cap** *to join*, → Shan **sāp** *to be connected with*, whence ultimately Riang-Lang **tərcap** (**tər-** reciprocal) *to be connected with, to connect*; by secondary derivation ~ Mon **phyəp**, Khmer **phcəp** *to join*.

E: (Kuy, Khmuic) ~ Kuy **cə:p** [*shut*] *tight*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərsá:p** [**òm**] *confluence*.

F: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **suəp** *to join, to connected* (MILNE 1931); → Shan **sūp** *joint, to join*, whence ultimately Riang-Lang **tərsuəp** *joint, link*.

G: (Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) ~ Palaung **kərcup** *to be close together* (MILNE 1931), (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **giúp** *to help*.

H: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **op-ʃuəp**-[hətə] *to attach extra gunwale*.

Secondary are E, to B; & F-H, cf. Munda. Add following?

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.) (I) Kharia **ji'b** *to touch*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 283); (II) Sora **ja:b-** *to touch, to stick*, **jab-'jab-** *to abut*.

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***t'it'ip**: Malay **sisip** *to insert*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 155; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1246 *[b]cuəp**; ***[b]cəp** *to repair to, repair together, meet*.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cu:əp**, **cù:əp** *to meet (together)*, Sre **cop** (!) *to visit*, Biat **cə:p** [**uəp**] *to inspect*; ~ Kuy **cu:p** *to come together, come back to starting-point together*, (~?; by secondary derivation, **ta-** reciprocal) Stieng **tacuə:p** *to meet, join*.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Old Mon **cup** /**cəp**/ *to arrive at, come to*, Modern Mon **cəp** *to arrive (at)*, Kuy **səp** *to meet, encounter*; ~ Middle Mon [**n'ā**] **bacuip** *to bring to*, Modern Mon **həcəp** *to hand to, to conduct*.

= preceding? Connection uncertain Kensiu **cub**, Temiar **ci:b** *to walk* (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 42).

1247 *jəp** *horsefly*.**

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **chù:ap**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **jə:p**, Jeh **jo:p**, Halang **joap**. (SMITH 1972 203.)

1248 *gja** *solid, stout*.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **cəp**, **khečəp** *solid, enduring*, Kuy **chàp** *tough, stout*, Stieng **jap** *solid*, Central Rölöm **jap** *solid, strong*, Bahnar [**kəjap**] **jap**, **yap** *very solid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **kəljap** *solid, hard*, Bahnar **kəjap** *solid*, Jeh **kajap**, Halang **gəjap** *sturdy*; → Rōglai **kəjap** (& **gənap** < ***gənjap**), Malay **kəjap**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 44; BLOOD 1966 347; SMITH 1972 193.)

1249 *jnja** *to flutter*.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həyəp** *to flap, f.[wings]*, Khmer [**haə**] **cùənci:əp** *to flutter about* (TANDART 1935).

Cf. (i) **1267 *yəp** &c. *to move up and down*; (ii) Proto-Austronesian ***t'aiap**: Cham **thya:w?**, &c., Acehnese **sayöəb**, Malay, Iban **sayap** *wing*, Ivatan **sayáp** *to fly* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. SHORTO 1975 88).

1250 *t₁ap**; ***t₁əp** *to pierce*.**

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **dap** *to cut into*, Kammu-Yuan **táp** *to prick, pierce*.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **tap** *to stab, pierce* (probably, rather than A), Stieng **ta:p** *to pierce*, Bahnar **trəp** *to stick into the ground, to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **táp** *to set in ground*, Halang **təp** *to put in ground*; ~ Biat **ntəp** *to stab, spear, goad*, Bahnar **hətəp** *to stick into the ground, to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B originally by hypercorrection on dialects which have **ta-** < ***tə-**? (BLOOD 1966 126.)

‡1251 *t₁aap to slap.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng, Sre, Chrau **ta:p** to *clap, slap*, Biat, Jeh **ta:p** to *slap*, Bahnar, Halang **ta:p** to *slap, hit*, Praok **tap** to *strike, beat*, Khasi **thab** to *hit with hand, slap*.

Khmer **təp** to *hit with fist* is ← Thai **tòp**.

(SMITH 1972 198; cf. SHAFER 1965 76.)

Proto-Austronesian *t₂abt₂ab: Javanese **tatab** to *beat*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; DAHL 1973 § 14.12). See BENEDICT 1975 228-9, *beat*.

‡1252 *t₁əp; *t₁əəp; *t₁ip; *t₁up to bury, cover.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon **tip** /**təp**/, Modern Mon **təp**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***təp** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V166), Kuy, Biat **təp**, Stieng **ta:p**, Chrau, Bunör **təp**, Central Rölöm **tap** to *bury*, Khasi **thep** to *entomb [bones]*, (~?) **təp** to *bury*; ~ Khmer **dəndəp**, **təndəp** to *wrap oneself in, cover (oneself)*; ~ Riang-Lang **səntap** *shelter*.

B: (Bahnaric) Rōngao **tə:p** to *bury* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***ktəəp** >) Chrau **cə:p** [**mat**] *eyelash*.

C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***tip** [*hole*] to *be covered up* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Mon) Sakai **tup** to *cover* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 183), Semang **tūb** to *sow* (i.e. Jehai; ib. P 132; contaminated by 1343 ***p-t₂əm**); → Acehnese **tob** to *close, cover*; ~ Mon **hətop** *cover, lid, flap* (or ← variant?); → Cham **hatu?**, **tu?** *lid of pot*; ~ Sre **tərnop** *lath covering joint in planking*.

Primacy of forms uncertain. Cf. 1261 ***dəp** &c. to *cover*; 1273 ***rup** &c. to *cover* (BLOOD 1966 130; SMITH 1972 182.)

Mundari **topa** to *bury, to cover*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tutup**: Malay **tutup** to *shut, to cover*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144); (ii) perhaps ***qatəp**: Malay **atap** *roof*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 16, *-; 62, ***h**-; DYEN 1953 § 117). See BENEDICT 1975 406-7, *thatch*.

1252a *[k]ti[]p; *[k]tiəp; *[k]t[ə]p; *ktup; *kciip cockroach, vermin.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tip** *cockroach*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **teap**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təp** *flea*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **tə:p**, Biat **tap** [**dər**] *cockroach*, Nancowry **muptáp** *flea*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **cup** *cockroach*.

E: (Katuic) Kuy (?a:) **si:p** *cockroach*.

Note Riang-Lang **sup** **sap** *cockroach* Lawa perhaps by contamination, cf. Palaung **sətiər** *flea*; so *-t₁- not certain.

1253 *[k]t₁ap egg.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?North Aslian) Sre, Biat **tap**, Chrau **cap**, Temiar **tab** (!), Shom Pe Nicobar **ka'te:əb**, (? , by assimilation) Jehai, Semnam **kətəd**; ~ Bahnar, Halang **kətap**, Jeh **katap**.

Cf. 1348a *kt₁əm.

(SHAFFER 1965 359, 398; BLOOD 1966 376; SMITH 1972 190; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 36.)

1254 *ktaap to catch up (with), be in time.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đáp** to catch [train &c.]; ~ Old Mon **kintāp** /**kəntap**/ to have time to, Modern Mon **hətap** to have time to, to catch up, to catch [train...].

*1255 *[k]t₁əp cloud, precipitation.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kətp** dew, mist, Riang-Lang **təp** snow, mist, cloud. (~?) Kharia **t'i'ri'b** c., &c. (PINNOW 1959 284; Proto-Munda ***tirib**).

1256 *kntəp dove.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat **ntəp**, Chrau **gətəp**, Bahnar **kətəp**.

Cf. Stieng **təp**; BLOOD 1966 401 pigeon has Stieng **təp**, Sre **ntəp**. Onomatopoeic? (SHAFFER 1965 569.)

1256a *kntuəp; *kntap grasshopper.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **kəndo:p**.

B: (Mon) Mon **hətp khatap**, **gatap**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəntap** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N40). Khmer vocalism post-dental.

1257 *jt₁ap layer, to superimpose.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **tap** /**təp**/ times, -fold, Modern Mon **təp** to place in sequence, to fold, Kuy with secondary lengthening **thà:p** to lie, lay, on top of, Sre **tap** layer, to be superimposed, Chrau, Biat **tap** layer, Mường **táp** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **đắp** to pile up; → Burmese **thap** layer, → Middle Mon **thap**, Modern Mon **thəp**, → Bru **təp**, **thəp** to fold one layer over another; ~ Khmer **sɾətəp**, Jeh **ratap** to fold one layer over another (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **syrtap** fold, layer.

Cf. following & Central Nicobarese **kəta:pə** pile.

1257a *pntup; *[p]ntuəp to add.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **bəntop** to pile up (contaminated by preceding?).

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **ntəp** to add (to), add one by one.

1258 *dap stockade, military unit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon **dap** stockade, Modern Mon **tòp** stockade, military unit, Old Khmer **dāp** to bar, Middle Khmer **dāp** fence, Modern Mon **təp** army, Bru **təp** hut in forest; → Burmese **tap** military unit, fortification, probably → Palaung **təp** army (MILNE 1931); Cham **təp** earth rampart; Thai **tʰáp** army.

1259 *daap low.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tì:əp** to be low, small in height, Kuy **thì:ap** low, Bru **tiap**, (~ *pdaap > ?) Sre **da:p** to lower, place lower down (DOURNES 1950).

†1260 *dəp to block, dam.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **dap**, Modern Khmer **tùp** to block, dam (≠ to cover, < following, which compare), Kuy with secondary lengthening **thà:p**, Chrau **dəp** (& by metathesis Biat **bət**) to dam, Riang-Lang **_tap** to stop, dam, Vietnamese **đập** dam; → Shan **təp** to dam; ~ Khmer **khtùp** to block, close; ~ (*krdəp >) Bahnar **kədəp** (in sense) to block.

Sora **dab-** to obstruct, dam (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 42.)

1261 *dəp; *dəəp; *dap; *daap; *dup; *duup; *duəp; *[d]ip; *diəp to cover.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **tùp dap**', Sre **dəp** to cover, Biat **[kəp] dəp** to lie in wait for, Bahnar **dəp**, Palaung **dəp**, Praok **təp** to cover, Vietnamese **nấp** to hide; ~ Sre **ndəp** to cover, Chrau **ndəp [mat]** invisible, Biat **ndəp** hidden, covered; ~ Old Mon **kđip /kđəp/**, Modern Mon **dəp** head (& Nyah Kur **kđəp**); ~ Mon **hədəp** to fold over, close (or B, E, H?), Stieng **kəldə:p** to shut [door, window], Sre **kəldəp** to cover over, Chrau **gədəp** to cover hole, Bahnar **kədəp** to hide from sight, to shelter; handful, Khasi **khyrdep** to shut [door] without fastening, slam [door], (or C?) Central Nicobarese **kərap-[hətə]** to catch [bird] in trap, shut [door, window]; ~ Central Nicobarese **kəndəp** bird-trap (or C?); ~ Sre **bənəp** cover, lid, West Bahnar **hənəp**, **rənəp** cover, lid; in shelter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **də:p** to catch with hand, take what is held out, Biat **də:p** to receive; ~ Bahnar **kə?nə:p** to take shelter; ~ Chrau **pəndə:p** to catch, seize.

C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **kdap** to hold tightly in hand, close [hand]; ~ Vietnamese **nấp** cover, lid, (probably, rather than A) Central Nicobarese **dənəp** cloth cover.

D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang **tuəp** to shut, Central Nicobarese **da:pə**, **[op]-da:p-[həʃe]** to spread cloth; ~ Central Nicobarese **dəna:p** cloth cover.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) ~ Khasi **kdup** to cover, embrace, envelop, defend, protect; ~ Khasi **kyndup** double handful; overhang, Central Nicobarese **kendup** covering or wrapping of leaves; ~ Sre **bənəp**, **bənəp** cover, lid (DOURNES 1950). Connect Nancowry **tóp** to cover oneself, **kutóp** fist,

F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **du:p** to *hide, to cover [mouth]* (or **E**), Riang-Lang **dup** to *cover [pots &c.]*, Vietnamese **núp** to *hide, take cover*; ~ Khmer **kdaop** [*flower*] to *close; to stop up, cover with hand*; ~ Thin **kəndop** to *fish with a fish-basket*; ~ Khasi **kyndub** *shelter*; ~ (***k[r]đuup** >) Bahnar **kədo:p** *fistfull; to cover, shelter*.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon **hədo:p** to *close, fold*, Bahnar **kədo:p**, **kədo:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

H: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **kəntɔp** [**srɔy**] *fez, woman's cap*.

I: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **nép** to *hide oneself*.

In Eastern languages largely merged with (& otherwise contaminated by) preceding.

Cf. also 1252 ***t₁əp** &c. to *bury, cover*; 1273 ***rup** &c. to *cover*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 462; BLOOD 1966 124; SMITH 1972 201.)

(i) Sora **dab-**, Kharia **ɖa'b** to *cover*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 3); (ii) Sora **dub-** to *shut, close*, ~ **kun'dub-** to *hold in fist, (-ən) handful*.

(***cdi(i)p**, ***cdəp** see 1040 ***cɕiit** *sticky...*.)

*1262 ***[j]ɖaap** to *pass hand along*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **ɖap** to *dab on, sponge*, Khmer **stɨ:əp** to *touch, feel, stroke, grope for*.

Connect by metathesis 1042 ***[j]ɖat** &c. to *feel, grasp*.

(Proto-Austronesian ***adap adap**?) Ilocano **dapadap** to *touch, feel*.

1263 ***[j]ɖəp** to *shore up*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **sɖuip** [**ska**] to *shore up, help, support*, Khmer **stùp sɖap'** to *hold up, set [prop] against*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **phtùp** to *place against, prop*.

1264 ***ɖəp**; ***ɖəap** to *touch, adjoin*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phtəp** *adjoining*; ~ **bəntəp** *next* by analogy; ~ (***bbəp** >) Literary Mon [**sarap**] **phaɖap** to *bring near, come near*, Kuy **nthəp** to *arrange next to one another*, Sre **ɖap** to *pass, hand to*, Biat **ɖap** to *lay [floor], fasten [saddle]*.

B: (Mon) Mon **ɖap** to *touch, adjoin*.

Cf. Chrau **də:p** to *pass, hand to*; contaminated by 1261 ***ɖəp** in sense to *receive*; or causative of it?

*1265 ***[b]aap** *father*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ba:p**, Chrau **va:p**.

Proto-Austronesian ***bapa(S)**: Malay **bapa**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 24; less Malagasy, cf. DAHL 1973 § 20.5; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

1266 ***[g]ɕip**; ***[g]ɕiip** *species of wildfowl*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **ɕup** /**ɕop**/ *ruddy shelduck*, Modern Mon **bop** *ruddy shelduck*, (—**mèa**) *cotton teal*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **bi:p** *duck, teal*, Gölar Bahnar *cotton teal* (?; *sarcelle de Coromandel*).

Not obviously onomatopoeic

1266a ***yap**; ***yaap** *to die, be extinguished*.

A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **ïap** *to die*; ~ Central Nicobarese **pɔin-ɲap** *corpse* (!; with contextually conditioned vocalism?); ~ **pomɲap-[hətə]** *to extinguish by pressure or cover*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Bahnar **ɲa:p** *deceased person*, Central Nicobarese **pəmɲa:p** *corpse*, Nancowry **paɲáp** *to die*, **pamaɲáp** *corpse*.

Cf. **B93** ***yuum** &c. *to die*; **1268** ***yup** &c. *dark*.

1267 ***yəp**; ***yəəp**; ***yaap** *to move up and down*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **ʔyúp** (!) *wagglings the ears*, Vietnamese **nháp-[nhô]** *to go up and down especially on water*; ~ Palaung **rəyəp** *fan*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **yup** *to fan, beckon, shake up and down*, **yup yup** *to shake up and down*, Riang-Lang [**sim**] **yəp yəp** *wagtail*.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **yap** *to sift [rice] by tossing*.

C contaminated by **1249** ***ɲjaap** *to flutter*, or ← Tibeto-Burman, below? Connect Praok **yip** *to wave*, Lawa Umphai **yip** *fan*; & note Mon **həyɕm dayuim** (< ***ɲj-?**) *to flourish with a wrist movement*; Tibeto-Burman ***ya'p** *to fan, winnow, paddle*, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 92.

***1268** ***yup**; ***y[uu]p**; ***yəp** *dark*.

A: (Khasi, North & Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Proto-Semai ***yup** *evening* (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?) Central Nicobarese **ɕup-[heŋ]** [*sun*] *set*; ~ (***bnyup** >) Khasi **bñiup** *(very) misty...*

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **hiu:p** *twilight*; → Cham **su:p**, Röglai **siup** *twilight*.

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **yùp yap'** *night*, Bahnar **yəp** *shade*; ~ → Cham **tàyəw?** *dusk*; ~ (*[**ɲyəp** >) Stieng **ɲa:p**, Chrau [**nar**] **ɲəp** *sunset*, Bahnar **ɲip** *sudden disappearance of light*.

Cf. **1225** ***ʔap** &c. *dark...*; **1328** ***[c][uə]m** *night*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d).)

Santali **əju'b** *evening, nightfall*, &c. ~ Santali **ɲubə?** *(to become) dark*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 128, 280.)

1269 *riip (& *rip?) grass.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Biat **re:p**, Praok **rip**, Lawa Bo Luang **raic**, Lawa Umphai **raip**, Mae Sariang **yaip**; ~ Khmer **trɔp** *floating mat of vegetation* (ad variant?); ~ Sre **səmprip** *tall grass* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (?) Nancowry **ʔép** *to plant*.
(SHAFFER 1965 313.)

1269a *riəp to arrange.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **riəp** *to prepare, arrange*, Kuy **ri:p** *to lay [board floor]*, Stieng **riəp** *to prepare*, Biat **re:p** *to arrange*; ~ Bru **pariəp** *align edge to edge*.

†1270 *rap to help.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi (**ia-**)**rap**.
Cf. 1390 ***rum** &c.
Sora **rab-**.

1271 *rap to count.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) (Old Mon **rap** /**rəp**/ (?) *to keep a record of*), Modern Mon **rəp** *to keep [accounts]*, Khmer **rəp** *to count, calculate*; → Cham **rap** [**an**] *to estimate*; ~ (***rnap** >; properly nominal, or by metathesis < ***rnap**?) Sre **nap** *to count, check total of*, Kammu-Yuan **nəp** *to count*; → Lao **nap** *to count*.
Cf. Stieng **ruəp**, **rə:p** *to count, calculate*.

***1272 *rəp adjacent, to surround.**

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **rəp**, Praok **rop** *to surround*; → Shan **həp**; ~ Mon **krəp** *to be near, to keep close, to be nearly*; ~ (***[k]prəp** >) Mon **kəp** *vicinity, near*, Khmer **prə:p** *near*; ~ Khasi [**jing**]-**bynrop** *accompaniment*.
Cf. Sre **rip** *near*, **rəp** *about to*; Khasi **bynrap** *to place together with*.
Proto-Austronesian ***kərap**: Acehnese **krab** *close together*, Malay **kərap** *close [texture], frequent*, Javanese **kərəp** *close together, frequent* (so Proto-Malayo Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham).

††1273 *rup; *ruup; *ruəp; *rəp; *rəəp to cover.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer **kənrəp** **kəndrup** *dark gloomy place, made dark by overhanging branches &c.*, Biat **ndrup** *lid*; ~ (***[t]rr-** >; or B?) Khasi **tyllup** *to cover up completely* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer **kraop** *to cover, hide; lid*; ~ Stieng **gru:p** *to cover, stop up* (or A?); ~ Kuy **tro:p** *to cover with e.g. fowl-basket*.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **ru:p** *to hide, bury*; ~ West Bahnar **krə:p** *hidden, hiding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Middle Mon **grop** /**grop**/, Modern Mon **krəp** *to cover*; ~ Old Mon **ginrop** *screen*, Modern Mon **həp** *cloth cover*.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) ~ Khmer **krùp grap'** (to) cover (TANDART 1935); ~ Khasi **trep** temporary hut; ~ **tyllep** to overwhelm, to cover up (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Khmer **srəp** [elephants] to stand in shade, Kuy **sap** to cover with blanket &c.

E: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **rəp** to be shady, [birds &c.] to cover [sky]; ~ Riang-Lang **rəp** to wrap, cover (with), spread over.

Add perhaps as derivation **1277 *gruup** to invert... . Connect (originally < D with secondary lengthening?) Old Khmer **karap** cover, Modern Khmer **krə:p** to cover; covering (& **kùmrə:p** n.), Kuy **khru:ap** (to cover with) lid; perhaps **A107b *kraap** to hide, take shelter; & cf. **1252 *təp** &c. to bury, cover; **1261 *dəp** &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT 1905 40; BLOOD 1966 165.)

(i) Sora **rub-** to cover, put lid on; ~ Santali **həru'b** to cover, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309);
(ii) Kharia **ra'b** to bury (ib).

Proto-Austronesian ***ruqub(ruqub)**: Sundanese **rurub** to cover with sheet, Javanese **lurub** shroud, &c., Samar-Leyte Bisayan **loób** to cover, Cebuano **lúub** to incubate (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 105, ***rurub**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1274 *rup (& *ruup?) to fight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **rop**, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **rup**.
= following?

***1275 *ruup; *rəp; *rap; *rip to seize, take hold of, catch.**

A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi) Bahnar **ro:p** to seize, capture, hunt, fish, confiscate, grasp, Jeh **rup** to catch, Halang **ru:p** to capture, Bru **ro:p** to grasp; → Khamti Shan **hōp** to seize [prey]; ~ Khasi **kynrup** to pounce on, seize.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **rəp** to put arms round, Stieng **ra:p** to obtain, attain, overcome, Palaung **rəp** to receive, to catch in net, Riang-Lang **rəp** to hold, to receive, Praok **rəp** to receive; ~ Bahnar **hədrəp** fowler's net, **kədrəp** trap for birds.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon **rap /rəp/**, Modern Mon **rəp** to hold, grasp, capture, Kuy with secondary lengthening **rà:p** to receive, accept, Kammu-Yuan **rəp** to catch, to receive, welcome; → Thai **ráp** to receive, accept ~ Bahnar **krap** to put arms round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B?) Thin **grūp** to catch.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **rùp** to confiscate (→ Thai **ríp** to seize, → Khmer **rəp** (TANDART 1935)); ~ Bahnar **krip** to seize; ~ Khasi **shrip** fish-trap.

Add perhaps preceding; **B85 *ruup** fishing-net; & cf. **1273 *rup** &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 187.)

Proto-Austronesian ***[r]aqup** to scoop up: Malay **raup** to scoop with both hands, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, ***lahup**; NOTHOFFER 1975 175; add Acehnese **rahob** to wash one's face, perhaps Karo Batak **n-dahup** to bring food to mouth with fingers).

(***ruəp** see further **1389 *rum** to assemble.)

1276 ***grap** *seed*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **krəp** *grain, seed, nut*, Stieng **grap** *seed* (BLOOD 1966); ~ Chrau **ṅgrap** *seed*.

Conceivably by metathesis ~ ***bgar** = 1574 *[**gar**.
(BLOOD 1966 346.)

1277 ***gruup** *to invert, to lie face down*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng **gru:p** *to turn upside down*, Palaung **grup**, Praok **krup** *to make obeisance*, Vietnamese **súp** *to prostrate oneself*; → Shan **khùp** *to make obeisance*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənrù:p** *to turn upside down, to lie upside down*.

Khasi **khru:p** *on one's knees* is perhaps by metathesis < *[**rku(u)p**, ad 1238
*[**p**]ku(u)p *inverted, face down* ~ 1273 ***ruup** *to cover*?

1278 *[**c**]mrəp *to tremble*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [**chi**] **hərəp samrap**, Khmer **cəmprəp**.
Initial correspondence obscure; perhaps variant-prefix forms.

1279 *triəp; *tra[i]p *to be clamped, pinned*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon **krəp** *to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped*, Khmer **triəp** *packed close together*, (~?) West Bahnar **jəre:p** *to wedge between two props* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***tnriəp** >) Jeh **dre:p** *to stab and pin down* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (***tmriəp** >) Bahnar **kəmre:p** *to be crushed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **krəp** *to press between two surfaces, press together*; ~ Bahnar **kəmra:p** *to be crushed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

*1280 *trəp *wet, waterlogged*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **krəp** *to wallow*, Biat [**da:k**] **trəp** *mud*, Bahnar **trəp** *moist and shady [lair, wallow]*; ~ (***tbrəp** >) Middle Mon **taruip** *to provide with sustenance*, Modern Mon **kərp** *to lead to water*, (by metathesis, or ~ by secundary derivation) West Bahnar **pəkrəp** *to wet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **pəkrə:p** *waterlogged*; with expressive lengthening?); ~ Mon **kərp** *heavy rain*. Cf. Bahnar (h)**atre:p** *large and wet*, (h)**atre:p** *small and wet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (~) Sora 'rab-[**da:n**] *flood, spate*.

1281 *t₁rəp *to fall down*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **hənrùp** *to (stumble and) fall over*, Palaung **təkrəp** [*branch*] *to break, [house] to fall down* (MILNE 1931).

1282 *srap ready, prepared.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **srap** *read*, Vietnamese **sắp** *to be arranged; to be about to*; → Thai **sèt-sàp** *finished, completed*; ~ (*sbrap >) Old Mon **surap** /sərəp/ *to put ready at hand*, Stieng **səbrap** *to prepare* (BLOOD 1966), Sre **prap** *to arrange, to keep*, Chrau **prap** *to put away*, Biat **prap** [ɔn] *to put aside*, Vietnamese **sắp** (in senses) *to arrange, put in order*; ~ Biat **ndrap** *to make ready*. (BLOOD 1966 370.)

†1283 *srup; *sruup to suck, drink.

- A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hrup** *to drink* (MILNE 1931).
 B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **sro:p** *to absorb, suck up, swallow up, gulp in*, Palaung **hrup** (MILNE 1931), Praok **rup** *to drink*, (?; by metathesis *rsuup >, or Tai →) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **sup** *to sip, suck*.
 Sora **sə'rub-** *to suck, sip, drink noisily*, Kharia **su'ru'b** *to breathe, to gargle, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 354).
 Proto-Austronesian (i) *t'urup: Javanese **surup** *to enter; penetrated, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158); (ii) *t'ərəp: Malay **sərap** *to absorb, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151). Rather than *t'[ɿ]-Siɣup *to drink noisily* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 152, *t'iɣup, Proto-West-Indonesian), ~ *siɣup (DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 64, *h-), ultimately → Biat **rho:p** *to suck up, to swallow, to sniff*, **iro:p** *to absorb*. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 381, *sip*; 400, *suck*.

(*sruup see also 1400 *sruum to sheathe.)

1284 *b[h]raap pigeon.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **pharāp** ?/phərap/, Modern Mon **hərap**, Khmer **prɪ:əp**, Kuy [ɕɛ:m] **phrɪ:ap**, Stieng **bra:p**, **pra:p**; → Thai [nók] **pʰrāap**; (?) Sanskrit **pārāvate-**, Pali **pārāpata-**.
 Onomatopoeic; initial irregularities cannot be explained by borrowing Sanskrit. (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1285 *lip; *l[ə]p to spread (v.t.).

- A: (South Bahnaric) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **lip**, Central Rölöm **lup** *to spread on, spread out*.
 B: (Palaungic) Praok **lop** *to spread*; ~ Palaung **hləp** *to spread out* (MILNE 1931). (BLOOD 1966 142.)

1286 *liip; *liəp; *d-lap to know, be used to.

- A: (Central Aslian) Semnam **li:p** *to know*.
 B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon **lep** /lep/, Modern Mon **lèp** *to be versed in, know how to*, Central Nicobarese **le:əp** *to be able to, know how to*, Nancowry **líap**.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **thlɔ̀əp**, Kuy with secondary lengthening **thlɑ̀:p** *to be accustomed to*; ~ (***dnlap** >) Palaung **nəp** *to know*, Khasi **nap** *to be able to, to indulge in*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1286a *liəp *to lick*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **liəp** *to lick tentatively*, Sre **liap** (beside **lep**; loanword?) *to lick*, Khasi **liap-liap** *licking lightly, lapping, flickering*.

Cf. 1409 *[c]lim? &c.

***1287 *ləp**, (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ləbləb** >) ***bləp**; ***lup**; ***luup** (& ***luəp**?) *to immerse*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Asian; *1-) Bahnar **ləp** *to inundate*, Semang **lab** *to wash* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 22A); ~ (***crləp** >?) Bahnar **həlxp** *to inundate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***cnləp** >) Stieng **atɕna:p**, Sre **phəp** *to immerse oneself*, Biat **ɲəp** [*stars*] *to set*, (— **da:k**) *to immerse oneself*; ~ Mon **kələp taluip** *to overflow* (or B), Khmer **trələp** [*scent &c.*] *to be diffused*; ~ (***pnləp** by metathesis >, or by secondary derivation) Khasi **phyrnəp** *to dip, plunge, to duck*; (***bl-**) Old Mon **blip** /**bləp**/, Modern Mon **pləp** *to immerse oneself, bathe*, Stieng **blə:p** [*kite*] *to fall to earth*; ~ Old Mon **birlup** *ritual bathing*, Biat **rla:p** [**da:k**] *inundation* (with vocalism as in **mphla:n** ad 927 ***ləp**).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer **lup** *to wash* (& *to erase*, cf. foll); ~ Bahnar **ɲup** *to immerse oneself*, (or ***-uəp**?) Khasi [**ngam**] **jyllop** *to be immersed, drowned* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Khasi **phyrnop** *to dip, plunge, to duck*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (***t₂luup** >) Bahnar **klu:p** *to capsize* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **hlup** *to inundate* (MILNE 1931); ~ Central Nicobarese **pomlo:p-[fire]** [*harpooned turtle*] *to sink*.

Cf. 423 ***lək** &c. ...*to be immersed*; 721 ***ləŋ** *to be immersed*; 854 ***ləc** &c. *to be flooded, to sink*; 1077 ***li[i]t** &c. *to be extinguished*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SMITH 1972 181.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ləbləb**: Javanese **lələp** (!) *forced under water*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 93-4; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8); (ii) ***k'əlub**: Malay **chəlap** *to immerse*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 83; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). See BENEDICT 1975 400, *submerge*.

***1288 *lup**; ***luup**; ***luəp**; ***l[ə]p**; ***lap**; ***lip**; ***liip**; ***liəp** *to enter*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **lup lup**, **lap'** *to delete, efface, erase* (?; cf. semantically Khasi, F), Kuy **lup** *dark, cloudy, dim*; *to erase*, Bru **lup** *to erase*; ~ Bahnar **hlup** *to go into, through [door, hole]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **lup** *to enter*, Chrau **lu:p** *cloudy*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **lop** /**lo:p**/, Literary Mon **lop** *to enter*; ~ Old Mon, Modern Mon **plop** *to bring in*.

- D:** (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **la:p** *to enter*, (probably, rather than **E**) Palaung **ləp** [*sun*] *to go in*, [*moon*] *to have fully waned*; ~ Palaung **hləp** *to put in*, (MILNE 1931) *to set*.
- E:** (by hypercorrection from dialects in which *lə- > la-?; Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **lap** *to enter*, Bahnar **lap** *to fit, be equal to*; ~ Stieng **klap** *to insert*; ~ Sre **sənap** *to force in*, mount [*dah-blade*] *in hilt*, Biat **ŋlap** *to force in, to incorporate*.
- F:** (Khmer, ?Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer **lùp** *to withdraw*, [*sun*] *to go in*, (or **G**?) Khasi **lip** *to be extinguished, to extinguish*, Besis **lep** *to enter* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 76 (b)).
- G:** (Palaungic) Palaung **lip** *to enter*, Praok **lip** [**lu**] *to enter [trance]*; ~ Praok **klip** [*sun*] *to set*.
- H:** (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh **kliap**, Halang **gliap** [*sun*] *to set*.
- Cf. Stieng **lu:m** *to go in, to go over [obstruction]*.
- Proto-Austronesian ***luub**: Acehnese **lob** *to enter through narrow opening, to set*, Pangasinan **loób** *inside, to enter*, by metathesis Proto-Ambonese ***lobo** *to enter* (STRESEMANN 1927) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***kli(i)p** see 445 ***pliik** *shoulder*.)

1289 *klap; *klaap to cover, shut, enclose (sep. *lap box?).

- A:** (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Jeh **klap** *to cover [pan]* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Old Mon **kinlap** /**kənləp**/ *book, volume*, Modern Mon **kənp** *sheath, scabbard, volume with covers*, Biat **ŋlap**, Bahnar **təŋlap** (!) *box*, Jeh **kalap** *lid* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bru **klap** *small box* (Kuy **tlap** ← Thai); ~ Sakai **tərlap** (!) *to shut* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 182 (a); or **B**); by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khlap** *to shut*.
- B:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar **kla:p** *to shut, stop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or ~ by secondary derivation, cf. Palaung) Praok **klap** *to shut*; ~ Thin **kənlap** (& **cənlap**) *to shut door*; ~ Stieng **kala:p** *bamboo tube with lid*; ~ (***kplaap** >) Vietnamese **tráp** *wooden container, betel-box*.
- Cf. further Bahnar **təŋləp** *lid* (& **klə:p**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, = **klə:p**); East Bahnar **tələ:p** *lid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar **aŋlə:p**, Kontum Bahnar **hno:p** *sheath*.
Bahnar **təŋlə:p** by dissimilation, Sakai **tərl-** by assimilation?

1290 *klaap flying white ant.

- A:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Jeh **kla:p**, Kammu-Yuan **klá:p**; ~ (***knlaap** >) Stieng **kəla:p** *kind of flying ant*, Sre **kəna:p** *white ant*, Biat **ŋla:p**, Halang **kəla:p** *flying white ant* (→ Bahnar?).
- (SHAFFER 1965 503; SMITH 1972 196.)

(***bləp** see 1287 ***ləp** *to immerse*.)

1291 *slaap wing.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sla:p**, Kuy **sla:p**, **lha:p**; ~ Stieng **səkla:p** [kəna:], (~?) Chrau **sənla:p** *feathers of arrow*.

1292 *saap tasteless, without effect.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **sa:p** *insipid, tasteless; fresh [water]; powerless, ineffective*, Kuy **sa:p** [spell] *to wear off*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **sa:p** *tasteless*; ~ Sre **bəsa:p** *tasteless*.
(SMITH 1972 200.)

1292a *səp to suffice.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **səp** *to be just right*, Sre **səp** *enough*, Biat [bic] **chəp** [to sleep] *one's fill*; (Khmer ***səp**, cf. derivation) → Thai **sòp** *every* [Editor's note: we were unable to confirm Shorto's gloss, although we did confirm the form as a Northern Thai gloss: *to meet, come upon*], → Khmer **sùp** *sufficient, complete...* by back-borrowing; ~ Khmer **səmnəp** *satisfying, pleasing*.

***1293 *ksip to whisper.**

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **khsɿp**, Khasi [kren] **sip-sip**.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan **há:p-há:p-hiáp-hiáp**.
By metathesis Proto-Austronesian ***bit'ik**: Malay **bisek**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-West-Indonesian).

1294 *hiip; *[h]iəp; *həp; *haip to suck in, to inhale.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **hi:p**; ~ Chrau **phə:p** *to nose-kiss*; ~ Sre **rəhip** *to sniff, inhale*, Bahnar **hri:p** *to sniff, inhale, to suck*; → Jarai **hrip** *to suck up*.
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **ʔiə:p** *to suck (blood of), to pump up*, Bru **yiip** *to suck*; ~ **hrēp** = **hri:p** *to sniff, inhale, to suck* → Acehnese **sriəb**, **r(h)iəb** *to suck up, to snuff up*.
C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **həp** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [hō]-**háp** *to inhale*.
D: (Khmer) Khmer **haep** *to come up for air*.
Add Lanoh Yir **hup** *to breathe?* Cf. 1296 ***thəəp** *to sniff*; 1104 ***hiit** &c. *to sniff...*; 1299 ***ihim** *to breathe...*

1295 *haap; *hup; *huup; *ʔuup to eat.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon **hāp** /**hap**/, Modern Mon **hap** *to eat [rice]*, Palaung **hap** *food, to eat*; ~ West Bahnar **həna:p** *mess, eaters at one dish* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?; East Bahnar **səna:p**!).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **hup** *to lift [food -bag] to mouth*; ~ Khasi **kahup** *to gulp, gobble*.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ho:p** *to eat*, Vietnamese **húp** *to slurp [rice-gruel]*.
D: (Palaungic) Lawa **ʔaup** *cooked rice*.

Cf. Khasi **kahap** to *snap at*, perhaps contaminated by 1231 ***kap** to *bite* or connected Tibeto-Burman ***hap** to *snap, bite* (BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 89); but note Kenaboi **lihap** to *bite*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227 (b).
(SHAFFER 1965 270.)

(***khaip** see 1226 ***kʔip** centipede.)

1296 *thəp to sniff.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **thaep** to *sniff, to nose-kiss*, Chrau, Biat **thəp** to *smell, sniff*.

Connect 1294 ***hiip** &c. ...to *inhale*?

1297 *ʔam not.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu dials. **əm**, Thin **ʔəm**, Khasi **em**, **ym**.

Connect (i) Riag-Lang **_nam** (& Nyah Kur dials. **nam**, **nəm** not [yet]); (ii) Praok **aŋ**.

1298 *ʔ[o]m water.

(Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **əm**, Palaung **om**, Riag-Lang **ʔom**, Khasi **um**; ~ Praok **rəm**, Lawa Bo Luang **laʔaum**, Lawa Umphai **raʔaum**, Mae Sariang **yaʔaum**, **laʔaum**.

(SHAFFER 1965 397.)

(*ʔum see 1426 ***huum** to *bathe*.)

†1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***iʔim** > ***yəm** by dissimilation, Pre-Palaungic &c. ***ʔiim**; ***ih[i]m** > ***yhə(ə)m**, secondarily > ***yhu(ə)m** to *breathe, live*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon **yəm** to *breathe*, Riag-Lang **im**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔaim**, Palaung, Praok, Khasi **im** to *live, be alive*, Central Nicobarese **eyə:m** *breath*, **eyə:m-[ləŋ]** to *breathe*, Nancowry **ʔiyúam** to *breathe; life*; → Cham **yum** in *good health*; ~ Old Mon **yumyūm** /**yəmyəm**/, Modern Mon **pəyəm** *life*; by secondary derivation ~ (*-**yəm** >) Kammu-Yuan **həpɲəm** *breath, heart*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) ~ (***inh[i]m** >) Sre **nhəm**, Chrau **nəm**, Biat **nhəm**, Bahnar **jəhŋəm** *breathe* (& Rongao, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **jəhe:m**, perhaps < simplex), Temiar **hənum** to *breathe*, by phrasal contraction (cf. e.g. Sre **taʔ nhəm** to *breathe*) Khmer **dəŋhaəm** *breath*; ~ (***inh[i]m** >) Kuy **phha:m** *heart, mind*, Palaung **phəm** *breathe*, Riag-Lang **phəm** *breath, life, to breathe*, Praok **bəm** *air, breath*, Khasi **msiem** *soul, breath*, Mendriq **nəphəp**, Semelai **ʔamhəm** to *breathe*; by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaphaum**, Lawa Umphai **raphaum**, Mae Sariang **yaphaum**, **laphaum** *spirit, mind*.

Cf. 1428 ***khuum** to *blow*.

(BLOOD 1966 125; SMITH 1972 14; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 389 (a).)

Sora [toŋ]-'je:m- *to breathe, to sigh*, -'je:m- *to blow* (PINNOW 1959 K 313).

Mon-Khmer → Proto-Austronesian *k'i(S)um *to nose-kiss* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k'ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian; Malay → Javanese in view of Acehnese com, &c.)?

1300 *[k]ʔim; *[k]ʔiəm *onion*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; ~ *[k][l]ʔim >) Khmer khtùm (→ Biat kdum), Bahnar kədim.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre iam (→ Röglai jam); ~ Kuy (kh)thì:m *onion, garlic* (→ Thai krat^hiam *garlic*), West Bahnar kəde:m (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh kadium, Halang gədiam *onion*.

(SMITH 1972 35.)

1301 *c[n]ʔaam *span*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cəmʔa:m (by assimilation, or ~?), Sre na:m, Chrau səndə:m, Biat nʔa:m.

1301a *cʔəəm *nauseated*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔəəm; ~ Biat mʔu:m.

951 *cʔən *sated, cloyed* contaminated by 1304 *t₂um[] &c. *rotten*?

1302 *jʔiəm *smoke*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Semnam jiʔa:m; ~ (*jnʔiəm >) Khmer chṇiəm *smelling of burning*, Stieng ṇiəm, (?) Sakai nyām [os] *smoke* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 298).

(SHAFFER 1965 151.)

1303 *[t₁]ʔaam (*molar*) *tooth*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Nyah Kur n̄ək kəʔáam *molar*, Bahnar taa:m *molar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Shom Pě Nicobaric t̄aa:m *tooth*; ~ Khasi t̄yng-am *jawbone*.

Cf. 1318 *d̄gam &c. *molar tooth, jaw*.

1304 *t₂ʔum[]; *t₂ʔuum[]; *t₂ʔam[]; *t₂huums; *t₂ham[] *rotten*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*t₂nʔum[] >) Mon həim *to stink*; ~ (*t₂pʔum[] >) Chrau pəʔum *stale*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre oum, Chrau o:m *rotten*, Biat o:m *stinking, to rot*, Bahnar o:m *rotten, stinking*; ~ (*t₂pʔuum[] >) Khmer phʔo:m *musty, sour-smelling*, Sre poʔoum *to stink*, Praok siʔum *to decay*, Lawa Bo Luang saʔum *to rot*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung əm *rotten*; ~ Lawa Umphai saʔeum *to rot*.

D: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese thũm *to smell bad*.

E: (Palaungic; ~ *t₂pham[] >) Riang-Lang ṭhəm *to be rotten*.

(BLOOD 1966 11.)

‡1305 *[m]ʔəəm *cloud*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔpəʔəəm *cloud, to be cloudy*, Praok [pay] ɔm *cloud*, Lawa Bo Luang [mbia]ʔaum *mist*.

Proto-Austronesian *[ʔəm[ʔəm) Rukai, Saisiat *əməm (BENEDICT 1975 254, which compare).

Cf. Proto-Miao-Yao *ɔm (BENEDICT 1975).

1306 *[sʔ]iəm *younger sibling*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy se:m *younger sibling*, Bru ʔɛ:m *younger sibling*, Stieng iəm *elder sibling*, Kammu-Yuan hé:m! *younger sibling of same sex as speaker*, Vietnamese em *younger sibling*.

Kuy, Kammu-Yuan < secondary *sy-?

‡1307 *[s]ʔəm; *[s]ʔəəm; *[s]ʔuum; *[s]ʔuəm; *[ʔhəm *warm*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer sʔəm *warm, to warm, heat*, Vietnamese ám *to be warm*, (~?) Kuy sʔam *warm*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyr-em *spring season*.

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang ʔsəʔəm *to be warm*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar ɔm *happy*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi byr-um *tepid*.

D: (Khasi, ?Palaungic) Palaung ɔm, Riang-Lang ʔwɔm *to be pungent in taste (?)*, Khasi [s'aid] om-om *slightly [warm]*; → Acehnese sōʔuəm, tōʔuəm *warm, hot, to grill, to apply heat medicinally*.

E: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese hām *to warm up*; ~ Khasi rhem *hot*.

Tone of Vietnamese ám suggests *cʔ-; Bahnar vocalism compatible with either construction (cf. 335a *đuuk; 527 *cuuŋ). Back vocalism secondary?

(Proto-Austronesian *[ʔəm[ʔəm) Ilocano anem-em *heating up, to heat [water]*. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 365, *to ripen fruit...* (V).

†1308 *kam *arrow*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon kaṃ /kɔm/ *arrow, projectile*, Modern Mon kɔm *bullet, cartridge*, Khmer kam *projectile*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat kam, Kammu-Yuan kám, Mnar ha:m *arrow*; ~ Khasi khnam *arrow*. (BLOOD 1966 354.)

Sora aʔa:m-ən, compounding form a:m-ən, Kharia kɔm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 265).

(*kaams see 1420 *ksaam (*to catch*) *cold*.)

1309 *[ʔkə[ə]m *roof-ridge*.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar kɔ:m *thatch at ridge of roof* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre (with secondary shortening?) rəkəm *roof-ridge*.

†1310 ***kom**; ***koom** to associate, assemble.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *kuṃ* /kəm/ also, Mon *kəm* also, usually auxiliary verb, to accompany (A), Old Mon *kom* /kom/ to associate, Modern Mon *kom* to assemble; assembly (B), Bahnar *kum* (& *kum*) also (A), *kɔ:m* to collect together (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Riang-Lang *ṭkəm* together with, Semang *kom* much (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 46); ~ (**krk-* > ; B) Middle Mon *grakwom* /gəkom/, Modern Mon *həkom* company, assembly, (A?) Biat *rkom* bunch, cluster; ~ Bahnar *akəm*, *akum*, Gölar Bahnar *həkum* to assemble (v.i), to gather (v.t.) (A), Vietnamese *gom* to gather [money] together; ~ Khmer *cəŋkaom* bunch.

Connect Sre *khom* to collect up; & 1320 ***bgum** &c. to collect together.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFFER 1965 54.)

Sora *kum-* to flock, swarm, (**kum-kum-* >) *kuk'kum-* to gather.

Proto-Austronesian **raNkum*: Malay *rangkum* to gather together, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 259; Proto-Western-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 299-300.

†1311 ***kuəm**; ***kəm** to grasp, hold.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *ṭkuam* to grasp, seize, Praok *kəm* to embrace, Temiar *kəwəp* to hold, Central Nicobarese *kwəm-* handle [of paddle].

B: (North & South Aslian) Mendriq, Semaq Beri *kəm* to hold.

Connect following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48 (a).)

Proto-Austronesian **kəmkəm*: Tagalog *kimkim* handful, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 78; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 316, hold... (V).

†1312 ***ckiəm**; ***ckəm**(& ***ckam**); ***ckaim** to grasp, hold.

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Old Mon *ckem* /ckem/ to grasp, pick up; handful, Modern Mon *kem* to grasp, Vietnamese *kém* pincers, tweezers (contaminated by 1236 **ckiəp* to pinch..., which compare?); ~ (by back-formation, contaminated by **ckiəp*?) Central Nicobarese *ni:əmə* tongs.

B: (Khasi, Katuic, ?North Aslian) Khasi *skhem* firmly, securely, [*shi*]*khem* handful (& (*shi*) *kham* ; cf?), Bru *sakam* to grasp, (or Malay, below, →?) Kensiu *cəkam* to hold.

C: (Katuic; ~ **cnkaim* >) Kuy *ŋkɛ:m* to hold in teeth or beak.

Connect preceding (so front vocalism environmental?); perhaps 1366 **k[]n,am?* handful. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note also Vietnamese *kìm* pincers, pliers, ↔ Thai *kʰiim*.

Proto-Austronesian **k'a(N)kəm* (?): Malay *chəŋgkam* (!) to grasp, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 77, Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay by vowel metathesis, or trisyllabic reconstruction required?).

1312a *rnkam *Zalacca wallichiana*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **təkəm lakəm** *Zalacca wallichiana* (→ Burmese **yañkam:**), Nyah Kur **rəkám** (→ Thai **rakam**), Khasi [**soh**]-**ryngkham** *kind of small fruit*.

†1313 *skaam? *chaff, husks of paddy*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Bru **sakaam**, Mon, Thin **kam**, Palaung **kham**, Riang-Lang **ṭkham**, Vietnamese **cám**; → (probably, rather than :) Malay **sěkam**, Acehnese **sököəm**; ~ Khmer **ʔəŋka:m** (!), Kammu-Yuan **həŋká:m**.

Add Khasi **skam** *powder?* Khasi **skap** *husk* is < **1237 *ckap**. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) Sora **'küna:m-ən**, **kina:m-ən**, compounding form **'kum-ən** &c. (to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 366).

1314 *gam (& ***gəm?**) *more*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **gañ** /**gəm**/ *more, further, other, besides*, Sre **gam** *still, more*, (variant >, or weak form?) Chrau **gəm** [**va:**] *and*.

1315 *gaam *to step*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **kəm gām** *pace, to step*, Khasi **kam** *to step* (& **kab** *step*).

1316 *gom *hot-air balloon, paper lantern*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **kəm** *hot-air balloon*, Khmer **kò:m** *lantern, balloon* (→ Thai **k^hoom**), Kuy **khò:m** [**lò:i**] *hot-air balloon*, (Khmer →?) Biat [**uɲ**] **go:m** *lantern*.

†1317 *gum; *guum; *g[əə]m *to winnow*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **gum**; ~ Sre **ngum**.

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **kùm**, Kammu-Yuan **kù:m** *to winnow*, Palaung **gum** *to clean [rice] by tossing*.

C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***gɣɣm** *to winnow vertically* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Add Khmer **ʔom**, Kuy **ɔm**, Bru **ʔo:m**, Bahnar **u:m**, Jeh **ùm**, Halang **ù:m** (&c., see SMITH 1972 16)? Stieng **khu:m** *to blow, to winnow* is < **1428 *khuum** *to blow*. Sora **gum-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 159).

†1318 *dgam; *dgaam; *dgəm *molar tooth, jaw*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **gam** *molar*, Vietnamese **cằm chin**; ~ Chrau [**se:c**] **dəgam** *molar*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Khmer **thkì:əm** *molar*, (TANDART 1935) *jaw*, Stieng **ga:m** *jaw bone*; ~ Bahnar **təŋa:m**, (or A) Besis **[lěmoñ]** **tenggam** *molar* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 170).

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **gə:m** *molar*; ~ Sre [**si:**] **tərgəm** *molar* (→ Röglai [**təgei**] **tərgəm**).

Cf. Semang (i.e. Kintaq Bong) **těmgim** *lower jaw bone*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 121; & **1303** *[t₁]ʔaam (*molar*) *tooth*; **1233** *kaap *chin*; **497** *kaaŋʔ *chin, jaw*. (SHAFFER 1965 582.)

Proto-Austronesian *gaq[ae]m: Acehnese ghööm, Cham khùm, &c., Malay g/ěr/(a)ham, Javanese g/r/aham, Iban [ngeli] gam /gaam/ *molar* (Proto-West-Indonesian; *yahəm, DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, falls; Javanese bam : Siraya vaam). Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gəm, BENEDICT 1972 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese g'əm 頔, ib. 183 n. 482 (→ Vietnamese hăm).

†1319 *prgəm *imperial pigeon*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon həkəm, Proto-Nyah Kur *pərkum (DIFFLOTH 1984 N29; implies *-um), Bahnar pəgəm.
Malay pərgam, probably → Besis pəgāp (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 92). Mon-Khmer → Indonesian?

†1320 *bgum (?); *bguum; *bgəm *to collect together*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gum *to help* (?).
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng prəgu:m, Biat rgu:m *to collect together*.
C: (Khmer) Khmer phkùm phgañ, (by back-formation?) kùm gañ *collect together*.
Connect **1310** *ko(o)m *to associate, assemble*; perhaps **A117** *[g]n[ə]m *granary*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 7.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *ragum: Javanese ragum *to be one with*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 347; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1321 *.ŋəm; *[]ŋam *to immerse, soak*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Stieng ŋə:m *waterlogged [tree]*, Biat ŋəm *to immerse*, Palaung ŋəm *to immerse, soak, ferment* (MILNE 1931; or B), Mường ngám *to soak* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese ngâm *to steep, soak*.
B: (Khasi) Khasi ngam *to dive into*.

†1322 *lŋaam *sweet*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (ŋ)ŋi:am *sweet*, Sre ləŋam *to be very sweet*, Palaung ŋam, Riang-Lang ŋam *sweet substance, to be sweet*; ~ Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ʔŋa:m *sweet*.
Connection uncertain Khasi shngiam *very tasty*, with which cf. Bahnar pa:m *delicious*; Praok ɲəm *to taste pleasant*.
(SHAFFER 1965 150; SMITH 1972 39.)
Sora 'le:ŋəm- *deliciou [taste]*.

1323 *sɲəm silent.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *sɲam*, *sɲom* to be silent, thoughtful, anxious, Khmer **sɲəm-[sɲiəm]** to keep silent; ~ Mon *kəhom* to feel regret, remorse, Khmer *səmɲəm* to stay still and quiet.

Hence probably by arbitrary variant Khmer **sɲiəm** silent; **crəɲùm** quiet, silent, deserted; **sɲəp** unmoving, silent. Cf. **1427 *khəəm** silent... .

***1324 *cim; *ciim; *ciəm; *caim; *cum bird.**

A: (Bahnaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Bunör **sim**, Central Rölöm **sum**, Biat **chium** (!), Jeh, Halang, (or B, ?C) Semnam, Semelai **cim**; → Cham **cim**, North Röglai **cip**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **si:m**, Kammu-Yuan **sí:m**, Riang-Lang **sim**, Lawa Bo Luang **saiɲ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saim**, Palaung, Praok, Khasi **sim**, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chim**; → Jarai **ci:m**, Röglai **sim**; ~ → Acehnese **cicem**.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **sɛ:m**, Temiar **cɛp**; ~ (***kuən ciəm** by contraction >) Old Mon **kiñcem** /**kəncem**/, Modern Mon **həcem**.

D: (Kuy) Kuy **cɛ:m**.

E: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **cɔ:m**, Chrau **sum**; ~ Central Nicobarese **ceco:n** (→ Moken **chichom**).

D secondary to C; E probably to A, cf. Biat ib. With Nicobaric cf. Acehnese ad B. (SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFER 1965 237; BLOOD 1966 144; SMITH 1972 10; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 216.)

Sora compounding form **'i:m-ən** (& **'si:m-ən** by levelling; ~ **kən'si:m-ən**, cf. Mon), Santali **sim fowl**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 314).

Connect Proto-Austronesian ***qaiam** bird, fowl... (under the entry **1382a *[h]yam**)?

1325 *cam; *caam to wait, watch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer **cam** to await, keep watch (→ Biat **cam** [**ye:m**] to keep watch), Kuy **cam** to wait.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **ca:m** to wait; ~ (***[c]ncaam** >) Kammu-Yuan **ɲà:m** to guard, watch (→ Lao **ɲaam**, → Kammu-Yuan **yà:m**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

1326 *cum; *cuum; *cuəm; *cəm matched, complete.

A: (Palaungic, Khmuic, ?Mon) Literary Mon [**ci**] **cuim** to be complete (or D), Kammu-Yuan **cùm** (!; contaminated by flock, herd < **1338 *bjum**), Palaung **sum** pair (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **cum** pair, set; to be even in number, complete, Palaung **sum** pair (MILNE 1931).

C: (Mon) Old Mon **com** /**com**/ entirely.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cəm** exact(ly), directly; ~ Stieng **tacə:m** to put together again.

*1327 *cuum; *cuəm; *cəm; (*cim cim >) *ncim; *ciəm (& *nciəm?); *caim to eat, to feed.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **sum** to eat (MILNE 1931, honorific).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṣuam**, Praok **səm**, Lawa Bo Luang **saum**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **som** to eat.

C: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **səm** to treat medically, administer [medicine] to; ~ Central Sakai **bösö'p** to feed [child].

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **'cim** /ⁿ**cəm**/, Khmer **ɲɛm** (& **cəɲɛm**), Stieng **ci:m** to feed.

E: (Bahnaric) Sre **siam** to feed, Chrau **siəm** to feed [child], Biat **chiam**, **ciam** to taste, Bahnar **hiəm** to feed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also Bahnar dialect **sɛ:m** to feed; West Bahnar **ɲɛ:m** to treat), Jeh **ciam** to feed, Halang **ciam** to raise; → Cham **ciem** to feed, North Röglai **ciap** to feed [pigs].

F: (Kuy) Kuy **cɛ:m** to feed [child], Bru **ʔace:m**.

F secondary; A-B may be if Munda, below, not cognate. Palaung **səm** food offered to monks is ← Shan **shōm** ← Burmese **chwam**; **pəm** cooked rice is < 1345 *t₁/p/uəm. Cf. further Beduanda **kêchem**, **ngêchem** to eat (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 28).

(SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(?) Sora **jom-**, Santali **ɟəm** food, to eat, &c. (PINNOW 1959 385).

1328 *[c][wə]m night.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **sum**, Riang-Lang **ṣəm**, Praok **səm** (!), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **saum** night, Mae Sariang **saum** dark; ~ Mae Sariang **lasaum**, **ɣasaum** night; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəsúam** night.

Or (i) *-um (Palaung, Riang-Lang), *-uum (Lawa), *-uəm; (ii) *t₂-; connected then 1352 *btəm? Cf. 1268 *yup &c dark.

1329 *dcaam to make a hole.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **cam** to dibble, Khasi **sam** to bore, pierce; ~ Old Mon **[kīr] ducām** /**dəcam**/ **[kil]** to make holes with an earth-auger.

Connect Mon **həcəm** dibber; perhaps Semai I **cə:p**, Mah Meri **kacup** to dig (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 108 (a)).

(*ncim see 1327 *cuum ...to feed.)

*1330 *jiim; *jəm, (*jəm jəm >) *njəm; *juum; *juəm moist, swampy.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Mon **cim** to be swampy (→ Burmese **cim**. marsh, to be swampy), Vietnamese **chìm** to sink, be submerged; (?) ~ Jölong **(h)ɲɛ:m** to moisten; moist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **cəm** marsh, swamp, (*nj- >) Khmer **cəəm** sodden.

C: (Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Khasi **jum-jum** *full of juice*; ~ Bahnar **hɔ:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar also **hɔ:m** *to moisten; moist* (?), (~?) Khasi **bañium** *bog; wet*.

D: → Acehnese **juəm** *damp, spongy, soft*.

Connect 1393 ***jrəm** *mud, swamp?* Cf. further Thin **jǔp** *to soak, wet*; & 1419 ***səm** [] &c. *damp*.

Sora **'laɟim-** *wet, damp*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 270-1, *to dip...*

1331 ***jaam** *dish, bowl*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **cɛ:m** *dish, tray*, Stieng **ja:m** *large copper dish*, Sre **jam** (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **ja:m** *large bowl* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **jiam** *washing bowl* (beside **sa:m** ← Thai); → Cham **cà:m** *dish*; Thai **c^haam** (→ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **chuam**?).

(BLOOD 1966 297.)

1332 ***jəm; *jəəm** *manner*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (***.njəm** >) Praok **jəm** *manner, action, condition*; ~ Khasi **syriem** *to resemble*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **yi:m** *like, thus, so* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **cəm** *in order to*; ~ (***jməəm** >) Biat **mə:m** *manner*.

Bahnar fronting post-palatal.

(***jəm** see also 1338 ***bjum** *bunch...*.)

1333 ***jum; *juum** *(to go) round*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cùm jum** *(a turn) round*, Stieng **ju:m** *circuit, (area) around* (or B?), Biat **jum** *around*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ju:m** *to go round*.

Cf. Khmer **caom** *to encircle, surround*, ~ Biat **nco:m** *to encircle, surround*.

(BLOOD 1966 158.)

(***ju(u)m, *juəm** see 1338 ***bjum** *bunch...*.)

1334 ***juəm** []; ***jəm?** *slow*.

A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **ɲɔ:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **chậm** *to be slow, late*.

1335 ***[k]jəm; *[k]jəəm; *[k]juum** *soft*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **jəm** *to be tender, flexible, soft*, Khasi **jem** *soft*.

B, C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **cum**, Lawa Umphai **chum** *soft* (C); ~

(B) Riang-Lang **kəcəm** *to be tender, flexible, soft*.

Lawa suggests ***ɽj-**.

1336 *tjum; *tjuum *tinder*.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *tbjum >) Chrau **pəjum** *to make fire*.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **ju:m**, Biat **jo:m** *tinder*; ~ Bahnar dialects **təso:m** &c. *tinder* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*njəm see 1330 *jiim *moist...*.)

1337 *njum; *njuum; *njuəm; *njəm *dark in colour*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khasi) Khasi **jngum** *dark blue, violet* by metathesis (or B); ~ Sre **gəpəm** *black, dark- coloured*; ~ Semang **lemyom** *evening* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d)).

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *pnjuum >?; contaminated by 1330 *juum *moist...*) Bahnar **ɲu:m** *to soak, dye*.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **yòm yom** *to be dark in colour*, Mường **yòm** *black* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209); ~ (*pnjuəm >?) Biat **ɲo:m** *to colour, dye, blacken*, Palaung **ɲəm** *to dye*, (MILNE 1931) *stain*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ɲəm**, Vietnamese **nhuộm** *to dye*; ~ Mon **həyòm** *to be dark, no longer light*.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cəəm** *discoloured, stained, bruised, dark in colour*, Kuy **chəm** *bruised*, Palaung **yəm** *to be black, swarthy*, Mường **yəm** *black* (CUISINIER 1951), by metathesis Khasi **jngem** *bruised*; → Thai **chám** *black*; Cham **jañ**; ~ Khmer **cùəncəəm** *dark [sky &c.]*.

Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

1338 *bjum; *bjuum; *bjuəm; *bjəm *bunch, to gather together*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **cùm juñ**, (by back-formation from?) **phcùm phjuñ** (& **phjam**, cf. D) *to gather together*, Kuy **chùm** *to gather together; group*, Kammu-Yuan **cùm** *flock, herd*; → Lao **jhum** *flock, herd*; ~ Sre **pərjum** *collection, assembly*, Jeh **pajòm** *together* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **hiu:m** *to gather together, gather in arms, to embrace*, Jeh **yum** *to pick up in a bunch*, Halang **yu:m** *to gather together*, Vietnamese **chùm** (!) *bunch*, **chum** *to assemble, join, gather*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Stieng dialect **jo:m[ja:l]** *to meet (together)*; Kammu-Yuan **cə:m** *to follow, accompany*, Vietnamese **chòm** (!) *tuft, clump, bunch, group*.

D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **phcùm** *to gather together* (merging A; **phjam**), Thin **jəm** *all*. In view of Vietnamese tonal variant perhaps orig. *j- n., *b-j- v. (SMITH 1972 17.)

1339 *kɲum; *kɲuum; *kɲuəm *young*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Old Mon *kñum* (*child?*) of *tender years*, Proto-Nyah Kur **khəɲɔom* *young child* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N171), Kammu-Yuan (A) *núm*, *núm*, Besis *nyom* *young* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 42; or C?); ~ (B) Central Nicobarese *kenyu:m* *child*, Nancowry *kipóm*.

C: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy *ɲu:am* (!) *young*; ~ (**kɲuəm* >) Palaung *kəɲəm* *young boy*, Praok *ɲəm* *young child*.

Connect Riag-Lang *kəɲuk* *to be soft, young, tender?*

†1340 *t₁iim; *t₁iəm; *t₁əm; *t₁am; *t₁a[i]m; *t₁[u]m *to hit repeatedly*.

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar *te:m* *to beat, hammer, forge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *teəm* *to hammer*, Lawa Bo Luang *team*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang, Praok *təm* *to hammer, beat out*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer *dəm* *to beat, hammer, forge*, Kuy *tam* *to hit, beat* (probably, rather than D), Pakoh *tum* *to thump with bottom of fist*, Stieng *təm*, Biat *təm*, Bahnar *təm* *to horn, gore*, Khasi *tem!* *to beat [drum &c.]*, Mường *tâm* (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *đâm* *to pound*; → Thai *tam* *to pound*; ~ (**pt₁əm* >?) Vietnamese *đấm* *to hit with fist*.

D: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon *tam* /*təm*/ [*śno'*], Modern Mon *təm* [*hao?*] *husked and pounded rice*, Kammu-Yuan *tam* *to beat [drum]*.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *tá:m* *to hammer, forge*.

F: (Palaungic) Palaung *tum* *to hit with fist*; ~ (*[*t₁*nt₁[u]m >) Praok *dum* *to strike*.

Connect obscure Central Nicobarese *dəm* *to hammer*, Nancowry *rəm*.

Kharia *thəm* *to smash*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 264; Proto-Munda **təm*).

Proto-Austronesian (i) **[qS]aNtəm*: Acehese *antam* *to hit hard*, Malay *hantam* *to pound* (→ Besis —i.e. Mah Meri— '*ntöm*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 203), Javanese *di-antəm* *to be hit* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, by metathesis?) **[qS]əNtəm*: Karo Batak *ng-entam* *to lunge and butt*, Acehese *öntam*, Malay *měng-hěntam-kan* *to hit hard*, Iban *ng-entam* *to attack* (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1341 *t₁iim *to know*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *tīm* /*tīm*/, Modern Mon *təm* *to know*, Lawa Bo Luang *taɲ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *taim* *to remember, understand*.

Cf. 896b **tɪn* &c. Connection dubious Khasi *tip*.

1342 *t₁am *locative (?) particle*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *tam* *in, at*, Jeh *tam* *with, from*, Halang *tam* *from*.

†1343 *t₂əm; *t₂əəm; *t₂am *plant, to grow; to begin.*

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese *đâm* to grow, sprout; ~ (*pt₂əm >) Stieng *tam* to plant, sow, Palaung *səm* (or C?) to plant; ~ Stieng t(h)əna:m, Kammu-Yuan sərnu:m *medicine*.
- B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Khmer *daəm*, Biat *tə:m*, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar *tə:m* (foot or trunk of) tree, beginning, Mintil *toum* tree; ~ Khmer *phdaəm* to begin, Palaung *sum*, Besis *pětōm* to plant (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132); ~ Bahnar *pətə:m*, Hre *basəm*, Sedang *pasiam* to begin, Riang-Lang *pəksəm* to plant, lay out [garden &c.]; ~ Chrau, Biat *nə:m* quantifier for trees; ~ Bahnar *tənə:m* = *tə:m*.
- C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon *tañ* /təm/ plant, tree, base, foot, beginning, Modern Mon *təm* base, foot, beginning; ~ Old Mon *ptañ* to transplant, Modern Mon *pətəm* also to begin, Khmer *dam*, Sre, Chrau, Biat *tam*, Praok *sum*, Lawa Bo Luang *səum* to plant; → Thai *dam* to transplant; ~ Bahnar *pətam* to plant, (or A?) Lawa Umphai *ndeum*, Mae Sariang *ndəm* to begin; ~ Middle Mon *tnam*, Modern Mon *nəm* plant, tree, Khmer *thnam* *medicine*, Praok *num* plant; ~ Chrau *tənam* wet ricefield, Palaung *sənəm*, Riang-Lang *ṭsənəm* herb, *medicine*. (SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 85; BLOOD 1966 375, 420; SMITH 1972 13; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 151, T 203.)
- Sora *nʔe:b-*, *ɲʔe:b-* [tree] to grow, ə'n(?)e:b-ən, compounding form 'ne:b-ən *transplant, plant*.
- Proto-Austronesian *taləm: Malay *tanam* to plant, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-n-; DAHL 1973 § 15.8). See BENEDICT 1975 355.

†1344 *t₁um; *t₁uum; *t₁uəm *collection, accumulation.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon [suñ] /təm/ all, Literary Mon *tuin* to be numerous, Khmer *dom* group, lump, wad, block (→ Cham *ḍaum* group), Riang-Lang *təm* bundle, Praok *tom* [nɛ] many, much; ~ Khmer *domdom* in a crowd, in a heap, Sre *ntum* work-gang, group; ~ Khmer *kdom* gathered together, Sre *tom* to meet, Chrau *cum* to wrap up, Riang-Lang *ṭəm* to make a bundle.
- B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar *to:m* all, entirely, Jeh *tum* enough, all, Halang *tu:m* enough, Central Nicobarese *to:m* bunch (quantifier); ~ (*ktuum >) Kuy *to:m* to wrap up, Palaung *tum* to gather together (MILNE 1931), Praok *tum* to gather; → Shan *túm* to gather; ~ (*[s]tuum >) Central Nicobarese *həto:m*-[hətə] to assemble, Nancowry *ʔumtum* all, build; ~ Bahnar (h)atu:m collection; together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese *həmto:m* mound (& *əmto:m* every).
- C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau *vətə:m* to assemble.
- Connect Mường *tum* bunch, BARKER 1966 25; perhaps A114 *tam reciprocal preverb. (SMITH 1972 45.)
- Sora *tum-* to accumulate, gather.

1345 ***t₁um**; ***t₁uəm**; ***t₁am**; ***t₁aam**; ***t₁əəm** *to boil, distil*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **tóm** *to boil, cook* (→ Lao **tom**), Semang **to^bm** *to boil* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 331); ~ Sre **tərnəm** *rice-beer*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tom̐** /**tom**/ *to cook*, Modern Mon **tom** *to cook, distil*; ~ (***t₁puəm** >) Palaung **pəm** *cooked rice*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **tām̐**, Modern Khmer **dam** *to boil, cook by boiling*; ~ Khasi **thnam** /**thnam**/, Semai **nam** *to boil* (v.i.) (TAUERN 1914); ~ (***t₁rnam** >) Mon **kənəm** *to boil* (v.i.).

D, E: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***trn-** >) Bunör **rəna:m** (D), Central Rölöm **nə:m** (E) *rice-beer*.

Connection dubious Kharia **ɖəbək-** *to boil*, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 396.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 422.)

†**1346** ***[ʔ]t₁aam** *according to*.

A: (Mon &/or Khmer) Literary Mon **tām̐**, Khmer **ta:m**; → (& in part ←?) Thai **taam**.

***t₁** in view of Sora. If not ***ʔ-**, Mon → Thai → Khmer.

Sora **tam-**, **ə'tam**.

1347 ***k[]t₁am** *heavy*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **kətám** *heavy*, Palaung **[it] kətəm** *[to sleep] one's fill*.

1348 ***kt₁aam** *crab*.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer **kda:m**, Kuy (k)**ta:m**, Stieng, Sre **ta:m**, Chrau **ca:m**, Lawa **tam**, (by back-formation, assuming ****k-** = small-animal prefix!) Khasi **tham**; → Acehnese **götöəm**, Malay **kětam**, Iban **ketam**; ~ (***kntaam** >) Mon **hətam gatām̐**, Bahnar, Halang **kəta:m**, Jeh **kata:m**, Kammu-Yuan **kətá:m**, Semang **kəntem** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 258 (c)); probably by secondary derivation (**k-** small-animal prefix!) ~ Riang-Lang **kətəm**.

Connection dubious Santali **kaŋkəm**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 214. Blust's construction of Proto-Austronesian ***kətəm** (BLUST 1970 no. 210, *-T-) falls.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 278, 376; SMITH 1972 41.)

1348a ***kt₁əm** *egg*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **ːtam**, Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təm**, Lawa Bo Luang **tam** *egg*, Central Nicobarese **kətəm-[ka:ə]** *soft roe*; ~ Palaung **kətəm** *egg*.

Cf. **1253** ***[k]t₁ap**.

(SHAFER 1965 145.)

†1349 *[k]t₁uum; *[k]t₁uəm to fall down.

A, B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon *gatum*, *datum* (A), Mon *hətom* (B) to fall (down); ~ Literary Mon *phatum* &c., Mon *hətom* to knock down.

Sora, which compare. for *t₁, favours construction of *k[r]t₁- ~ *kbt₁- causative. Cf.

A106 *tup to fall; Mon *tòm dom* to fall down.

Sora ə'tum-.

1350 *krt₂uum kind of varan.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *bərtum* small kind of varan of aquatic habit (DOURNES 1950; contaminated by *bəya* kind of varan < 156 *brya?), Chrau [kə:n] *kətu:m*, Biat *rtu:m*, Bahnar *kəto:m* kind of varan (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh ← *kasuam*, Halang *kəsùam* lizard.

(SMITH 1972 20.)

†1351 *[c]t₁iim nine.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *tim*, Riang-Lang *tim*; (~) Lawa Bo Luang *sataip*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *sataim*; ~ (*[c]nt₁iim >) Praok *sidim*.

Connect perhaps 1144 *dciin[?] &c., which compare.

(SHAFER 1965 312.)

Sora 'tim-[ji-], &c. (PINNOW 1959 372.)

1352 *btəm night.

A: (Mon, Aslian, Nicobaric) Che' Wong *bətom*, Central Sakai *töp*, Semelai *pətom*; ~ Old Mon *birtam* /*bərtəm*/, Modern Mon *hətom*, Proto-Nyah Kur **pətam* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N234; implies *-am) ; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Central Nicobarese *hatəm*.

Connect 1328 *[c][uə]m? But connection dubious Mường *têm* (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *đêm*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 17 (a-b).)

†1353 *st₁am; *st₁uum right-hand.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Khmuic) Khmer *sdam* (→ Thai *sàdam*), Kuy *tam*, Palaung [i]təm (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]tam, Lawa Umphai təm, Mường tām (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 205), Kensiutem, Temiar təp, Semelai satam; ~ (*snt₁am >) Praok dəm, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndəm; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan tərham right-handed by metathesis (& by back-formation hām right-hand).

B: (Mon) Old Mon *stūm* /*stum*/.

Back vocalism secondary? cf. here Mintil təum.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 128.)

Santali etəm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 220).

1354 ***[d]im**; ***[d]i[ə]m** to yoke.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tùm**, Stieng **di:m**; ~ (***[d]nim** >) Khmer **nùm** yoke (& **thnùm** *tie-beam*, a neologism), Stieng **ni:m** to yoke, Biat **num** (to) yoke.

B: (or *-iim?: Katuic) ~ Kuy **thni:m** yoke.

For Khmer **n-** < ***dn-** cf. 1750 ***dnaal**. Biat **-im** is wanting; note **jum** : Stieng **ji:m** ad 1381 ***yaam**; **chium** < 1324 ***cim**.

1355 ***dam** young male.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **[klèa] tòt dam** *steer*, Sre **dam** *male [animal]*, Bahnar **dam** *two- to three-year-old male [cattle]*, Jeh **dam** *young* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (***[d]ndam** >) Stieng **ndam** *young male [bullock]*, Biat **[be:ŋ] ndam** *[man] having attained puberty*; ~ (***drdam** >) Bahnar **tədam** *young man, youth*.

†**1355a** ***dəm**[] to be soaked.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đắm, đắm-[đĩa]**; ~ Riang-Lang **tam** (!), Khasi **pdem** to soak, steep, ferment.

Proto-Austronesian ***rəNdəm**: Malay **rəndam** to soak (v.i), wallow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103, ***[l]**-; Proto-West-Indonesian).

†**1356** ***dəm**; ***duum** to incubate.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) ~ (***dnəm** >) Kuy **nòm**, Bahnar **?nəm**; ~ West Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **kənyəm**, Kammu-Yuan **kəmnùm**; ~ Khasi **pdem**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_tum**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **[kəmnùm] kəmnò:m**. = following?

Sora **dum-**.

(Proto-Austronesian ***dəmdəm**) Tagalog **limlim**, Cebuano Bisayan **lumlum** (compared at DEMPWOLFF 1938 43 with Malay &c. words meaning to long, long for revenge; so Cebuano to store up feelings; DAHL 1973's Malagasy & Formosa comparisons, § 14.6, belong elsewhere).

†**1357** ***dəm** (& ***dəəm**?); ***[d]uum** to lodge for the night, to roost.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **dum** /**dəm**/, Modern Mon **təm** to lodge for the night, Khmer **tùm dam** to perch, to sit, Jeh **dəm**, Halang **dəm** to sleep away from home, Khmu' **duum** to stay overnight, Palaung **dəm** to lodge, Praok **tum** to lodge, alight, Khasi **dem** (!) to alight, to stoop, to lie down, (***dəəm** >?) Central Nicobarese **da:m, ra:m** (!) night (quantifier), **[om]da:m** to sleep away from home, Nancowry **rám** (or rather 1360?); → Cham **dam** (!) to perch, alight; ~ Khmer **trənùm** perch, roost, by metathesis Kuy **nthrəm** to perch on, Biat **drəm** to perch.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[om]du:m-[həre]** (!) to squat on heels.

= preceding? There is contamination with 1158 ***d[uu]n** to perch; whence Khasi, Nicobaric, Cham **d-**.

Sora **dum-** *to crouch down*, Santali **du'b** *to sit down*, &c., ~ Mundari **duṛum** *to lie down and sleep* (PINNOW 1959 111).

†1358 ***dəm**; ***dəəm** *to thunder, rumble*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (***dndəm** >) Biat [tər] **ndəm** [*thunder*] *to rumble*; ~ (***dnəm** >) Lawa Bo Luang **nəum** [mbreʔ], Lawa Umphai **neum**..., Mae Sariang **nəm** *thunder*; ~ (***drnəm** >) Palaung **kənəm**, (MILNE 1931; !) **sənəm** *thunder*, Riang-Lang **tərnəm**, (!) **sərnəm**, Praok **sinum** [pray] *thunderbolt*.

B: (North Bahnaric; by expressive lengthening?) Bahnar **ḍɣ:m** *to rumble, buzz* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ **dənɣ:m** *rumbling of thunder &c.*

Cf. 1392 ***grəm**[ʔ] &c. Hence Li ***Nəm** *thunder* (BENEDICT 1975 366, *to roar*)? (SHAFFER 1965 155.)

Sora **dum'dum-**['tir-ən], **dadum-**['tir-ən] *thunder*, **da'dum-da'dum-** *to thunder*.

1359 ***gdəəm** *hut, room*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Obsolescent Mon **hətəm** *room*, Old Khmer **kadañ**, Modern Khmer **khtə:m** (& **khtùm** **khdan**) *hut, shelter*; → Cham **kadauñ** *hut, shelter*; Thai **krat^həm** *hut*.

†1360 ***dīm**; ***dīim**; ***dəm**; ***dəəm**; ***du**[]**m** *dark*.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon **dəm** *to be blue, violet* (or C &c.), Khmer [tù:] **tùm** *cloudy, overcast*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Middle Mon [ñiy] **tḍim** *to be hard to descry*, Chrau [səndo:c] **khli:m** *very [black]*.

C: (Nicobaric, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Nancowry **ram** *night, dark*; ~ (*[d]**ndəm** >) Biat **nhəm** *dark [sky &c.]*; ~ Khmer **srətùm** **sradan** *dark [sky &c.]*, perhaps by metathesis (***drəm** >) Vietnamese **sâm** *to become dark*.

D: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **dənɣ:m** *dark [sky &c.]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

E: (Khasi) Khasi **dum** *dark*.

Kharia **nu'dum** *early before dawn*, &c.; Santali **hadam** **hudum** *dusk, dawn* (PINNOW 1959 115).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d₂əd₂əm**: Cebuano Bisayan **dulum** *dark*, Saaroa (Formosa) **səəsəma** *darkness*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***dədəəm**; separate Tagalog *shadow*); (ii) ***d₂əmd₂əm**) Paiwan **dzəmdzəm** *night before new moon* (cf. DAHL 1973 § 14.6); (iii) ***tid₂əm**: Javanese **tiḍəm** *dark*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 137; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iv) Proto-Formosan ***qud₂[uə]m** *black*, DAHL 1973 § 14.6. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 264-5.

1361 ***[d]am**; ***dəm** *to tend, raise*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer [thae]-**təəm** *to look after*; ~ Sre **pəndam** *to feed* (v.t.) (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṭdam** [*animals*] *to feed, to feed [animals]*.

1361a *ḍaam *to hit the mark.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **ḍam** *to hit the mark, to be true*, Bahnar **ḍa:m** *to hit the mark repeatedly*; ~ (***prḍaam** >) Mon **həḍam**, Bahnar **pəḍa:m** *to aim*.

1362 *ḍum; *ḍuum *ripe, ripe-coloured.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **ḍum**, Modern Khmer **tùm**, Chrau **ḍum** *ripe*, Sre **ḍum** *ripe*, (— **rəmi:t**) *yellow*, Biat **ḍum** *ripe, red*, (~?) Literary Mon **pḍuim** *to be pale red*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Bahnar **ḍu:m**, Jeh **ḍum**, Halang **ḍu:m** *ripe, red*, Praok **tum**, Lawa Bo Luang **tum**, Lawa Umphai **thum** *to be ripe*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntù:m** *to be ripe*, Palaung **kəndum** *bud*, Proto-Semai ***nɣɣ^bm** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besis **'ndum** *ripe* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 137).

Cf. Malay **ku(n)tum** *bud* (→ Semang **kūtum**, ib. B 449); Thai **tùm** *bump, swelling* (→ Kuy **tum**), Shan **tũm** *(to) bud, (to form a) boil*.

(SHAFFER 1965 126; BLOOD 1966 156; SMITH 1972 15.)

***1362a *[]ndəm** *under, underpart.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ḍəm** *underneath*, Biat **nəm** (— **pro:m**) *space under house*, (**to:m** — **da:k**) *bottom of river*; (probably ~) Kontum Bahnar **kə?nəm** *under, underpart, lower down*, Sedang **kadam** *under*.

(SMITH 1972 4.)

Proto-Austronesian ***da[d_{2/3}]**əm *under*: Cebuano Bisayan **dálum**, &c. (Proto-Philippine ***dalem**, CHARLES), Proto-Polynesian ***lalo** (BIGGS ET AL. 1970; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 42 referred to ***ḍaləm** ...*deep*).

1363 *p[d]am *five.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Khmer **pram**, Modern Khmer, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pram**, Muong **ḍām** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **năm**; ~ Bahnar **pəḍam**, Jeh **padam**, Halang **bəḍam**.

With consonantism cf. **588 *p[d]aŋ**; but South Bahnaric **pr-** perhaps counting deformation on *six* < **1851 *tpraw**.

(SHAFFER 1965 378; BLOOD 1966 369; SMITH 1972 23.)

***1364 *sḍəm** *to be afflicted by spirits.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (***sndəm** >) Mon **hənəm** *to fall ill through supernatural agency*; ~ (***sbdəm** > ***smdəm** by assimilation >) Khmer **səndəm** *to put to sleep by sorcery*.

Connect Bahnar **lɣ:m** *sacrilege* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?

Sora **so:'num-** *to be afflicted by evil spirits*.

†1365 ***n₁uum**, (***diʔaak n₁uum** by sandhi >) ***kn₁uum** *urine, to urinate*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **nò:m** *urine, to urinate*, Stieng **nu:m**, Chrau **no:m** *to urinate*, Kammu-Yuan **nù:m**, Rieng-Lang **_num**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **naum**, Proto-Semai ***ṇəum** *urine, to urinate* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **nəm** *urine* (vulgar; so erroneously **ṇam**, **knam**), Kuy **klə:m** *urine, to urinate*, Sre **dəum** *urine*, Bahnar **ʔno:m**, Palaung **hnum** *to urinate* (MILNE 1931).

Connect Palaung **hɲum** *urine* (MILNE 1931); note here the Biat sandhi-form [**prə:c**] **ɲo:m** *bladder*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 171; SMITH 1972 34; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 U 27.)

Sora **ə'num-** *to urinate* (children's word); & **ap(ɲ)um-** *to urinate*, &c., cf. Palaung **hɲum** (PINNOW 1959 K 303).

1366 ***k[]n₁amʔ** *handful*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Rieng-Lang **kənəm** *fist, handful; to clench, clutch*, Vietnamese **nắm** *handful*.

Originally quantifier formation? Cf. Khasi **kham**, under the entry 1312 ***ckəm** *to grasp, hold*; which, with 1311 ***k(u)əm** *to grasp, hold*, perhaps connected.

1367 ***[k]n₂am** (*kind of*) *spirit*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **khlam** *female spirit causing cholera*; ~ (***[k]nn₂am** >) Jeh **kanam** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), by metathesis Palaung **kərnəm** *spirit*.

(***kn₁uum** see 1365 ***n₁uum** *urine, to urinate*.)

1367a ***g[n]nəəm** *to rely on*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **nə:m** *hope, to hope, rely on* (or < simplex ***gnəəm?**), Bahnar **gənə:m** *to depend on, trust*, Jeh **kanò:m**, Halang **kənò:m** *to rely on*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **səŋkhùm** *to hope, to count on*.

†1368 ***cn₁am**; ***cn₁aam** *year*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **chnām**, Modern Khmer **chnam**, Sre, Biat **nam**, Jeh **hnam**, Kammu-Yuan **nùm** (obsolescent), Praok **num**, Lawa Bo Luang **nəum**, Lawa Umphai **neum**, Mae Sariang **nəm**, Khasi **snem**, **'nem**, Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **năm**; (probably) ~ Stieng **səna:m** (or B? BLOOD 1966 **sənam**), Sre, Bahnar **sənam**, Halang **hənam**, Palaung **sənəm**.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **cnām** /**cnam**/, Modern Mon **hnam**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 156; BLOOD 1966 361; SMITH 1972 24.)

Sora **'num-ən** compounding form (~ **minnum-ən**, originally *one year*).

1369 *bn₂uum; *bn₂əm (& *bn₂əəm?) hill.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **plaum**, Khasi **lum**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, South Aslian) Old Khmer **vnam**, Modern Khmer **phnùm**, Stieng **bənnəm**, Sre **bənəm**, (*-əəm > ?) Semelai **bənəm**; ~ (*bnn₂əm >) Kammu-Yuan **pnùm** *anthill*, Palaung **pənnəm** *hillock* (MILNE 1931).

(SHAFFER 1965 173; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 91.)

Sora **bə'num-ən**, Mundari **bunum** *anthill*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 122).

1370 *cn₁aam skin.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **hnam** *skin*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***chnaam** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N135), Palaung **hnam** *skin, complexion*.

Connect Khasi **snep** *skin, rind, bark?*

1371 *paam to set fish-traps.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **pam** *to catch in net or trap*, Kammu-Yuan **pá:m** *to set trap*, Thin **pam** *to set [fish-traps]*; (probably ~ *p^apaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pa:m** *fish-trap*.

(SHAFFER 1965 94; SMITH 1972 42; cf. SCHMIDT 1905, 18.)

1372 *puum to hold in arms, embrace.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **pum**, Central Nicobarese **fu:m-[hətə]**.

1373 *baam to chew.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **bam** *to chew, munch* (MILNE 1931), Khasi **bam** /**baam**/ *to eat*.

Connect 1376 ***gbam** *to have in one's mouth?*

1374 *buum tuber.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat **bu:m** *sweet potato*, Chrau **vu:m**, Bahnar **bu:m** *tuber*, Jeh, Halang **bùam** *quantifier for tubers*.

Connection dubious Khmer **m̃x̃:m** *tuber, edible root*.

(SHAFFER 1965 381; SMITH 1972 19.)

1374a *[]buəm; *[]b[ə]m cheek.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **[tə:m]** **bə:m**, Kammu-Yuan **pə:m** (→ Thin **pəm?**).

B: (Katuic) Kuy **bam**.

Connect following?

1375 *kɓiim; *kɓiəm; *kɓəm; *kɓum; *kɓuum; *kɓuəm to have in one's mouth.

- A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **bɿm** to suck at breast, Vietnamese **mím** to tighten [lips].
- B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **biəm** to hold in mouth, suck, Kuy **bi:m** to have mouth full, Pakoh **kabéam** hold in beak or mouth, Chrau **vɛ:m** to suck in mouth, Vietnamese [móm]-**mém** to mumble, chew, Central Nicobarese **pem-[hətə]** to drink.
- C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Kuy **bəm** to hold in mouth; → Malay **kəbam** [lips] sucked in [in rage]; ~ (*kɓmɓəm >) Bahnar **?mɔm** to close mouth on (!; & **kəmɿm**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, to fill mouth with water); (or **B?**; **t-** adverbial) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **tbem** as if biting something in the mouth.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **vum** mouthful [of rice wine].
- E: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Bru **kubɔ:m** to hold in mouth, Kammu-Yuan **pù:m** to chew [betel], Riang-Lang **bum** to hold in mouth, (or **D?**) Khasi **kbum** to close one's lips.
- F: (Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese **móm-[mém]** to mumble chew; (or *-am? then rather ad following, which connect) by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **?ambam**, Lawa Umphai **rambom**, Mae Sariang **yambom**, **lambom** mouth.
- Cf. besides preceding. **1378** *mim[ʔ] &c. to suck, with mutual contamination; & note Kammu-Yuan **um** to hold in mouth, suck, ~ **rəm?um** quid.

1376 *gɓam to have in one's mouth.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **pəəm** to carry in mouth or beak; ~ (*gɓam >) Kuy **mphəm** bridle; ~ Mon **həbəm** to place, have, hold, in one's mouth, Khasi **kyrbam** to bite one's lip, press lips together.
- Cf. Khmer **pə:m** to put, push, food into one's mouth.
- Connect preceding; perhaps **1373** *ɓaam to chew.

1377 *gɓum (?); *gɓuum; *gɓuəm; *gɓəm bud.

- A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəpùm krabum** bud, (to be) in bud (or if misspelt D).
- B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [láʔ] **kəlpɔ:m** leaf- bud.
- C: (Palaungic, ?Mon) Palaung **bəm** (—**kiŋ kir**, — **jɿŋ**) calf, (— **kətoh**) buttocks (for semantics cf. **82** *kɔʔ plantain bud); ~ (*gɓm- >) Mon **həmom** bud (probably, rather than B; **khamom** &c.).
- D: (Viet-Mường, ?Kuy) Kuy **phəm** (!; or **C?**) to be in bud, (~?) Vietnamese **mâm** bud.
- Connect Central Nicobarese **kenmo:ənə-** (-**koai**) forearm, (-**la:h**) calf; perhaps Sre **bom** bud.
- Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***mu'm**, BENEDICT 1972 78 no. 364 & n. 239 (Burmese, Lushei, Kachin).

1378 *mim[ʔ]; *miəm[]; *məm[]; *məəmʔ; *mum to suck.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mɿm**, Kuy (baby talk) **mem** to suck at the breast (< *mʔim by metathesis?), Stieng **me:m**, Sre **mim** to close [mouth].

- B:** (Central Aslian) Semai **mɛ:m** *breast*; → Jarai **mɛm** *to suck at the breast*.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **məm**, Bahnar **məm**, Kontum Bahnar **məm** *to suck at the breast*; → Malay, Cham, Moken **mam**, North Rōglai **mām**.
D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar **mɔ̃m**, West Bahnar **mām** *to chew* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Mường **məm** *to feed with premasticated food* (BARKER & BARKER 1976); ~ Vietnamese **móm** *to feed with premasticated food*, (**bú** —) *to be breast-fed*.
E: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **mum** *to have in one's mouth, suck*, Mường (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **mồm** *mouth*; → Acehnese **mom** *breast* Cham **mum**, Rōglai **mom** *to suck at the breast*.
 Cf. 1375 ***kɛim** &c. *to have in one's mouth*, with mutual contamination; & Tai *(h)**ma(a)m** *to chew soft foods*, &c., BENEDICT 1975 249.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 385 (c).)

1379 *mum; *muum *corner, angle*.

- A:** (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mum** (→ Thai **mum**), Sre **mum**, (probably) Stieng **mu:m**.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mu:m**.
 (SHAFFER 1965 176.)

1380 *[k]mum *bear*.

- A:** (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **kmim** /**kməm**/, Modern Mon **mɛm**, Khmer **[khla:] khmum** *ghmum*.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

***1381 *yaam** *to weep*.

- (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **yām** /**yam**/, Modern Mon **yəm**, Khmer **yum!** *yam*, Kammu-Yuan **yà:m**, Palaung **yam**, Riang-Lang **yam**, Praok **yem**, Lawa **yuum**, Khasi **iam**, Proto-Semai ***jaa^bm** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **ci:m-[pire]**, Nancowry **cim**; ~ (***yaamyaam**; except Aslian > ***myaam**, >) Kuy **ɲɲi:am**, Stieng, Chrau **ɲi:m**, Sre **ɲim**, Biat **ɲum**, Gölar Bahnar **ɲəm**, Kontum **ɲəm**, **ɲim**, Jeh **ɲa:m** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Semai **dinja:p** *to weep* (TANDART 1935), Temiar **yaya:p** *to cry suddenly* (BENJAMIN 1976B 134).
 with Khmer vocalism cf. 1782 ***kyaal**; South Bahnaric fronting perhaps general following nasal; on Biat cf. 1354 ***[d]im**.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFFER 1965 383, 383a; BLOOD 1966 223; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 285.)
 Kharia **i'jam**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 42).

(***yəm** see 1299 ***iɲim** *to breathe, live*.)

1382 *syaam (*kind of*) *ant*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **sa:m**, Biat **chia:m ant**, Semang [les] **siān kind of ant** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 104), Sakai **hieb ant** (i.e. Temiar; ib. A 103).

***1382a *[h]yam** *game, meat*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Biat **iam meat**, Bahnar **se:m animal, game**, Kontum Bahnar **meat** (contaminated by 1327 ***ciəm** to eat...?; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has also East Bahnar &c. **hi:em meat, game**), Rōngao **jam wild boar, meat** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **?nem meat**.

Proto-Austronesian ***qaiam**: Malay **ayam fowl**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13, ***ajam tame**; DYEN 1953 § 117; DAHL 1973 § 8.3; Formosa **bird**; Saisiat also **animal**, Kanakanabu **meat**, see BENEDICT 1975 293).

Cf. White Tai ***hñam**, Northern Li ***xaam meat**, BENEDICT 1975.

1383 *rim; *riim; *riəm; *rəm *edge, rim*.

- A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùm**; → Thai **rim**.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rì:m rim, lips** (TANDART 1935), Riang-Lang **_rim edge, vicinity**; → Shan **hīm edge**.

C: (Nicobaric; ~ *[g]riəm >) Central Nicobarese **ke:əm brim, rim**, Nancowry **kiám edge**.

D: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **rə:m edge (e.g. of forest) (?)**; ~ (*[g]rəm >) Mon **krəm to bind edge of [basket]**; ~ **hərəm rim, edge** (& Nyah Kur **nrām [pa:ŋ] lip**); ~ Khmer **prùm bram limit, frontier, boundary**.

Cf. 656 ***riŋ** &c. *edge, border*.

***1384 *ram; *raam** *to be in, under, water*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) ~ Sre **kram to sink, submerge**, Bahnar **kram to be submerged, go to the bottom**, Jeh, Halang **kram to sink**; ~ Khmer, Katuic, Sre, Biat, Chrau **tram to soak, wet**, Bahnar, Jeh **tram to soak**, Halang **tram to lie in water**; ~ Old Mon **bram /brəm/**, Modern Mon **pròm to founder**.

B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ya:m-[hətə] to overload [canoe]**; ~ Stieng **tra:m to soak, wet**; ~ Bahnar **hra:m to soak, wet**.

(SHAFFER 1965 60, 570; SMITH 1972 25, 29.)

Proto-Austronesian ***ta[ry]əm**: Cham **tram to steep**, Röglai **trap**, Pangasinan **talém to soak** (so Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *-r-). Neither all Mon-Khmer nor all Austronesian forms can be explained by borrowing! Sre &c. **kram** perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian ***kayəm** (under the entry 1403 ***lə(ə)m**).

1385 *ram; *raam *new clearing*

- A, B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Chrau **ram (A)**, Bahnar **[mir] rām newly cleared swidden** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Khasi **ram jungle cleared for cultivation**, Nancowry **yóm garden, orchid**, Nancowry **yom garden**.

1386 *ram; *raam to decay, age, perish.

A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ram** *lost, destroyed by natural disaster*, Central Nicobarese **yəm-[ŋə]** *to disappear, vanish*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Sre **ra:m** *old, gone hard*, Palaung **ra:m** *to decay* (MILNE 1931); ~ Praok **[si?um]** **ram** *to decay*; (probably ~; or A) Khasi **[iəp]** **tram** *to wither*; ~ (***.nraam** >) Biat **ndra:m** *large [intestine]* (opposed young, green = small intestine).

Add as derivative **1397 *[d]raam** *abandoned, deserted?*

1387 *rəm appropriate, worthy.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **ròm ram** *to respect*, Khmer **[səm]-rùm ramya** *right and proper*, Stieng **ro:m [cə:i]** *worthy, fit to*.

Khmer spelling equates with **rùm** *pleasant* ← Sanskrit *ramya-*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

1388 *rɔm to agree.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **rom** *to agree to join* (DOURNES 1950) (by attraction following, which compare), Biat **rɔ:m** *to agree*; ~ Khmer **prɔ:m**, Kuy **phrɔ:am**, Rieng-Lang **_prɔm** *to agree* (→ Palaung, Mon, **prɔm**?).

1389 *rum; *ruum; *ruəm; *ruəp to assemble.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **rùm rum** **[pì: mùk]** *to surround, crowd round*, Kuy **rùm** *to crowd round, swarm round*, Praok **rom** *to be associated*; ~ Praok **prom** *to assemble* (v.t.); ~ Mon **hərəm da(m)ruim** *to assemble* (v.i.).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:m** *to cluster round, settle on*, (**caom-** —) *surround*, Kuy **rò:m** *to gather, assemble* (v.i.t.), Palaung **rum** (to be) *together*, Praok **[raək]** **rum [grum phruac]** *to assemble* (v.i.); ~ (***t₂ruum** >?) Khasi **shrum** *many together*, Vietnamese **sum** **[həp &c.]** *to gather, be united*; ~ (***[t₂]mruum** >) Thin **brom, prom** *together*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Literary Mon **rom** *company, companion*; (— **cha**) *to accord, pair*, Khmer **rù:əm** *to join together, unite* (v.i.t.), West Bahnar **rɔ:m** **[horns]** *to converge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **ruam** *to gather together*, **rùəm** *to live together, be joined together*, Shan **hòm** *to be together*; ~ Mon **kərom** *in company with*; ~ Gölar Bahnar **hədrɔ:m** *to pile up*; ~ Khasi **lyngrom** (or A?) *in a small group*; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **kərprom** *to gather* (v.i.) (MILNE 1931); ~ Praok **khrom** *to gather, collect* (v.i.t.).

D: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **rù:əp** *to assemble, join* (v.i.t.) (→ Thai **rûap** *to gather together*), Rieng-Lang **_ruap** *pair*, Proto-Semai ***roop** *to accompany; companion* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Cf. with D Sora **rab-** *[persons] to unite*. Add following?

1390 *rum; *ruum; *ram to help, to lend.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *rim* /rəm/ [*bāñ*], Modern Mon *rəm* to help (→ Burmese *ruin*: [*pañ*:]), Rieng-Lang *rəm* to lend, borrow [money].

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *giùm* (for ***rùm*) to help.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *rəm* to borrow [money], Lawa Bo Luang *ram* to borrow, Khasi *ram* debt, loan.

= preceding? Cf. 1270 *rap to help.

1391 *ruum (& *rum?); *ruəm underneath.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre *roum*, Bahnar *ro:m* area under house (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *rum* lower part, south; ~ Old Khmer *karom*, Modern Khmer *kraom* under, Stieng *kru:m*, Chrau *kro:m* area under house, Jeh *krum* underneath, Halang *kru:m* underside, Palaung *krum* under, Khasi *khrum* space under floor, Temiar *kəro:p* place beneath (BENJAMIN 1976B 157), Proto-Semai **krɔ̀b̥m* under (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (**knr*- >) Kuy [*kdu:ap*] *nthrò:m*, Bahnar *kəro:m* underneath, Kammu-Yuan *kəntru:m*, Praok *grum*, (*-*um* >?) Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgraum*, Lawa Umphai [*ka*] *ŋgrum*, Mae Sariang *ŋgum* under.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon *kīnrom* /*kənrɔm*/ (space) under.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; SHAFER 1965 485; SMITH 1972 49; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 165 (a).)

1392 *grəm[?]; *gram[] to thunder, rumble.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar *grəm* distant thunder; → Jarai *grəm*, Rōglai, North Rōglai *grəm* thunder; (?) Burmese *khrim*: to thunder; ~ (**gprəm*[?] >?) Mường *khám* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *sám* thunder.

B: (Mon, ?Khmer) Khmer *krðəm* sound of thunder &c. (or A?); ~ Literary Mon *gamrañ* to rumble.

679 *grəŋ to thunder contaminated by 1358 *də(ə)m?
(SHAFER 1965 142.)

1393 *jrəm mud, swamp.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer *jrām*, Modern Khmer *crðəm* muddy water, muck, Besis *haröp* swamp (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 115); ~ Mon *hərəm* *damruim* marsh, marshy banks.

Originally by metathesis **r*-(*n*)*jəm*, ~ 1330 moist, swampy? Connection uncertain
Mon *hərəm* mud.

1394 *t₁rim; *[t₁]rəm; *t₁rəəm level, equal.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *trəm* equal to, up to the same point as.

B: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *trúum* level; ~ (*[t₁]nrəm >) Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgrəum*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgreum* level; ~ Khmer *tùmrðəm* (!) from now until.

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ndrə:m** *similar, equal*.

A contaminated by 655 ***ri(i)ŋ**, which compare?

1395 ***t₁riim**; ***t₁riəm** *old*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **trim**, Khasi **rim** (originally compounding form?); ~ Literary Mon **trīm** *to be old* (or < simplex, but cf. B), Khasi **thynrim** *slightly old*; ~ (***t₁priim** >) Kammu-Yuan **pri:m**, Palaung, Praok **prim**, Lawa Bo Luang **phraiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **praim**, Mae Sariang **phyaim** (*to be*) *old*.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **tinrem** /**tənrem**/, Modern Mon **kərem** **t(a)rem**.

1396 ***t₁ruum**; ***t₁ruəm** *hole*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **tro:m** *hole, den, lair*, Stieng, Sre **tru:m**, Bahnar **tro:m** *hole*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **tro:m**, Halang **troam** *hole*.

(SHAFFER 1965 571; BLOOD 1966 20; SMITH 1972 33.)

1397 ***[d]raam** *abandoned, deserted*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **[sɔŋ] krəm drām**, **grām** *to be desolate, deserted*, Riang-Lang **_ram** [*field*] *to be abandoned*; → Shan **hām** *to be abandoned*; ~ (***[d]nraam** >) Praok **gram** *to leave behind*.

1386 ***raam** *to decay...?*

1398 ***(drəm) drəm**; ***drəəm** *to stamp foot &c.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Mon **həkrəm** [*cat*] *to pounce on* (< ***drə(ə)m drə(ə)m**); ~ (***dnrəm** >) Khmer **tùəntṛəəm** (& **təntṛəm**; or as Mon?), Chrau **ntṛəm** *to paw the ground, stamp feet*, Biat **ntṛəm** *to paw the ground, stamp feet*, (by back-formation?) **trəm** *to stamp*, Vietnamese **giām** *to stamp* (for ****rām**; beside **giām** *to crush, tread, trample*); by secondary derivation ~ (***mrr-** > ; or B?) Sre **mbləm** *to trample* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (***dnrəəm** >) Bahnar **trə:m** *to stamp, to trample*. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***drəəm drəəm** or ***dmrəəm** > ***mrəəm** >) Palaung **[khun] bruum** *to trample on, stamp (on)* (MILNE 1931).

1399 ***smram**; ***smraam**; ***s[m]ruum** *sweepings*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **[bru:ih] mram**, **bram** *dirt, sweepings* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həram** *dust, powder*, Khmer **səmra:m** *rubbish, bits*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi **synrum** *rubbish, debris*.

C secondary.

1400 ***sruum**; ***sruup** *to sheathe*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sraom** *to envelop; envelope*, Sre **sru:m** *to sheathe, to put [ring] on finger*; ~ (***s[m]ruum** >) Sre **səmprum** *sheath*, Chrau **səndro:m** *boots*, Biat **ndro:m** *sheathe*, (— **jəŋ**) *sock*.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **sɔ:p** *sheathe, sock, bag*, Jeh **so:p**, **sro:p** *to sheathe* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Sre **səmpɾuŋ** *sheathe* is ultimately connected (Cham **saruŋ** <) Proto-Austronesian ***t'aruŋ**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 148.

1401 *liəm good.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **liəm**, Jeh, Halang **liam**; ~ (***lnliəm** >?) Sre **niam** *good, well*. (SMITH 1972 36.)

***1402 *laam to extend.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon **lēm lām** *to grow by putting out tendrils*, Khmer **li:əm** *to lengthen [rope &c.]*, Bahnar **la:m** *[water] to spread in flood* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **laam** *to advance, extend along the surface, spread*; ~ (***jlaam** >) Mon **klēm** *to feel*, Khmer **jhlām** *to stretch [foot] out* (GUESDON 1930), West Bahnar **hlām**, **klām**, East Bahnar **halām** *to spread widely (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

Sora **lʔa:m-** *to crawl, creep*, **la:m-** *to creep, extend* (to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 K 482).

***1403 *ləm; *ləəm to sink.**

A: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Kuy **lōm** *to inundate*; ~ (***[g]ləm(-s)** >) Vietnamese **trām** *to sink*, **trām** [**mình**] *to drown oneself*; (or **B**) ~ Old Mon **tinlum** /**tənləm**/, Modern Mon **kənem** *to sink*; ~ Old Mon **tulum** *to drown oneself*, Modern Mon **kələm** *to immerse oneself, bathe*.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂əəm?** >) Palaung **hlum** *to dive*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kayəm**: Cham **karam** *to sink*, &c., Malay **karam** *to be wrecked at sea*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 73, ***ka[ɭ]əm**; separate Javanese **kěrem**; BLUST 1972 C? no. 1; Proto-Hesperonesian; perhaps → Sre &c. **kram**, under the entry **1384 *ram**). See BENEDICT 1975 381. Perhaps ← Mon-Khmer are Javanese **kələm**, **kələm** *to sink* (**kələm** referred to ***kələm** *dark* at DEMPWOLFF 1938 77); Malay **tenggəlam** *to sink*.

1404 *luum; *ləm to be mistaken, deceived.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lō:m** *to cajole, persuade* (with sense by false analysis of derivation?), Kuy **lō:m** *to console, soothe, appease*, Biat **lo:m** *to console, to seduce, entice*; ~ Khmer **prələom** *to apply persuasion to, to seduce*, Sre **pərloum** *to deceive*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *luim* (in sense) *to be invalid* (?), Biat *lɔm* *to deceive [spouse], be adulterous*, Vietnamese *lầm* (& *nhầm*) *to be mistaken, make a mistake*; ~ Khmer *crəlɔm* *to be mistaken, confused*; ~ (**pnlɔm* >) *bənlɔm* *to mislead*; ~ (**prlɔm* >) Middle Mon *paluim* (in sense) *to corrupt, subvert, divert*, Modern Mon *pəlɔm* *to seduce* (& Literary Mon *paluim [cuit]* *to disappoint, let down*; merging *to destroy*, ad 1414 **rlɔm*), Stieng *prəlɔm* *to deceive, to make a mistake*, Biat *rlam* *to deceive, to misappropriate*, Bahnar *pəlɔm* *to deceive*. Or two roots, with mutual contamination?

1405 **klam* hundred.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *klam* /*klɔm*/, Modern Mon *klɔm*, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese *trăm*; ~ Bru *kalam*, Pakoh *kulam*. (SHAFFER 1965 230.)

1406 **klam*; **kləm* to carry on shoulder.

A: (Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Thin *klām*, Seriting *klam* (i.e Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 36), Temiar *golap* (BENJAMIN 1976B 138; or ← Acehnese, below?).
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin *klām*, Riang-Lang *ṭklam*, Praok, (or A?) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *klɔm*, Lawa Bo Luang *klam*.
 Proto-Aceh-Cham has **gul[ə]***m**: Acehnese *gulam*, Cham *kàlam*, Jarai *glam*, North Röglai *gulap*.

1407 **kləm* to wrap.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng *klə:m* *to shut up in*, Central Rölöm *tlam* *to wrap up, to be wrapped up*; ~ (**knləm* >) Sre *kənəm* *packet* (DOURNES 1950), Biat *ṇkləm* *packet; to wrap up*; ~ Semang *makəlab* *to wrap up* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 144). (BLOOD 1966 120.)

1408 **kl[u]m* dense, thick.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon *klɔm* *to be dense*, Palaung *klum* *to be thick* (MILNE 1931). Or *-əəm.

1409 **[c]lim?*; **[c]liəm?*; **[c]laim* [] to lick.

A: (Viet-Mường; ~ **[c]nlim?* >) Vietnamese *nhếm* *to taste* (v.t.).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) *lɛ:m* *to lick one's fingers*; ~ (**[c]rliəm?* >) Mon *kələm* *to taste* (v.t.), Vietnamese *liếm* *to lick*.
C: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ (**[c]rlaim* [] >) Khasi *jylliem* [dog] *to lick lips*; ~ (**[c]plaim* [] >) Khmer *plaem-plaem* *repeatedly lick ing the lips* (& *phlè:m* *licking*).

C secondary. Cf. Tibeto-Burman **(s-)lyam tongue; flame*, BENEDICT 1972 48 (& n. 158), &c.; Karen **hle[m]* *to lick*, ib. 141 n. 379; Ancient Chinese **liam*, ib. 172 n. 458; & 1286a **liəp*; 1075 **lit* &c.; Cham *lyah*, Jarai *li:ah*, Rōglai *liah*, Acehnese *liəh*.

***1410** **t₁ləm; *t₁ləəm; *t₁lam land leech.*

A: (Aslian; ~ **t₁pləm* >) Proto-Semai **plə^bm* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunōr *klə:m land leech*, Khasi *thliem small leech*; ~ Stieng, Sre *plə:m small species of leech*, Chrau *plə:m land leech*, Biat *plə:m*, Bahnar *plə:m forest leech*, Jeh, Halang *plè:m leech*, Kammu-Yuan *plúam* (!), Palaung *plum* (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *plaum land leech*; → Cham *plə:m*, Jarai *plu:m, plo:m*, Rōglai *plum*, North Rōglai *plu:p*.

C: (Mon, ?Nicobaric) Mon *kləm land leech*, (or A?) Central Nicobarese *heləm leech*. Cf. 1858 **gləw* (*kind of*) *leech*; but connection dubious Khmer *chl̥v̌:ŋ*, Kuy *thl̥v̌:ŋ water leech*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SHAFER 1965 231, 380; BLOOD 1966 416; SMITH 1972 11; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 43.)

Sora *'ni:le:m-ən, 'ni:le:b-ən, 'ni:lo:m-ən leech*. For *ɲ-* here (< **n-*?) cf. 32 **tɲa?*; 1343 **t₂əm* &c.

1411 **t₁ləəm; *t₁luəm liver.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *thlaəm*, Chrau *khlə:m*, Sre, Biat, Bahnar *klə:m*, Jeh, Halang *klè:m*; → Rōglai *kləp*.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ Kuy *lù:am* (!), Kammu-Yuan *tələ:m*, Mường *lom* (CUISINIER 1951).

Connect B89 **kt₁uəm*, which compare? Note Ilocano *dalem*, perhaps < Proto-Austronesian **daləm inside* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, **d-*).

(SHAFER 1965 69; BLOOD 1966 395; SMITH 1972 12.)

1411a **[p]lim; *pliim; *pliəm; *pləm dim, to glimmer.*

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer *phlùm* (— —) *dim*, (— *-phl̥è:t*) *twinkling dimly*; (or D) ~ Mon *[həkət] pələm to be pale [red], pink*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *[mat] pli:m night-blindness*.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *ṽpliəm ṽpliəm to flicker, twinkle*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *pləm [mat] dim-sighted*, Biat with secondary lengthening *plə:m [mat] short-sighted*.

1412 **pləəm to move stealthily.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *pləm to stalk*, Khmer *phlə:m to slip in, sneak in*; (?) → Thai *pləəm to imitate, disguise*.

Connection dubious Riang-Lang *ṽluam to pursue, hunt*.

1413 ***[r]lam**; ***[r]laim** *sharp, pointed*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rə̀lə̀m** *very sharp, pointed*, Palaung **lə̀m** (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **lə̀m**, Lawa Bo Luang **lə̀m** *sharp*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **rə̀lə̀:m** *acutely pointed*; ~ (***srlaim** > ?) Kuy **sle:m**, **lhe:m** *pointed*

1414 ***rləm**; ***rləəm** *to collapse, subside*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon **rlim** /**rləm**/ [**rlāk**] *to be in ruins*, Modern Mon **ləm** *to be damaged, destroyed* (or **B**), Old Khmer **rlam̐**, Middle Khmer **rə̀lùm** **ralam̐** (!; GUESDON 1930 **ralām̐**—& **ralom**) *to fall (down), crumble away*, Sre **rə̀lə̀m** *to fall in, form gullies*, Biat **rləm** *to crumble away*; ~ (***krləm** >) Khasi **khylləm** [*house, wall*] *to collapse*.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **rə̀lɣ:m**, East Bahnar **hə̀lɣ:m** *to crumble away, fall down* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SCHMIDT 1905 72.)

(***slīəm** see 1422 ***lsiim** *finger-nail*.)

1415 ***slam?** *in quantity*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar **hlam** *much, severely* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **lắm** *much*; ~ (earlier ***hləm** **hləm** > ***mləm** > ?) Palaung **bləm** *to be plentiful*; ~ (***snlam?** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **nəum**, Lawa Umphai ?**neum** *more*.

Connection uncertain Mah Meri **hnəm** *many*, = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 45.

‡**1416** ***sləm?** *discoloured*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hləm** [*colour*] *to be faded*, Mường **lăm** (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese **lắm** *to be soiled, smeared*; ~ (***smləm?** > ?) Biat **bləm** *tarnished, dull*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **lùm** **luəm** *faded* [*flowers &c.*], *withered*, **slaom** *to wither*; or Praok **khrom** **hu** [*flower*] *to fade*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ləmləm**; Toba Batak **lomlom** *dark*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***t'ələm**: Balinese **selem** *dark*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 399, Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *(q)is[ə]ləm *dark colour*, BLUST 1973 no. 255. See BENEDICT 1975 265, *dark*... .

1417 ***sam?**; ***sum** [] *to bathe*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Mường **thắm** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **tắm**.

B: (Khasi, Palaungic) Khasi **sum** /**sum**/ *to bathe, wash*, Danaw **Ṣon** [**u:n**] *to bathe*.

Connect 1426 ***huum** &c.?

1418 *səm all, totality.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon *sum* /səm/ [təm], Modern Mon *səm* all; ~ Praok *khəm* all; ~ Old Khmer *psam*, Modern Khmer *phsəm* to unite.

1419 *səm[](-s); *səəm? damp.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer *saəm* damp, moist (B; → Cham *sam*), Vietnamese *tắm* to soak, marinate (< *səm[]-s), Che' Wong *səm* rain; ~ (*s)ns- >) Mon *kəsəm lasuim* (< *ns-?), *dasuim* (< *sns-?), *kasuim* rainy season, Khmer *sənsaəm*, *ʔənsaəm* (B) dew, damp, (*ns- >) Bateg Nong *ləsəm*, Proto-Semai **lsa^bm* rain (DIFFLOTH 1977; !) (→ Dusun *rasam*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 6?); ~ (*srsəəm? >) Vietnamese *ró'm* to ooze, be wet [with blood, tears]; ~ (*sl- ?) Bru *laham* damp.

Earlier perhaps **ʔəms ʔəms*, cf. Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *ẩm* to be humid; so too Kuy *hə:m* damp, moist, wet? Connection thus uncertain Javanese *chēnchēm* to soak (**k'əmk'əm*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, with dubious Tagalog comparison) Cf. also 1330 **jiim* &c. moist, swampy.

1419a *sum; *suum shrimp, prawn.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *tôm*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy [ka:] *su:m*, Bru *ʔasuəm*.

Note Semang *klo' kəsub* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 107.

1420 *ksaam; by metathesis *kaams (to catch) cold.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon [*yay jwī*] *kṣām* epidemic, Modern Mon *cham* head cold.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cảm* to catch cold.

1421 (*rnsuum &c. by assimilation >) *rmsuum; *rnsuun; *rnsuən; *rnsən nest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau *məso:m*, Praok *mum*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔahmaum*, Lawa Umphai *rahmaum*.

B, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *rəso:n* (B), (C) Central Rölöm *soan*, (→?) Bunör *rəswan*.

D: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat *rchən*, (?) with secondary lengthening Riang-Lang *ʔhan*.

(BLOOD 1966 70.)

1422 *lsiim; (*lsiəm by metathesis >) *sliəm finger-nail.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (**lsiim* >) Palaung *rəhnim*, (by assimilation **lmsiim* >) Riang-Lang *rəmhim*, Lawa Bo Luang *hmaip*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian *hmaim*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *tyrsim* nail, hoof, claw.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Danaw *kă lèʔŋ*; ~ Old Mon *sinlem* /*sənlem*/, Modern Mon *hənem*.

1423 *[]**[h]**[ə]**m** *bed-bug*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **hũm**, Lawa Bo Luang **həum**.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **huŋ**, Bru **nsəŋ**.

(***[]həm** see 1307 ***[s]ʔəm** *warm*.)

1424 ***həəm** *sated*.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **haəm** *swollen* (?), Sre, Chrau, Biat **hə:m** *sated*.

Cf. 473 ***hə(ə)k**.

(BLOOD 1966 394.)

1425 ***hom** *to speak*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Middle Mon **huim**, Modern Mon **həm**, Palaung (Mon, songs) **hom** *to speak, say, speak of, tell*; ~ Thin **prʔom** *to speak, talk*.

Cf. Riang-Lang **tərʔup** *to converse*.

†1426 ***huum** (& ***hum**?); ***ʔum** *to bathe*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Palaungic) Mon **hum**, Bahnar **hu:m** (Kontum **hum**; < ***hum**?), Jeh **hũm**, Halang **hũ:m**, Palaung **hum**, Praok **hum**, Lawa **haum** (or Palaungic < ***suum**[] ad 1417 ***sum**[] ; which connect?), Semelai **hu:m**; ~ Old Mon **p-hũm** /**phum**/, Modern Mon **phum**, (~?) Bahnar **pəhu:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **pahũm** *to bathe [someone]* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by assimilation, or ~) Bahnar **muhu:m** *to bathe [someone]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **mu:m** *to wash oneself*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau **um**, Biat **om** *to bathe*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; BLOOD 1966 150; SMITH 1972 6; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 B 82.)

Kharia **oaʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 542; Proto-Munda ***uma**?).

(Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ih[i]m** see 1299 ***iʔim** *to breathe, live*.)

1427 ***khəəm** (& ***khuum**?) *silent, to sit (quietly)*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Stieng **khə:m** *quiet, to be silent, inactive*, Biat **[guʔ] khə:m** *to be silent, ...khuu:m* *to squat*, (variant >?) Semelai **kho:m** *to sit* (Mah Meri/Besisi also *quiet*, cf. SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 S 223); ~ (***knhəəm** >) Praok **ŋəm**, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋaum**, Mae Sarian **ŋaum** *to sit*.

Cf. 1323 ***sŋəm** *silent*.

1428 ***khuum** *to blow*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **khuu:m** *to blow, to winnow* (contaminated by 1317 ***gu(u)m**?), Sre **khoum**, Biat **kho:m** *to blow*; ~ (***klhuum** >) Chrau **khlo:m** *to blow*, Bahnar **hlo:m** *to blow on, into*, Jeh **klum**, Halang **hluu:m** *to blow wind instrument*.

Connect ultimately 1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ih[i]m** *to breathe...*?

(BLOOD 1966 6; SMITH 1972 46.)

1429 *ghim to growl.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*gnhim >) Mon **kəhìim** [e.g. *tiger*] to give a short open growl; ~ Khmer **krəhùum** [*tiger*] to growl (& to clear throat, by attraction **krəhè:m**, **krəhaem**).

†1430 *jhaam; *jhiim blood.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **chì:m**, Mnar **chim** blood, (?) Central Nicobarese **cya:m sap**; ~ (*jnhaam >) Kuy **ṅha:m**, Chrau **ṅha:m**, Palaung **ḥnam**, Riang-Lang **ṇam**, Praok **nam**, Lawa **nham**, Khasi **snam**, **'nam** blood, (~ or by assimilation *jmhaam >) Stieng **m'ha:m**, Sre, Biat **mha:m**, Bahnar, Jeh **pha:m**, Halang **məha:m**, Kammu-Yuan **mà:m**, Kensiu **məhəm**, Semai (or B?) **bəhi:p**, Semelai **maham** blood, Central Nicobarese **maha:m** menses, Car Nicobarese **ma:m** blood.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **chīm** /**chim**/, Modern Mon **chim** blood.

With Mnar vocalism cf. e.g. **thi:m** < 1348 *kt₁aam. B secondary.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 154, 379, 559; BLOOD 1966 307; SMITH 1972 37; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 249.)

Sora **'mipa'm-ən**, Kharia **i'jam**, Santali **mājām**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 303).

See BENEDICT 1975 235.

1430a *[t]heem to add to.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **thaem**, Biat **thè:m**, Bahnar **thi:m**; → Thai **t^hěem**, → Kuy **thè:m**.

Or *dh-, > Kuy; Khmer ← Thai?

(*t₂ham[] see 1304 *t₂um[] rotten.)

†1431 *t₁haam eight.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*t₁nhaam >) Bahnar **təhṅa:m** (& **hṅa:m**); ~ (*t₁phaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat **pha:m**, West Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **təha:m**, Jeh **taha:m**.

Hence perhaps, by counting deformation on **dincit nine** < 1144 *d/n/ciit, Old Mon **diñcām** /**dəncam**/, Modern Mon **həcam**. But connection dubious (i) Mường **thám** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **tám** (< *saam?); (ii) B5 *t₁aa?; or Waic forms there cited.

(SHAFER 1965 275, 377; BLOOD 1966 317; SMITH 1972 38.)

Kharia **tham**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 8).

(*t₂huums see 1304 *t₂um[] rotten; *dheem 1430a *[t]heem to add to.)

1432 **dhum*; **dhuum* fragrant, to scent.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Literary Mon *thuiṃ* to emit fragrance (→ Burmese *thuiṃ* to perfume), Khmer *thùṃ dhuṃ* to emit fragrance, to smell [scent], Riang-Lang *ṭhəm* (→ Shan *hóm*) to be fragrant; ~ Old Khmer *danhum* perfume, Chrau *nhum* incense.

B: (Katuic; ~ **dphuum* >) Kuy *pho:m* to be fragrant.

Connect obscure Mường (BARKER 1966 12) *hóm*, Vietnamese *thóm* fragrant. Probably not ← Sanskrit *dhūma*- smoke, vapour, mist, given preferred vocalism; but note Thai *dom* to smell, inhale.

1433 **phoom* to break wind.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North Aslian) Khmer *phaom*, Biat, Bahnar *pho:m*, Jeh *phum*, Halang *phu:m*, Kammu-Yuan *pú:m*, Semang *pāhom* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 378).

(SMITH 1972 48.)

(**yhə(ə)m*, **yhu(ə)m* see 1299 **i?im* to breathe, live.)

†1434 **ʔaayh* to give.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Kuy *ʔe:* to take, bring (?), Sre *a:y* to give, Riang-Lang *ṭe id.*, to cause to, allow to; let...!; so that, Praok *e* adhortative particle, Khasi *ai* to give; ~ (*[*ʔrʔaayh* >) Palaung *deh* to give.

Cf. Old Khmer *oy*, Modern Khmer *ʔaoy* (with vocalism as in e.g. *sraoc* ad 837 **ra(a)c*; so conceivably **ʔauyh*). But separate Pangan *ya-öi?*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 30 (Kensiu *ʔek*).

Kharia *ṣe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 394; Proto-Munda **ɔjəm?*).

1435 **[ʔ]aay* other.

A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Bahnar *a:i* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**ʔanʔ ʔaay* by contraction >, cf. 1115 **[ʔ]anʔ* &c. 3rd person singular pron.?) Bahnar *(a)na:y*; ~ Bru *raʔa:y* each other; ~ Palaung *lay* each, other, to be different, Praok *lay* reciprocating particle.

Connect 1511 **l[ʔa(a)y[ʔ]* again, < **[ʔlas ʔaay* another time by contraction? But if Bahnar *a:i* is separate, perhaps **laay* ~ **[ʔnlaay*.

1435a **[əy]ʔ*; **[əy]h*; **h[əy]ʔ* deictic.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Biat *i:* locative pronominal head (?), Bahnar *ey*, Vietnamese *ấy* that near at hand; ~ Khmer *(s)ʔy*, *ʔvy* what?

B: (Palaungic, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *ṭe* that, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔəih*, Lawa Umphai *ʔeh*, Mae Sariang *ʔəih* this [year], Kintaq Bong *ʔəh* this, *ʔəh* here, Central Nicobarese *ēh* near, close, this, Nancowry *ʔéh* near; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaʔəih*, Lawa Umphai *ʔuʔeh* what?

C: (Bahnaric, North & South Aslian) Chrau **hɛ:ʔ** *here, this*, Bahnar **hɛy** *just now, that just mentioned*, Mintil **hãʔ** *here, this*, Mah Meri **hɔʔ** *here*; ~ Mah Meri **nahɔʔ** *this*.
For Chrau final see 65 *t₁iʔ &c. Cf. 6 *ʔ[ʉə]ʔ *this*.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 85; cf. PINNOW 1959 78.)

1436 *ʔəy[h]; *ʔaay[] you (feminine singular).

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ɛ:i**, Sre **ay** *feminine singular*, Chrau **ʔay** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **ʔɛ:**, Biat **ai** *feminine*, Bahnar **ɛ:**, **ih**, Halang **ih** *singular*.
B: (South Bahnaric; originally calling deformation?) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **ʔa:y**, Chrau **a:y** *feminine*.
Cf. Khmu' **yɛʔ** *masculine singular familiar*; Semai **hɛ:ʔ**, Temiar **hã:ʔ** *singular*, Mah Meri &c. **hiʔ** *singular /plural* = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 34.
(SHAFFER 1965 564; BLOOD 1966 182; SMITH 1972 332.)

1437 *[]ʔuy to be rocked, swung.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **ui p'uy** [*cradle*] *to swing*, Central Nicobarese **hvi-[hətə]** (!) *to swing (v.i.)*; ~ Khasi **kyn-oi** *to cradle, dandle, lull*.

1437a *ʔuy; *ʔuuy; *ʔuəy; *ʔ[ə]y three.

A: (Palaungic; ~ *lʔuy >) Praok **loy**.
B: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **lo:ɛ**, **lu:ɛ**.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung **uəy**, Riang-Lang **ˀway**, **ˀwəy** (& **ˀwe**); ~ Lawa Bo Luang **laʔoi**, Lawa Umphai **laʔua**, Mae Sariang **laʔuai**.
D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **lai**.
Connect 98 *piʔ, as Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[]u(/p/)i[]ʔ

1438 *ʔuuy to tend, care for.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon **'uy** *to tend, see to*, Praok **uy** *to raise, bring up*.

1439 *jʔaay we two.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) Palaung **ay**, Riang-Lang **ay**, Central Nicobarese **cəai**.
Connect 4 *[]ʔaʔ *we two* or 1435 *ʔ[ʔ]aay *other?*

(*jʔuuy see 887 *jʔuuj *to smell, sniff*; *pʔuuy see 1550 *phuuy *blanket*; *rʔu(ə)y see 798 *rʔuc *finished*.)

***1440 *lʔəy; *lʔəy destitute, orphan.**

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **hrəi** *poor, wretched* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric; ~?) Stieng **[kɔ:n] lə:y**, Chrau **ləʔə:y** *orphan*, Sre **ləʔo:y** *poor, wretched* (→ Rōglai **ləʔo:y** *poor, wretched, orphan*); ~ (*lnʔəy >) Sre **do:y**, Biat **[kɔ:n] də:i**, Jeh, Halang **tò:y** *orphan*.
(Proto-Austronesian *luqəy?) Cebuano Bisayan **lúuy** *pitiful*.

(***[s]**?əy see 158 ***[s]**yəə? to see.)

1441 *sʔuy rotten, to stink.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **ui sʔuy** to be rotten, putrid, Old Khmer **s-uy**, Modern Khmer **sʔoy** stinking, putrid, to stink, Riang-Lang **ˀvi**, **ˀwi** to smell (v.i.t.), Praok **siʔoy** [baə] to be fragrant, Lawa Bo Luang **saʔau**, Lawa Umphai **saʔɔi** stinking, Vietnamese **ôì** [meat] to be spoiled, rotten; ~ (***slʔuy** >) Kuy **sloi**, **lhoi** rotten, falling to pieces, to stink.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **pəyrù** stinkingly; & cf. Vietnamese **thối** to stink, to be rotten.

But Central Nicobarese **ɿ** smell is rather < **1563 ***[s]**ʔər**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

1442 *kaay to scratch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer **ka:y** to scratch, scratch hole, gnaw, pick [teeth], Bru **ka:y** to scratch, scrape, Sre **ka:y** to peck after scratching ground, Khasi **khai** to pluck with nail (or < **1541 *khaay?**), Kintaq Bong **kay** to scratch (or < **802 *kaac?** so, apparently by back-borrowing, Bahnar **kai?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)).

Note Proto-Miao ***k[ai]** to scrape, scratch, BENEDICT 1975 372, (IX). Cf. besides ***kaac** **A138 *kwaay**; **867 *kwaac** &c.; **1880 *kais** &c; **1881 *kuus** &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1443 *kuy; *kuuy head.

A: (Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kensiu (or **B**), Temiar, Semai II **kuy**.

B: (Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semai I **ko:y**, Semelai **kho:y**, Central Nicobarese **ko:i**, Nancowry **kuy** head, top.

= following?

1444 *kuuy? (& *kuəy??) to bend, nod, drowse.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kui** to rock [child], Sre **kuy** to sleep (with secondary shortening?), Bahnar dialects **kui** to go to bed, to sleep (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **ˀkuy** to bow down, stoop, Vietnamese **cúi** to bend, nod; ~ Mon **həkui** to be drowsy, to nod off, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cəŋkuy** feel sleepy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V263; implies ***-uy**), Bahnar **kəkɔy** (< variant?), Kammu-Yuan **kənkú:y** to nod off.

Connect Chrau **[viʔ] gu:y** half asleep, to nod, Biat **[bic] gu:i** to be sleepy; & perhaps add preceding.

(SHAFFER 1965 48; SMITH 1972 456.)

(~) Kharia **[kabaiʔ] kubuiʔ** accidental crookedness of back, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 483).

†1445 *t₁kəy? tick.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **ke:i**; ~ Khmer **dəŋkae**, Bahnar **taŋ kəy**; ~ Sre **dərkay**, Chrau **rəkay**, Biat **rkai**.
 Sora 'taŋke:-n. —So *t₁-.

1446 *[d]kuuy; *[d]kuəy *Calotes lizard*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung [ə]koy (with post-dental vocalism!) *large kind of lizard with spines on back*; ~ (*[d]nkuuy >) Mon **həkui dakuy** &c. *bloodsucker lizard, Calotes versicolor*; → Jakun **dangkui** *black and orange lizard* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 73 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəŋkù:y** *Calotes* (TANDART 1935).
 B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Biat **kwai [toŋ]** *kind of large lizard or monitor*, (or A?) Jeh **ku:y** *small lizard*, Halang **kuay** *lizard*; ~ Chrau **ŋkwəy** *chameleon, gecko*, Biat **ŋkwai** *chameleon*; ~ (*[d]pkuəy >?) Kuy (ʔa:) **kə:i** *chameleon*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəŋkuəy** *Calotes* (TANDART 1935 **bəŋkù:əy**), Bahnar **məkuəy** *large kind of lizard*.
 Stieng **pekei** *grey lizard living in houses* perhaps reflects a variant *[d]/p/kəy, but may be an onomatopoeic allied to Mon **kap kai** *Gecko guttatus*. (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

1446a *rkəy; *rkəəy *behind*.

- A: (Katuic) Kuy **rkxi** *before, in the past*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng, Central Rölöm **kə:y** *behind*, Biat **kə:i** *behind*, (**ndu:r** —) *back*; ~ Sre **nko:y** *back*, Chrau **ŋkə:y** *behind*, Biat [**ruc**] **ŋkə:i** [*going*] *backwards*, Khasi **ryngkhi** *back of blade; [to follow] closely*; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **dəkə:y** *back*.
 Connect by metathesis 1505 *k-ru(u)y.
 (BLOOD 1966 402.)

†1447 *skuəy *Setaria italica* (?) millet.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **skuəy** *Job's tears*, Riang-Lang [**kay**] **khuay** *Panicum millet*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həŋkə:y** *millet*.
 Sora [**bur**]-əy, Mundari **oe** *Setaria italica*, &c. (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1303, 1310; Proto-Munda *(h)oXy).
 (Proto-Austronesian *t'Vku[]ai) Malay **səkoï** *Panicum italicum*, Cham **hako:y** *millet*, Jarai dialects **həku:ai** &c. *Setaria italica*; probably → Bahnar dialects **akəi** *kind of millet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1447a *guuy *shadow of living creature*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **gu:i** *reflection, shadow*, Chrau **gu:y** *shadow, soul*, Biat **gu:i** *shadow of living creature*; ~ Bahnar **ŋo:y** *shadow of living creature*.
 Add as derivative B99 *[]p[oo]y? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. *spirit, soul*.

1448 ***nguy** (& ***nguuy**?) *to sit down*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer ʔəŋkùɿ, Sre **nguy**, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **ngồi**, Semai **gə:y** (< variant?), Central Nicobarese **koi**.

Connect Palaung **guəy** *to remain, be, dwell*?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 222 (a).)

1449 ***cgəy** *dog*.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **chkae**, Vietnamese **cầy**. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a).)

1450 ***bguy**; (?) ***bguuy** *to emit smoke*.

A, B: (Mon, Central Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **həkùì** **bguy** &c. *to smoulder, smoke*, Temiar **bəguy** [*smoke*] *to waft* (BENJAMIN 1976B 178; A); ~ (***bbg-** > ***bpg-** >) Mon **həkùì** *to burn [incense]*, (B, by metathesis; ?) Chrau **pu:y** *to fumigate*.

1451 *[**rgəy** *thin, lean*.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng **rəge:i**, Sre, Chrau **rəgay**, Central Rölöm **ge:**, Biat **rgai**, Rōngao **rəgi:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Vietnamese **gầy**, Nancowry **ʔikēy**.

Connect perhaps by metathesis Jölong **gre:** **puny** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (then *-əəy >) Mon **krùì** *to be emaciated*. Cf. also Khasi **syngkoi** *to get thin* (< *-guəy?);

Jakun **riukai** *dry, shallow, ripe, thin, lean* (taboo language), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 182.

(SHAFFER 1965 521; BLOOD 1966 186.)

1452 ***rgəy**; ***rgəy** *skilful*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **həgəy**, Bahnar dialects **rəgəy**.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəgəy** (→ Rōglai; with secondary shortening!), Jeh **lagày**, Halang **rəgə:y**.

Connect Khmer **lkì:əy** *elegant, graceful*? If ***r-** prefix then also (A) Riang-Lang **_kay** *to be accustomed to*, but Kuy **khə:y** < Lao ?

(SMITH 1972 453.)

1453 *[**ŋaay** *eye*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Bahnar [**kɔ:n**] **ŋa:y** [*pupil of*] *eye*,

Palaung, Praok **ŋay**, Riang-Lang **_ŋay** *eye, face*; (probably ~) Lawa Bo Luang

ʔŋea, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ʔŋai** *eye*; ~ (***kuən** [**ŋaay** by contraction >

***k(ə)ŋaay** > ?) Vietnamese **ngươi** *pupil of eye*.

(SHAFFER 1965 145.)

†1454 *[c]ɲayʔ; *[c]ɲaay[] *distant*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **hòà!**, Vietnamese **ngáy**; ~ Old Mon **jirney** /jəɲɲəy/(!), Modern Mon **kəhòà** *distance*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer **chɲay**, Kuy **ɲhəi**, Sre, Chrau **ɲa:y**, Biat **ɲa:i**, Jeh **iɲa:y**, Halang **həʔɲa:y**, Khasi **jɲgai!**, Semaq Beri **ɲay** *distant*; ~ (*[c]ɲaay >) Palaung **səɲay**, Praok **siɲay**, Lawa Bo Luang **saɲia**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saɲai**, Danaw **s'ɔŋ-ɲai** *distant*.
Mon, Khasi ***j-** obscure.

(SCHMIDT 1905 44; SHAFER 1965 147; SMITH 1972 477.)

Sora **'saɲa:ɲ-**, **'saɲai-**, Santali **səɲgi-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 40).

1455 *[m]ɲaay *person, human being*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **bəɲa:y** *human being*, Jeh **maɲa:y**, Halang **ɲa:y** *people*, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **người** *person, people*.

Or ***bɲ-**?

(SMITH 1972 469.)

†1456 *[l]ɲuy *to swim*.

A: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **ɲuy**.

Cf. Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **ɲə:i** [*fish*] *to come to the surface, float*, not obviously ← Indonesian; Khasi **jɲgi** *to swim*; & 1516 ***luyʔ** &c. *to wade, swim*.

Proto-Austronesian ***laɲu** [ji: Toba Batak **lange**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8; Acehnese **laɲuə**, Toba suggest ***-uəi**). See BENEDICT 1975 404.

1457 *[s]ɲəy *to speak*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **səɲə:y**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ɲə:y** *to speak*, Biat **ɲə:i** *to speak, say*, (or separate?) Palaung **ɲɛ** *speech, to speak*, Central Nicobarese **ɲe:** *voice, language; to call, name, say*, Nancowry **ɲé**; ~ Gölar Bahnar **həɲə:y** *to talk in one's sleep*.

(BLOOD 1966 413.)

1457a ***cuuy**; ***cuəy** *to sow, plant*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chu:i** *to sew, broadcast*.

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau **swəy** *to dibble*, Jeh **co:y**, Halang **coay** *to plant rice*, Rōngao **cəi** *to sew, broadcast* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (or →?) West Bahnar **cə:i** *to dibble* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bru **cucə:y** *to plant*.

Add Sre **[mi:w]** **suy** *drizzle?* Cf. 1460 ***kcaay** *to be scattered*.

(SMITH 1972 486.)

1458 ***.caay** *resin*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ca:y** *pine resin* (→ Rōglai), Biat **ca:i**, Bahnar **ca:y** *resin*.

Cf. Malay **damar kijai** *resin from kědongdong tree*.

(SHAFER 1965 70.)

1459 *[ʔ]caay to spend.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **ca:y**, Biat **cai**, Palaung, Praok **cay**, Lawa Bo Luang **cea**, Lawa Umphai **cai**.

1460 *kcaay to be scattered.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **chai khyāy**, **chāy** to be separated, scattered, to spread out, Khmer **khca:y** to scatter, *spread* (v.i.t.); ~ (*kbcaay >) Mon **həcai**, Khmer **kəmca:y** to disperse, scatter (v.t.).

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1544 *chaay to tip out, which compare; as 1457a *cuuy &c. to sow... . Bahnar **sayʔ** to scatter (~ **kəsayʔ** to empty, pour out) is ← Cham ← 872 *saac: but West Bahnar **cai** to scatter, sow broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) may belong here.

1461 *k[jəy]ʔ poison, venomous.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **cìʔ gyi** poison, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəcijʔ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N83), Praok **cay** to be venomous.

Cf. Riang-Lang **_kəcɔʔ** poison, venom, perhaps < ***k.jəwʔ**; then *-yʔ by assimilation? But conceivably ***gyiʔ** (Mon), ***gyiiʔ**, to be connected 28 ***b[ng][e]ʔ** vegetable poison.

(***njuəy** see 811 ***njuəc** to shake.)

1462 *[l]juuy; *[l]jəy late.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon **kəcùì**; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar **h^(a)no:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Gölar Bahnar **h^amo:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chầy**.

1463 *t₁uy; *t₁uuy; *t₁uəy to follow, accompany.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **ṭəy** to follow, accompany; following, along, after, Nancowry **tóy** next; → Shan **tóe** [animals] to flock together; ~ Palaung **kərtuy** to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **ṭərtəy** together, Praok **sitoy** to be joined together, make a whole.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon) Old Mon **tūy** /**tuy**/ adverbial of sequential action, having..., Modern Mon **təe** also then... (or A), Old Khmer **toy**, Modern Khmer **daoy** to follow, (— **-sa:**) accompany; by reason of, by means of, -ly; → Cham **tu:y**, Röglai **tuy** to follow; Thai **dooy** to follow, pursue, attend; according to...; ~ Palaung **kərtuy** to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931).

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **həmɔ:i**, East Bahnar **səmɔ:i** in the same direction as, parallel to... (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh **kato:y** to accompany (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Distinguish Old Mon *tūy* *adverbial of completed action*, Middle Mon *tuŋ* *to have finished*, Modern Mon *təe* *to be finished...* . Add perhaps as der. 1498 **t₁mu* [*ly* &c. *guest, visitor*.

1464 **t₁uuy* *to carry on shoulder*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *tuŋ* (with vocalism levelled on derivation), Biat *tu:i*, Bahnar *to:i* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *tu:ŋ* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Sre *tərnuy* *bundle [of firewood]*, *truss*, Jeh *tanu:ŋ* *shoulder-load* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

1465 **t₁uuy* *fat, plump*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *tu:ŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *tui*. Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Thai *tùŋ* *protuberant, distended...* .

1466 **t₁uuy*; **t₁uəy*; **t₁aay* *that (yonder)*.

A: (Palaungic, Central Asian) Riang-Lang *tuŋ* *that yonder*, Temiar *tu:ŋ* *elsewhere* (BENJAMIN 1976b 132).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *tuəy* *that* (MILNE 1931), Praok *tuay* *further side*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *tay* *that*, Khasi *-tai* *that yonder*; ~ Bahnar *həta:ŋ* *then, when*.

Cf. 65 **t₁i?* &c. *that yonder*, 66a **tə?* *that, there*; 1435a **ʔ[əy]?* &c. *deictic*; so originally compound?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a).)

1467 **[k]rt₂ay*; **[k]rt₂aŋ* *to twist (together)*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon *hətoa* *to twist fibres into single-strand rope*, Khasi *kyrthai* *to drive in [auger]*, (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) *to twist round*.

B: (Bahnaric; contaminated by 910 **təaŋ?*) Sre *rətaŋ* *to twist [rope &c.] before knotting* (→ Röglai), Sedang *kaséŋ* *twisted rope* (→ Bahnar *kəseŋ*), (?) by metathesis Biat *traŋ* *to twist, be twisted*.

Connect Khmer *kəndaŋ* *curly?*

(SMITH 1972 87.)

1468 **bt₁aay*; by metathesis **dpaay* *hare*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ (**bpt₁aay* > ?) Old Mon *batāy* /*bətaŋ*/, Modern Mon *hətai*; ~ Riang-Lang *pəltay*; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy *ktai:i* (*k-* animal prefix?; → Thai *kratàay*); & connection Palaung *pəŋtay*, (MILNE 1931) *paŋtay*, Shan *páŋ tǎy*.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm *pa:y*; → literary Malay [*kuching*] *tapai* *rabbit*; ~ Sre *dərpə:y* (→ Röglai), Chrau *səpa:y*, Biat *rpai:i*, Bahnar *təpa:y* *hare*.

Taboo deformation likely; note further Stieng *səra:y*.

(BLOOD 1966 326.)

1469 *daay *calyx, flower.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tia**, Lawa Umphai **thia**, Mae Sariang **tuai** *flower*, Vietnamese **đài** *calyx*.

1470 *daay; *daan *prop, to lean on.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đài** *prop*; ~ Old Mon **dindāy** /**dənday**/ *to recline against*, Modern Mon **həlài** *to recline*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy **thi:an** *to push oneself off with feet*; ~ Khmer **cəmti:ən** *leaning*. Cf. 84 ***pda[a]ʔ** *to lean on*.

1471 *snduy *lips.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **səndu:i** (&**səntu:i**) *lower lip of pig, elephant*, Sre **sənduy**, Lawa Bo Luang **tau**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ndoi** *lips*.

Cf. 1629 ***sdur**; & Biat **tayɔ:i**, Proto-Mnong ***yɔ:y** (BLOOD 1966 68).

1472 *dǎəy; (weak form?) *dǎy (&c.) *to have, to be obliged to, be in a position to, be about to.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Central Rölöm **də:y** *to be able to*, Biat **də:i** *to be* [un]a. to, Riang-Lang **_dǎy** *future prefix*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau **di:-** (!) *(in order) to*, Bahnar **dǎy** *to have, possess; perfect auxiliary*, Palaung **_di** (!) *future prefix*, Praok **ti** *(in order) to*, Khasi **dei** *must*.

(BLOOD 1966 391.)

†1473 *đuuy; *đuəy *to swing, dangle.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **[dɔŋ]** **dui** *to hang down and swing; pendulum*, West Bahnar **du:i** *long and dangling* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **dui-dui** *[swinging] to and fro*.

B: (Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi **doi-doi** *[swinging] to and fro*, Nancowry **ruáy** *morning, forward & backwards*; ~ Semai **ndoi** *to rock in one's arms* (TANDART 1935).

Connect Praok **try** *to hang, depend*; Shan **tɛ** *to hang, depend*, → Riang-Lang **[ton]** *toe*.

Sora **doi-**, **doj-** *to h. (v.i.t.)*.

Proto-Austronesian ***duian** (< ***dui-an**): Tagalog **duyan** *sling cradle*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, ***-j-**).

(***[]đuəy** see 1830 ***[]điiv** *to point (out)*.)

1474 *gǎəy *sexually abnormal male.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **khtɿ:y** (→ Thai **krat^həy**) *hermaphrodite*, Kuy **khthɿ:i** *homosexual*; ~ (***gǎəy** >) Literary Mon **kamnuy** *eunuch*.

1475 *n₁aay *deictic*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **nì:əy** *on the far side, over there*, Kammu-Yuan **nà:y** *that*, Vietnamese **nằy** (beside **nằy**) *this*.

Cf. **91 *ni?** &c. *this*; original compound, as perhaps **1466 *t₁aay** *that...* of **65 *t₁i?** &c.? But conceivably ← Tai, cf. BENEDICT 1975 408.

***1476 *pn₂[uu]y** *dove*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung [ə]p̚loy (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʔploe.

Proto-Austronesian *pun₁ai: Malay **punai** *pigeon, dove*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 122; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 273.

(*rnəy* see **1508a *nrəy?** *pestle*.)

1477 *snaay *peg &c. used in cart construction*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **hnai** *linchpin*, Khmer **sna:y** *peg locking spoke in rim of wheel*.

1478 *p[a]y *to simmer, cook*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **pay** *to make into soup*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pa:y** *to cook*.

Or *.paay; so connected **1480 *paay** *cooked rice...*? But connection dubious Cham **(ha)pà:y** *to cook soup*, North Rōglai **subai** *to stew*, &c.
(SHAFFER 1965 92; SMITH 1972 472.)

1479 *paay *cloud, mist*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok **pay** [ɔm] *cloud*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **mbia**[ʔaum] *mist*, Central Nicobarese **mifaĩyə** *cloud*, Nancowry **mifāya**.

1480 *paay *cooked rice, food*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ba:y** *cooked rice*, Stieng **pa:i** *meat, wild animal*, Chrau **pa:y** *vegetables, soup*; ~ Stieng **prənai**, Sre **pərna:y** *rice-paddle*.

Cf. **1478 *p[a]y** ... *to cook*.

***1481 *[t]puuy** *kind of small mammal*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **puy** *mole*; → Burmese **pwe:**, Lushei **bui** *bamboo rat*; ~ Riang-Lang **kəpuy** *mole, bamboo rat*; ~ Nyah Kur **mpúy** *mole, bamboo rat*.

(Proto-Austronesian *tupai) Malay **tupai** (→ Ngaju Dayak), Acehnese **tupe** *squirrel* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

BENEDICT 1972 46 no. 173 constructs Tibeto-Burman *bwiy from Burmese &c., Tibetan **byi-ba** *rat, mouse* (cf. **byi** *marmot*).

(*dpaay see **1468 *bt₁aay** *hare*.)

1482 *bay *kind of basket.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **pèy** *small shallow basket*, Sre **bay**, Bahnar **ba:y** *basket*; ↔ Cham **pà:y** (& **hapà:y**) *bag*, Jarai **bai**, Rōglai **bay** *basket*, North Rōglai **bai** [**yok**] *market basket*.

(SHAFFER 1965 131.)

1483 *b[oo]y *direction, towards.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **boy** /**boy**/ *direction, location, manner*, Modern Mon **pòa** *adverbial phrase head*, (?) Bunōr **bə:y**, Central Rōlōm **pə:y** *at the point of*, Biat **bə:i** *nearly*; ~ Old Mon **biboy** *towards, in accordance with*, Vietnamese **về** *towards*.

With South Bahnaric vocalism cf. **1484 *k[b]ooy**.

(BLOOD 1966 381.)

1483a *buuy?; ***buəy[]**; ***bəy[]** *dust.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Khasi **pui-pui** *airborne dust*, Vietnamese **bụi** (→ Bahnar **bu:y**) *dust*; ~ Stieng **kəmbu:i**, by metathesis Biat [**neh**] **mo:i** *dust*; ~ (?) Bru **samu:y** *dust, fine particles*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **poi-poi** *dust, fine particles*.

C: (Khasi, Central Aslian) ~ Khasi **sympei** *heap of spoil in front of mouse-hole*, Sakai **səmbei** *sand, dust* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 26).

Cf. **359 *[]bu(u)k**; **2034 *buh** &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

(***buuy** see **110 *bu[u]?** *individual*.)

1484 *k[b]ooy *to wave hand.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **baoy**, Central Rōlōm **pə:y**, Mnong Gar **bə:y**.

Cf. Malay **buai** *to rock, swing*.

(BLOOD 1966 382.)

1485 *[c]buuy *Careya arborea tree.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) → Shan **phūi**; Burmese [**ban.**] **bwe:**; ~ (*[c]rbuuy >) Mon **həpù:**; by chiming expansion ~ Riang-Lang [**khe?**] **səy puy**.

Or ***t**₂-.

***1486 *jbaay** *to hang over one's shoulder.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **spì:əy**, Kuy **phì:ai** *to carry slung over shoulder*; → Thai **tàp^haay**, **sap^haay**; ~ (***j**nbaay >) Mon **kəmai** *to carry by a sling from the shoulder*; ~ Middle Mon **cambāy** *sling carrier*, Khmer **səmpì:əy** *bag, bundle, carried slung from shoulder* (with **s-** by levelling?); → Thai **sàbay** *sash*.

Cf. following.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'aNbai**: Toba Batak **jambe** to hang down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 44; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) by metathesis (***(q)a(N)bi[d']ai** >) Cebuano Bisayan **abilay**, **s-ambilay** to carry over shoulder, Ilocano **abiday** to wrap over shoulder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149; der. Proto-Hesperonesian, cf. BLUST 1971 no. 390); & note ***yi(N)bai** to hang down, DEMPWOLFF 1938 58 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14.)

1487 *mbaay to dangle; negligent.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon **ḃāy** /^m**bay**/ to be negligent, Old Khmer **bāy** to dangle, hang down, be limp, Modern Khmer **p̄i:əy-[ŋi:əy]** to be careless, negligent, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbia**, Mae Sariang **mbuai** to forget, leave behind. Cf. preceding; & for semantics Old Mon **rlāy**, under the entry **1512 *laay**. Connect perhaps Toba Batak **ambe** to swing arms about (***a(m)baj**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14, but a doubtful construction; for Javanese **awé** see **1529 *wa(a)y(-h)**). See BENEDICT 1975 341-2, move back and forth.

1488 *rnbuəy spout, proboscis.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cəmpù:əy!** spout, tap, Biat **mbio:i!** [təh] nipple (contaminated by **2041a *j/n/buəh** beak?), Stieng **rəmuəi** trunk, Vietnamese **vòi** trunk, antennae, spout. Connect obscure Khmer **prəmaoy** trunk; ultimately < ***rnbuuy** by metathesis? Note also Bru **rawù:y** trunk of elephant < Vietnamese?

1489 *ḃay; *ḃaay bean, small weight or coin.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **boa** bean, pea, 1/16 tical, Khmer **pèy** obsolete small coin; → Cham **iběi** small coin, 1/16 **sleñ**; Thai **p^hay** 1/32 tical; (or B) Burmese **pai** bean, pea, 1/16 tical; ~ Sre **rəbay** pea (or B; → Röglai). B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Late Old Mon **ḃāy /ḃay/** 1/32? tical, Rieng-Lang **_bay** bean; ~ Khmer **prəp̄i:əy** large kind of bean, (→ Cham **prabai**), Bru **rap̄iay**, Palaung **rəbay**, Rieng-Lang **rəbay** bean; ~ Khasi **rymbai** bean; ~ Thin **spai** bean. BENEDICT 1972 59 no. 253 refers Burmese with Lushei, Dimasa forms to Tibeto-Burman ***be**. Note Amoy/Hokkien **pè** ~ **pòe** 貝 cowry, shell money, coin, from which POU & JENNER 1973 derive Khmer **pèy**; & cf. **1492 *[s]nḃa[a]y** seed.

***1490 *kḃooy** dipper, ladle.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **baoy** dipper, ladle (& by back-formation **kaoy** to dip, scoop?), Kuy (k)**bo:i** coconut shell, Palaung **boy**, Rieng-Lang **ḃoe**, Vietnamese **môi** dipper, ladle; → Thai **krabuay**, Shan **móe**, **wóe**. (Proto-Austronesian ***[]bui []bui**) Ilocano **buyuboy** coconut shell dipper.

1490a ***[j]ɬuy**; ***[j]ɬuuy** *fat*.A: (Khmer) Khmer **spùy** *awkwardly big or fat*.B: (Palaungic; ~ ***[j]pɬuuy** >?) Riang-Lang **ṽkəbuy** *to be fat*.**1491** ***tɬ[uə]y** *to throng, swarm*.A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon **[tɬan]** **tɬoy** *to be thronged*, Modern Mon **[bən]** **boa** *to mill around, be present in large numbers*, Khasi **boi** *to swarm, be plentiful*.†**1492** ***[s]nɬa[a]y** *seed*.A: (Khasi) Khasi **symbai**.Connect **1489** ***ɬa(a)y** *bean...*?Sora **ə'baɟ-ən**, compounding form **ba'j-ən** *seed (of fruit)*, **bʔa:i-** *to form seed*.**1493** ***sɬəəy**; ***sɬuəy** *to recover from illness*.A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sbaəy** [*illness inter alia*] *to abate*, Sre **bə:y** *cured, recovered*.B: (Palaungic; ~ ***snɬuəy** >) Praok **muay** *to get better, be cured*.

B secondary.

1494 ***məy**; ***məəy** *mother's sister*.A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_may** *elder sibling*.B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **mə:y** *mother's sister, stepmother*; ~ Temiar **mənə:y** *sister-in-law* (BENJAMIN 1976B 134).Riang-Lang exchanges senses of ***məy**, **1531a** ***waay**. Cf. Kammu-Yuan **pə:y** *senior sister-in-law*; Bahnar **mih** *parent's elder brother* (&c., cf. SMITH 1972 334; < ***mə(ə)yh?**).†**1495** ***muuy**; ***muəy**; ***muuj** *one*.A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:y**, Kuy **mù:i**, Jeh **mù:ay** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979; or B?), Kammu-Yuan **mō:y**, Semelai **muy**.B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **moy** /**moy**/, Modern Mon **mò:a**, Old Khmer **moy**, Modern Khmer **mù:əy**, Stieng **muəi**, Chrau **muəy**, Biat **muəi**.C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mō:j** (& **mij**).C as Bahnar **pe:ŋ** *three* ad **98** ***pi?**? Cf. (i) Bunör **ŋway**; (ii) Mường **mộch** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **một** (< ***muc**, sandhi-form in ***mu[]y đii?**, cf. **86?**; perhaps cognate Santali &c., below).

(SCHMIDT 1905 60; SHAFER 1965 572; BLOOD 1966 90; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 29; cf. SMITH 1972 490.)

(i) Sora **ə'boi**, **ə'boɟ**, Sora dialect **ə'məi** (or **iii?**), Kharia **məi**, &c.; (ii, cf. C) Kharia **məiŋ**, **məiɟ**, &c.; (iii; cf. Viet-Mường) Santali **mī'd**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 338).

1496 ***muuys** (& ***muys**?); ***muə[y]**s *mosquito, gnat*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Literary Mon *gmuh* (!) *kind of stinging insect*, Khmer *mù:h mūs*, (TANDART 1935) *mùh mus*, Stieng *mʔɛ: mosquito*, Sre *muy gnat* (→ Röglai; with secondary shortening, or < ***muys**?), by metathesis Central Nicobarese *miho:yə mosquito*, Nancowry *mihúya*, refer *?imihúya to fly up & down*; ~ Biat *rmə:i gnat*; ~ Sakai *kâmos mosquito* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Mon 180 (a)); → Malay *kěmus kind of gnat*.
- B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy *mùah*, Bru *mùayh*, Chrau *mə:ih mosquito*, Bahnar *məih kind of large mosquito*, Vietnamese *muỗi mosquito*.
- Cf. **873** ***s/m/uc** &c. *stinging insect*.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

1497 *[**g**]m[**uu**]y; *[**g**]muəy *sibling's child*.

- A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *_moe daughter-in-law*.
- B: (Khmer) Khmer *kmə:y nephew, niece* (TANDART 1935 also *kmù:əy*); → Cham *kamuəc*.
- Bahnar [*məʔ*] *mə:y*, Jeh *mə:y daughter-in-law* are perhaps < **kuən waay* by contraction, cf. **1127**, **1531a**; so conceivably these, with vowel metathesis; Khmer then perhaps < **km-*, Riang-Lang < *(*n*)*m-*. Cf. **1187** **kmun* &c.

***1498** ***t₁mu**[**j**]y; ***t₁muəy** *guest, visitor*.

- A: (Mon) Mon *məe tmuy* &c.
- B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy (*k*)*mə:i, tma:i stranger, visitor*; ~ (**t₁nmuəy* > ?) Chrau *təmuəy*, Bahnar *təmə:y guest, visitor*, Kammu-Yuan *təmə:y guest; tribal group*.
- Bahnar *mə:y*, Thin *məi to summon, invite* are probably ← Mường (BARKER 1966 21) &/or Vietnamese *mời*. ~ **1463** ***t₁uy** &c. *to follow, accompany*? Note also Central Nicobarese (*m*)*itu:ə to go on visit*.
- (SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 484.)
- Proto-Austronesian ***t/am/u(S)ai**: Toba Batak *tamue*, Old Javanese *tamuy*, Modern Mon *tami*, Madurese *tamòy*, Iban *temuai guest*, Ngaju Dayak *tamuei stranger* (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, **tamu*^c; NOTHOFFER 1975 86 & n. 54; simplex > Cham *to:y*, North Röglai (!) *thuāi guest, visitor*).

1499 *[**d₂**]muy *axe*.

- A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon *mùì muy*, Kammu-Yuan *muy*, Palaung *muy*, Praok *moy*, Lawa Bo Luang *?mau*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *?məi*.
- Connection uncertain Khmer *mù:h mūs*, Stieng *mueh wedge for splitting wood*.

(**yaay* see **151** **yaʔ grandmother*.)

†1500 *ray; *raay to cut.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer [kən]-tray, Kuy [n]trai, Stieng [kə]tre:i, Biat [ŋkap] trai, Rieng-Lang [kim] ʔray scissors; → Rōglai jətreɪ (→ Sre); Shan kīm hāi.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer rì:əy *separate(d)*, (GUESDON 1930) *to cut up*, Khasi *rai to decide judicially*; ~ Khasi *khrai to sever*; ~ Mon [kət] krai scissors (→ Burmese *katkre:*, → Mon *krəp kre*), Khmer tra:y *to lop, clear a path*, Sre tra:y *to shave*, Stieng [kə]tra:i, Palaung [gim] hray scissors; ~ Middle Mon [mra] tarāy, Modern Mon [pə̀rèʔ] kərai dah.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

Sora rai-['kuŋ-] *to cut off* (: *r- or *t₂-r-).

1501 *raay to be scattered.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Viet-Mường) Khmer rì:əy *scattered, to scatter* (→ Thai raay), Sre ra:y *to cure, to console*, Praok [pruŋ prəŋ] ray [ruat hu] *to be scattered*; ~ Palaung kray (MILNE 1931; !), Rieng-Lang kray *to move away*, Khasi krai *to spread*; ~ Khmer pra:y = rì:əy; → Thai praay *to scatter, sow broadcast*; Cham pra:y *to scatter, sow broadcast*, Malay *běr-pěrai-pěrai* *scattering [of crowd], crumbling*, Sundanese *piray to disintegrate, corrode*; ~ Khmer prì:əy *to scatter, to be scattered, to gush out*; → Thai p^hraay *scattered bubbles rising*; Cham prà:y *untied, dissolved, shattered*; ~ Mon sai *to be separate, apart* (in part, cf. 1538 *r(-)saay; *srāy, crāy*), Khmer sra:y *to untie, release*, Biat cra:i *scattered*, Palaung hray *to disappear, be lost, to cure*, Khasi rai-[dieng &c.] *to abstain, avoid*, (?) Vietnamese *rười to sprinkle [soup on rice]*; ~ (*nraay >) Praok gray, Lawa Bo Luang khrea, Lawa Umphai ŋgrai *to be lost*.

Hence by metathesis 1660 *syaar *outstretched?* Cf. further 837 *ra(a)c *to sprinkle, scatter*; 1504 *ruy &c. *to fall, be shed*; & Khmer rayāy *to be, become, detached* (GUESDON 1930). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

†1502 *rəy; *rəəy to rise, stand up.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *prəy >) Stieng prəle:i, Chrau prə: *to wake*, Sre pərlay *to shake awake*, Biat rlai *to wake, shake awake*.

B: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang rəy *to rise, stand up, rise from sleep*.

Santali deʔ *to mount, ascend, climb, &c.*

(PINNOW 1959 333).

1503 *r[ɔɔ]y to grow, increase.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi roi *to increase*; ~ Old Mon prey /prəy/ *more than*; ~ Khasi pynroi *to increase, augment*.

1504 *ruy; *ruuy; *ruəy; *rəy; *rəəy to fall, be shed (& to scatter, contaminated by 1501 *raay).

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **proy(proy)**, Kuy **prui prui** *drizzling*, Palaung **phruy** [*leaves*] *to fly about, be driven by the wind* (MILNE 1931).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon, Central Aslian) Khmer **rò:y** [*petals*] *to fall, drop off; to sprinkle, sow, spray, winnow by letting fall from a height*, Kuy **rò:i** *to sprinkle [e.g. salt] on*, Chrau **ro:y** *to scatter, spread*, Palaung **ruy ruy** *to drizzle*, (or A) Sakai **rúi** *to strew* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 493); ~ Mon **kræ truy** *to sprinkle, scatter* (or A, E); ~ Bahnar **pro:y** *to sprinkle, scatter*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer **rù:əy** *to go limp; to sprinkle*, Praok **ruay** *to scatter*; ~ Bahnar **pro:y** *to sow broadcast*, West Bahnar *to scatter*, Khasi **phroi** *to powder and sprinkle* (probably, rather than A); → Cham **pro:y** *to sprinkle, scatter*, Acehnese **pruə** *to bestrew, besprinkle*; ~ (***sruəy** >) Kuy **sai** [*leaves, fruit*] *to fall*; ~ (***sruəy** >) Mon **həroa** (***-uəy** confirmed by dialects) *to pour out gradually, to sprinkle*, Praok **gruay** *to pour*.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **rəy** *to sow broadcast*; ~ Khasi **krei** *to scatter*.

E: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ West Bahnar **prə:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **prə:y**, [**prát**] **pré:y** *to scatter, sprinkle*; ~ (***srəəy** >) Vietnamese **rôi** *to fall, drop; to shed [tears]*.

Connect 843 ***ruc** &c. *to fall, drip*; & cf. 2051 ***ruh** &c. But connection dubious Kharia **rɔ** *to be scattered*, &c., PINNOW 1959 400. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 64.)

1505 *ruy; *ruuy behind.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **rôi** *afterwards*; ~ Palaung **kruy** (*time*) *before*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer **kraoy** *behind, after*, Kuy **krɔ:i** *afterwards, later*.

The same temporal semantics in Mon **həta?** *next [morning]; previous [incarnation]*...

Connect 1446a ***rkə(ə)y** by metathesis; perhaps 842 ***ruc** &c. *to retreat*... (note Sre **cəm ruc** *to throw over one's shoulder, behind one*). But connection dubious Bahnar **kədre:i**, Jölong **kədrɔ:i** *to go ahead of* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), forms at SMITH 1972 487, & Bru **trɪay** (< ***draay**?) *rear*.

1506 *ruy; *ruəy track, mark.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **troy** *to mark one's path*; → Thai **kruy** *marker stake*; Cham **truy**.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **rɔy**, Praok **ruay** [**khay**] *imprint*.

(***ru(u)y**, ***ruəy** see also 1534 ***ru[wa]y fly**.)

1507 *jraay thin, lean, lacking body.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Old Mon **jrāy** /**jray**/, Modern Mon **sài** *to be lean, undernourished*, Khmer **crɪ:əy** *thin in consistency, limp, soft*, Khasi **rai-[khoh]** *lean* (compounding form!).

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

1508 *draay kind of deer.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *drāy* /*dray*/, Modern Mon *krài Axis porcinus* (→ Burmese *daray*), Old Khmer *drāy*, Modern Khmer *trì:əy stag*, Stieng *drai kind of deer*, Biat *drai swamp deer*.

(SHAFFER 1965 469.)

†1508a *nrəyʔ; *nrəy[]; by metathesis *rnəyʔ pestle.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon *rìʔ*, Khmer *ʔəŋrè:*, Kuy *nthrè:*, Bru *nthrè:*, Jeh *adray*, Thin *dreʔ*, Palaung *gre*, Riang-Lang *ʔreʔ*, Praok *gri*, Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgrəiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgreʔ*, Mae Sariang *ŋgrəiʔ*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəntreʔ*; ~ Halang *hədray* (or < simplex?), Khasi *synrei*.

or *-iʔ subject to post-dental lowering?

B: (North Bahnaric; ~?) Bahnar *hədrə:y*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau *rənay*, Biat *rna:i*.

(SMITH 1972 458.)

Sora *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, in compounds *rij-ən*, *rij-ən*.

1508b *pray to make a profit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *proa*; ~ Mon *pəroa*, (~?) Khmer *kəmray* (→ Thai *kamray*), Kuy *(m)mrai profit*.

Khmer dissimilation probably regular in absence of levelling.

1509 *(bruy?) bruy; *(bruuy) bruuy untidy, long-haired, frayed.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon, Palaungic) Mon [*həpràk*] *həprùì* to have unkempt hair (< **bru(u)y* *bru(u)y*), Khmer *prùy* unusually long-haired, [peacock's] feathers, (**bruy* *bruy* >; ?) Praok *sibroy* [*sibrok*] refuse.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; **bruuy* *bruuy* >) Khmer *babrūy* [*mat*] to get ragged at the edges (GUESDON 1930), Bahnar *bro:i bro:i* all having big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**c.[m]* *bruuy* by contraction > **cmruuy* > ?) Bahnar *cəbro:i* having a big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1510 *[m]raay cotton thread.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy *phrì:ai* spool &c. of thread, Sre [*che*] *bra:y*, Chrau *vra:y*, Biat *bra:i*, Bahnar *bra:y* sewing-thread, Jeh *bra:y* cotton, Halang *bra:y* thread; → Cham *mra:y*, Jarai *mraiʔ*, Röglai [*təley*] *mra:y*, North Röglai *mrai* thread.

If Indonesian, Jarai *-a:i* would be expected. Vietnamese *sợi* is probably rather connected Chrau *rəwəy* quantifier for string, hair.

(BLOOD 1966 282; SMITH 1972 471.)

1511 *l[]ay[?]; *l[]aay[?] *again*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **l̥əy** *more, longer, else*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **lay** *mark of continuous or habitual action*, Mường **lê** (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese **lại** *again*; → Shan **lāi** *again*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **paʔdia**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **paʔlia** *now*.

Perhaps by contraction < *l[]as ʔaay *another time*, cf. 1942, 1935, Vietnamese then < *laayʔ by metathesis.

†**1512** *laay *to dissolve, melt, become loose; idle*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar **la:i** [gɔa:i] [*hair*] *floating free* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **lay** [*words*] *to be vain* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **lay** *to melt*, Vietnamese **lười** *to be lazy*; ~ Khmer **thli:əy** *to break open, burst, split, crack*, Kuy **thli:ai** *to burst under pressure of water*; ~ Chrau **pla:y** *to unwind*; ~ Biat **rkla:i** *to disentangle* by secondary derivation; ~ Old Mon **rlāy** /**rlay**/ *to have loose, have unbound, to be idle*, Modern Mon **lài** *to dissolve, to come loose*, Khmer **rəl̥i:əy** *to dissolve, melt* (v.i.); → Thai **lalaay** *to dissolve* (v.i.t.), → Khmer **ləl̥i:əy** = **rəl̥i:əy**; Malay **rělai** *to crumble*, Acehnese **röl̥e** *to collapse, subside*; ~ (***rnlaay** >) Khmer **rùml̥i:əy** *to melt* by dissimilation, Lawa Umphai **nai** *to melt, dissolve*, Praok **nay** *to be wasted*.

Old Mon **tulāy** *to hang down*, Modern Mon **kəlai** *to come loose, hang loose*, apparently < ***tplaay** (formally causative!) may be cognate with Chrau; & may be connected Khmer **thli:əy**, &c. *Idle* by attraction 1861 ***rliw**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

Santali **le** *to dissolve, melt*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 150a; Proto-Munda ***liG**?).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ruyai**: Javanese **rowé-rowé** *hanging loose*, Pampangan **lugay, luge** [*hair*] *hanging loose*, Tagalog **lugáy** *loose, unfastened* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); probably by metathesis ***yurai** = ***u[l]aj** *to hang loose*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 162 (Proto-West-Indonesian, adding Toba Batak **ure-ure** *fruit cluster of sugar palm*, Karo **m-uré-uré** *to hang down on stalk*; Malay, Batak initial by dissimilation, or ← Javanese, Gayo?); perhaps merging (ii) ***lailai**: Iban **lelai** *to bend, droop*, Cebuano Bisayan **laylay** *to droop...*, Ilocano **laylay** *to wilt* (so Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 310, *hang*.

(***laay** see also 1435 ***[ʔ]aay** *other*.)

1513 *ləyh *to wander*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **lay** [**way**], Palaung **leh** [**laŋ**] (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang-Lang [**laŋ**] **le**, Praok **lay** [**liŋ**]; ~ Vietnamese **trải** *to travel, go*.

Cf. 715 ***laŋ** &c.

†1514 *lǽy; *luəy to leave, leave alone, leave off.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng lǽy to cease, interrupt, Sre lǽy (→ Röglai), Biat [jaŋ &c.] lǽi to leave, Jeh lǽy to set aside, Halang lǽy to stop; ~ Middle Mon *laluy*, Modern Mon *kəlúi* to leave; ~ (*[l]mlǽy >) Praok [bluay] blǽy to stop, leave off.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Praok bluay to overlook, leave alone.

B secondary. Cf. 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2062 *leh ...to go out.

(BLOOD 1966 405; SMITH 1972 463.)

(~) Kharía me'lae, melai to leave off (PINNOW 1959 K 346).

1515 *l[oo]y easy, easy-going.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon lǽa loy to be easy, to be in easy circumstances, well-off (→ Burmese *lway* to be easy), Sre lǽy easy, easy to get (at) (DOURNES 1950; correct to lǽy?), Khasi loi-loi, lui-lui soft-hearted; ~ Khmer thlǽy to be careless, negligent, easy-going.

1516 *luyʔ; *luuy[]; *luəy[]; *lǽy[] to wade, to swim.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer lùʔ to wade, paddle, Praok loy [rɔm], Vietnamese lǽi to swim.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon lúi to wade (through), Proto-Nyah Kur *luuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V275; implies *-uuy), Bru lǽy to swim; ~ Old Mon *lwuy* /lwuy/ station in water.

C: (Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy lǽi to swim, Palaung loy, Temiar loy to wade (BENJAMIN 1976B); → Cham loy [ʔya:], North Röglai luai, (or D?) Jarai lǽiʔ, (or A?) Röglai loy to swim; ~ (*sluəy[] >) Kuy lhǽi, slǽi & Bru salǽy to float (→ Thai lǽy); ~ Sakai linoi to swim (i.e. Semai, Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 544).

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Bahnar glǽy, Jeh talǽy, Halang jǽlǽy to swim; → Cham chaluǽi; ~ (*srlǽy[] >) Kammu-Yuan róy to float.

Cf. Thai luy to wade, Shan lúi to swim, &c., BENEDICT 1975 404; & 1456 *[l]nyuy to swim.

1517 *luuy wax.

A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) ~ Mon plǽe pluy, Proto-Nyah Kur *phluuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 N217), Sakai pǽloi (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 49); ~ Central Sakai klǽ^{wi}.

†1518 *klay[?]; *klaay[?] to change.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəlay**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **klai** to translate, Khmer **kla:y** to change, dissolve (v.i.) (contaminated by 1512 *laay), Kuy **klai** to change shape or state, Kammu-Yuan **klè:y** to exchange ceremonially, Palaung **hlay** (!) (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang **klea**, Lawa Umphai **klai** to turn over, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **trái** to be contrary to; → Thai **klaay** to transform, to change, be changed; transformation.

Connect Sre **glay** to make amends for (↔ Rōglai); Mon **hlai** to change, exchange.

Sora 'o:la:j- to exchange.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 282.

1519 *kləy? (daughter's) husband.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat **klai** son-in-law; ~ (***knləy?** >) Kammu-Yuan **klè?** husband; ~ (***pən kləy?** by contraction >, cf. 1163?) Palaung **pənlə** wife.

Connection dubious Khmer **pdəy** husband, allegedly ← Sanskrit/Pali **pati**.

1520 *k(-)ləy? penis.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **klai**, Kammu-Yuan **tlé?** (!), Riang-Lang **kle?**, Lawa Bo Luang **klai?**; apparently → Cham **kla:y**, Jarai **klæ** penis, North Rōglai **[boh]** **pi-tlai** testicles.

Danaw has **tlé**; by back-formation, or ***k-** part-of-body prefix? Connect 855 *lɔc &c.

1521 *slaay fields.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central Aslian) Mon **klai** clearing after first year, Nyah Kur **chəak-khlaay** abandoned dry fields, Khmer **slay** [land] under cultivation, Temiar **səlay** (dry) field (BENJAMIN 1976B 160).

Cf. Late Old Mon **dinlāy** /**dənlāy**/ parcel [of cultivated land], Kammu-Yuan **lè:y** wet field (quantifier). Prefer ***s-** as Mon obscure.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 94.)

1522 *jləy prisoner of war.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **jlūy** /**jluy**/, Modern Mon **klui**, Khmer **chl̥y**; → Thai **c^haləy**; Cham **jal̥y**.

Connect B23 ***[j]** **[l]** **aa?** slave...?

1523 *t₁luuy[]; *t₁luəy? banana.

A: (North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sakai **telui** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 42), South Nicobarese **təlu:i**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **təl̥y**, Palaung **kluəy**, Vietnamese **chuối** (for ****truối**), (?) Proto-Semai ***tləy** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect Proto-Tai ***kluai.2**, EGEROD 1961 p85.

1523a *d₂løy to swell, bulge.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer [lìən] **thlè: dhlər!** *to bulge*, Sre **lay** *gorged leech or tick* (DOURNES 1950), Biat **lai** *stout, fat*, (~?) Riang-Lang **cəray** *to swell up*.

1524 *pləy? fruit.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Khmer **phlae**, Kuy **plai**, Biat **plai** [**chi:**], Sre, Chrau, Jeh **play** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bahnar **pley** *fruit*, Halang **play** *quantifier for fruit*, Kammu-Yuan **plé?**, Palaung **ple**, Riang-Lang **plə?**, Praok **pli**, Lawa Bo Luang **pləi?**, Lawa Umphai **ple?**, Mae Sariang **plei?**, Vietnamese **trái**, Che' Wong **pəlo?**, Semai I **pələ:?**, Semelai **pələ:h** *fruit*. (SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 105, 505; BLOOD 1966 185; SMITH 1972 457; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 282.)

1525 *pluuY kind of cucurbitaceous plant.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **plə:y** [*kind of*] *pumpkin or water-melon*, Bahnar **plū:y** *gourd*. (SMITH 1972 461.)

1526 *blaay young man.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **blāy** /**blay**/, Modern Mon **plài**, Lawa Bo Luang [**pi**]-**plia**, Lawa Umphai [**kuan**] **mblia**, Mae Sariang [**kuan**] **mblia**, **mbluai**; ~ (***bplaay** >) Vietnamese **trai** *boy* (& by secondary derivation **giai** *boy*).

***1527 *[b]l[ə]y to trade.**

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **løy** *to trade* (MILNE 1931), Praok **lay** *trade*; ~ Thin **kăklai** *trade*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bəli(S)**: Malay **běli** *to buy*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27), Röglai **bley**; → Sre **bley**; Sakai **běli** (Semai, Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 485; (ii) ***bili(S)**: Cebuano Bisayan **bili** *price*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 30; Tagalog rather < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 282, *exchange*.

1527a *sl[əy]?, *[s]ləy[?] edible moss.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **slae** *moss*; ~ (***spl-** >?) Riang-Lang **kle?** *edible moss*.

B: (Khmuic) ~ (***snl-** >?) Kammu-Yuan **klè:y** *edible moss*; → Lao **ghay**.

Connection uncertain Mon **hloik**.

1528 *sluy; *[s]luəy to descend, decline.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **sloy** [*clothing*] *to trail*.

B: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung **hluəy** *to be past noon*, Besis **chəlui** *to descend* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 95).

***1529 *way(-h); *waay(-h) to turn, to wave.**

- A:** (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy **wìh** to turn (away, towards), Bahnar **wìh** to return; → Thai **wǎy** to shake, quiver..., Shan **wái** to stir, wave; ~ Vietnamese **quay** to turn (v.i.t.) (& **quậy** to stir), Central Nicobarese **kewai-[re]** to swing arms, Nancowry **kiwáyri**; → Thai **kway** to swing, sway; ~ Sre **krəway** dizzy; ~ Mon **həwoa saway** to turn round axis, to wave.
- B:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Kuy **wè:h** to avoid, step aside, Stieng **[ui:ŋ] uai** giddiness, Bahnar **wai** to roll up, to turn round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); curved, Palaung **vay** to wave hand, beckon, **veh** to avoid, shun, Riang-Lang **vay** to turn [face], Vietnamese **[oăn]-oai** to squirm, writhe (with phrasally conditioned tone?); → Röglai **uy** to turn (v.i.t.); Shan **wǎi** to turn; ~ Sre **ŋoa:y**, Chrau **pwa:y [vo:ʔ]** dizzy, Vietnamese **ngoái** to turn [head] round (with unexplained tone); ~ (*[k]lwaay >) Khasi **kyllai[dohdit]** wagtail; ~ Khmer **chva:y** to coil, braid, roll into a ball; ~ (*[r]nwaay >) Mon **kəmài** to stir, (?) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaʔmea**, Lawa Umphai **raʔmai**, Mae Sarian **yaʔmai** to mix.

Add **1531 *wa(a)y** to transfer ownership? Cf. also **234 *wi(i)?** to turn; **235 *weeʔ**, ***weh** crooked, to twist; **1950a *was** &c. to wave, beckon.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 335.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[]y- []auai: Acehnese **rawe** to grope for in water &c., Javanese **awé** to beckon, Cebuano Bisayan **gaway** tentacles of jellyfish (&c.; so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *k- []auai: Cebuano **kaway** tentacles of jellyfish, Tagalog **kawáy** to beckon, Proto-Oceanic ***kawe** tentacles.

Note Tibeto-Burman ***wa:y** to whirl, brandish, wave, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 90; ***koy** to bend, BENEDICT 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210; & see BENEDICT 1975 241-2, move back and forth I-II.

1530 *way quick.

- A:** (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vèy** quick, prompt (→ Thai **way**), Kuy **wà:y** quick, quickly, Stieng **uei**, Sre **way** quickly (DOURNES 1950).

1531 *way; *waay to transfer ownership.

- A:** (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) → Shan **wài [nìim]** to sell on credit; ~ Sre **təway** to redeem; → Röglai **təway**, Malay **tawi**; ~ (*sway >?) Vietnamese **vay** to borrow.
- B:** (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **vay** to borrow, Riang-Lang **_vay**, **_way** to hire, lend, borrow [goods], Lawa Bo Luang **wia**, Mae Sarian **wuai** to borrow, lend, Praok **vay** lease, to lease, Khasi **wai** to lend, let; ~ Old Mon **twāy /tway/**, Modern Mon **kwai**, Old Khmer **thvāy**, Modern Khmer **thva:y** to present; ~ Biat **cuai**, (~? cf. Vietnamese) Bahnar **hua:y** to redeem.

= **1529 *wa(a)y** to turn...? Cf. here **768a *wa[i]ŋ** &c. to borrow.

(SHAFFER 1965 198.)

1531a *waay elder sibling.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **vay** *kinship class including elder sibling*, Riang-Lang **_vay**, **_way** *parent's or wife's e. sister, elder sibling-in-law*, (?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ʔɔi** *elder sister*; ~ (***mwaay** >) Alakong Bahnar **ma:i** *elder sister* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **məma:y** *elder sister*.

Riang-Lang exchanges senses of ***waay**, **1494 *məy**. Connect perhaps **1497**

***[g]m[uu]y** &c. *sibling's child*, which compare; as **117 *mbiiʔ**.

(SMITH 1972 470.)

†1532 *kwaay yam.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Mon **kwai yam**, Thin **kwai** *sweet potato*, Vietnamese **khôai** (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **khəai** [ti:m]), Sakai **kuói yam** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 4); by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamea**, Lawa Umphai **rəmai** *kind of taro* (via ***knwaayʔ**); Proto-Semai ***bkooy** *Dioscorea alata* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(?) Sora **-gai-ən**, **-ga'j-ən** *tuber* (compounding form ~ **gə'naj-ən**, usually referred to **gai-** *to dig*; for which see **1541 *khaay** &c.).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***kywi**, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 238.

1533 *kw[əə]y top, on top, above.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **kwə:y** *above*; ~ Palaung **kərvuay** *above, beyond, upper part of house, loft*, Lawa Bo Luang (**haw**) **ʔawui**, Lawa Umphai [**haw**] **rawui** (*hair above* =) *eyebrow*, (?) Praok **sivoy** *in front, before*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **pərwə:y** *upper part, top*.

Waic vocalism contextual?

†1534 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ru[wa]y > *ruy; *ruuy; *ruəy; Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ruhay fly.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rù**.

B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **rui**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ruuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N75), Central Nicobarese **yu:e**.

C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**rù:ai**, Stieng **ruai**, Chrau **rəwəy**, Bahnar **rə:y**, Jeh **rə:y**, Halang **roay**, Kammu-Yuan **rə:y**, Palaung [**ə**]**ruəy**, Riang-Lang **_ruay**, Lawa Bo Luang **roi**, Lawa Umphai **rua**, Mae Sariang **yui**, Vietnamese **ruôi**, Semai **roi** (TANDART 1935), Nancowry **yúay**; → Cham **rə:y**, Jarai **ruaiʔ** (&c.), Röglai **rəway**, North Röglai **ruai**.

D: (South Bahnaric) Sre **rəha:y**, Bunör **rəhwa:y**, Central Rölöm **huəy**, Biat **rhui**. (SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 207; BLOOD 1966 91; SMITH 1972 480; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 199.)

Sora **əroj-ən**, compounding form **roj-ən**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 356; Proto-Munda ***rɔj**).

1535 ***rwaay** *tiger, large felid.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan [ró:y] **rəwà:y** *tiger [spirit]*, Thin **rwai**, Palaung **rəvay**, Riang-Lang **rəway**, Praok **sivay**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔawia**, Lawa Umphai **rawia**, Mae Sariang **ɣawia**, **ɣawuai** *tiger...*, Bru **rawiay** *sprit*.
(SHAFFER 1965 221.)

1536 *[l]wəəy *to become tired.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [kwaŋ] **kwui**! *to feel weary*, Khmer **lv̄:y** *weak, flagging, indolent*; ~ (*[l]rwəəy >) Khmer **rəv̄:y** *weak, flagging, indolent*.
Mon initial & head register by phrasal deformation? Connection dubious Santali **lamba'ɟ lumbu'ɟ** (*to walk*) *leisurely, slowly*, **ɽimbɔ'ɟ ɽɔmbɔ'ɟ** *slowly, wearily; fatigued* (PINNOW 1959 K 528), since *-y is normally lost in Santali: ib. p. 281.

1537 ***saay** *bee.*

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **sai**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərhá:y**.

1538 ***saay** *dispersed.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **sai** *to be separate, apart* (in part, cf. below & 1501 ***s-raay**; **sāy**), Khmer **sa:y** *to spread, stretch out, extend (v.i), to disperse (v.t.)*, Bru **saʔ-sa:y** *scattered all over*; ~ Mon **sai** *to be separate...* (in part; **rhāy**), Khmer **rəsa:y** *untied; sparse*.

Or ***rsaay** < ***s-raay** by metathesis, ***saay** by back-formation? The same initial variants in 872 *(r-)**saac**, 837 ***s-raac**.

†1539 ***həy**; ***həəy**; ***huəy** *finished.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **həy** *just now*, Jeh **hāy** *enough*, Halang **hāy** *already got*.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **həəy** *finished, already*, Stieng **hə:i** *perfect particle*, Biat **hə:i** *already*, Praok **həy** *punctuating particle*, Sakai **hoi** *to finish* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 115); ~ Kuy **lh̄:i** *already*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **huəy** *to have finished*; → Shan **hwāy**.

Connect 875 ***huc** &c.; cf. 250 ***hiiʔ** *to cease...*

(SCHMIDT 1905 36; cf. SMITH 1972 467.)

(?) Kharia **hoi**, **hoi** *to be, become, to happen*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 83).

(***h[əy]**? see 1435a ***ʔ[əy]**? deictic.)

1540 ***h[oo]y** *to call.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Sre **ho:y**; ~ Khmer **dəŋhaoy** *to summon*.
Onomatopoeic Khasi **kynhoi** *to shout* is probably independent.

†1541 *khaay; *khəy to dig.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Middle Mon *khāy*, Modern Mon *khai* to dig, Khmer *kha:y* to scratch, scrape, dig out; ~ (*krhaay >) Khasi *kharaï* ditch, trench.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *khới*.

Cf. A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig; 1442 *kaay to scratch.

(?) Sora *gai-*.

Proto-Austronesian *Sukai: Tagalog *hukay* hole, pit, excavation, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65-6; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

†1542 *khəy? (& *khəy??) moon, month.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer *khæ* month, Biat *khai* moon, month, season, Stieng *khe:i*, Central Rölöm *khē:*, Chrau, Halang *khay*, Bahnar *khēy* moon, month, Jeh *khē:y* month (< variant?), Praok *khi*, Lawa Bo Luang *khəi?*, Lawa Umphai *che?*, Mae Sariang *khēi?* moon, month, Central Nicobarese *ka:he:* moon, Nancowry *kahé*; ~ Khmer *kəŋhae* season (TANDART 1935), Sre *kənhay* moon, month, *nhay* month. Connect Kuy *sai*, Bru *kasay* or *ks- > Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric → Khmer, Bahnaric?

Connection dubious Khasi *bnai*. Derive perhaps → Tai *hŋaay moon (Tho-Nung), moonlight (BENEDICT 1975 330, light...).

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFER 1965 520; BLOOD 1966 184; SMITH 1972 464.)

(?) Sora *aŋ'ga:j-ən* moon (< Proto-Munda *kaŋga:j-, PINNOW 1959 K 151).

(*kh[uyh] see 879 *khuc to wipe, wash.)

1543 *ghuuy; *ghuəy spirit, soul.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) ~ (*gmhuuy >) Mon *həmùì ghamuy* &c. a witch seen in form of will-of-the-wisp; ~ (*grhuuy >) Kammu-Yuan *ró:y* spirit, Thin *hroi*, *hre* corpse, soul of dead person, spirit.

B: (North Aslian) ~ Semang *rōwai* soul (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 347).

Connect perhaps (i) Central Nicobarese *o:wi:* spirits, ghost; (ii) 935a *[hw]iip soul, which compare; as 1447a *guuy shadow of living creature; B99 *[ploo]y shadow of living creature.

1544 *chaay to tip out.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Mon *chai chāy* to empty, pour out, t.o., unload, transfer, Khmer *cha:y* to overturn, kick aside, kick out of the way, (!) Stieng *cai* to pour out, Sre *ca:y* to scare [birds] away, ?Bru *hā:y* to pour out.

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1460 *kcaay to be scattered, with which there is contamination.

1545 *[c]haay to multiply.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon [*rāñ*] *chāy*, Modern Mon [*ràin*] *chai* to become widespread, flourish, prosper; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *kyrhai* abundant; ~ *byrhai* many.

1546 *chuy; *chuuy to emit smoke or steam.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) ~ (**cphuy* >) Khmer *phoy-phoy* in puffs; ~ (**cbhuy* >) Khmer *cəmhoi* to cook by steaming, Kuy *phui* to blow [smoke], Biat *bhui* [smoke] to be emitted.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *heo:e* fire, Nancowry *hi?uáy*; ~ (**cnhuuy* >) Thin *ɲwi* to light, kindle; ~ Biat *nhu:i* [*nhəm*] breath, Bahnar *ɲru:y*, Jeh *ɲrù:y*, Halang *ɲrùay* smoke; ~ Chrau *cəmhu:y* mist, vapour, steam. Connect Khasi *thui* [smoke] to come out; & note Khmer *cəmha:y* vapour, fumes; Vietnamese *hơi* steam, vapour. Cf. also A11 **jhuu?* to set light to... .

(SMITH 1972 460.)

1547 *thəys to throw.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *thoa thay* to throw, skim, Vietnamese *thảy* to throw (away).

Connect Burmese *thwe*; ← Mon **thui* < **thəy*[]?

1548 *thuy[?] tangled, confused.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *thui* to be tangled, confused, to behave in a disorderly way (→ Burmese *thwe*); Vietnamese [*lôi*] *thôi* (with tone by phrasal assimilation?) to be complicated, involved, troublesome, untidy; ~ (**trhuy*[?] >) Mon [*thui*] *hərui dharuy* to be confused, to behave in an unruly manner, Vietnamese *rối* to be tangled, mixed up.

1549 *t₁huuy; *t₁huəy; *t₁həy; *t₁həəy loose, lax, roomy.

A: (Kuy, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *thuy* to be loosed, relaxed; ~ Kuy *nthò:i* to slacken, pay out (contaminated by 1690 **dhu*[]r, which compare?).

B: (Bahnaric; ~ **t₁lhuəy* >) Biat *lhə:i* loose [garment], West Bahnar *kəhlə:i* sprung [trap] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Mon *həloa talhay* &c. width, extent (& by back-formation *hloa* to be broad, wide, extensive), (~?) Khmer *lhae* to relax (v.i.).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer *lhaəy*, *rəhaəy* refreshing, refreshed, Kuy *lhə:i*, *slə:i* cool, refreshing [breeze] (?), Bahnar *rəhəy* loose, lax, relaxed, with tension released, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation *ka:lvi* loose [tooth].

1550 *phuuy; *phuəy; *pʔuuy blanket.

A, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *ouy* blanket. (< **pʔ*-), Biat *pho:i* woollen blanket.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *phuəy* blanket.

1551 *[]rha[a]y maggot, grub.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat rha:i larva, grub, Chrau ra:y, Bahnar hra:y maggot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 hrai!).

1552 *[]?iər fowl.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Khmuic) Sre, Biat iar, Chrau, Bahnar ?yər, Jeh i:l, Halang iar, Thin ?iər, Palaung iər, Riang-Lang ʔyər, Praok i:a, Lawa ?ɛ, Khasi 'iar (~ s'iar); ~ Kammu-Yuan həyíar.

Khasi prefix perhaps weak form of 1324 *ciim bird, Kammu-Yuan of 1127 *kuən child. Connection uncertain Mon [caɪŋ] de jungle-fowl; conceivably < *l-?iər. (SHAFFER 1965 400; BLOOD 1966 111; SMITH 1972 411.)

(*?aar see 1562 *bi?aar two.)

1553 *?ər; *?əər joyful.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon 'uiw [tambuɪh] to be full of joy (& 'uit... by sandhi; Modern Mon ɔh kəmpɔh by phrasal rhyme), (A) Khmer ʔə: 'ar joyful (→ Cham auv); ~ (B) Biat n?ər cheerful.

1554 *?ur; *?uur; *?uər to lead, go in front.

A, B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[]rʔ- >) Chrau luur next [month] (A), Biat lo:r first (B).

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' ʔər, Palaung uər to lead; ~ Chrau lo:r first, by metathesis Jeh ro:l, Halang roal before (& by secondary derivation Bahnar adro:l before, first, in front of); ~ Stieng nɔ:r (in) front, before.

*[]rʔ- probably with nominalizing affix rather than < *?ur ʔur &c.

(BLOOD 1966 60.)

1555 *?ur[]; *?uər[] to command.

A: (Viet-Mường; ~?) Vietnamese hổi to urge, press (< *p?ur causative? otherwise *?urʔ).

B: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon 'or /ʔor/ to cause to, command to, Nyah Kur ʔuər ('causing to' =) resultative verb auxiliary, Proto-Semai *ʔɔr to order, to ask (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Middle Mon p'or to send to, to cause to, bid, urge to, Pangan [ya]-pē'-or to command, order (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 54).

1556 *?u[]r; *?uər; *?ə[]r stream-bed.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ʔo: 'ūr watercourse, stream, stream-bed, West Bahnar o:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔo: channel, ditch, (or ~ 1597 *cuur[]?) Khasi nur /no:r/ channel.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) West Bahnar ɔ:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔu:ə can'uər channel, ditch, area between ditches.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ə:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 1686 *h[u]r? &c. *to flow?*

1557 *[c]ʔiir *plentiful, excessive.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon s'i *to be numerous, plentiful*, Stieng ʔi:r (BLOOD 1966), Sre ir, Biat i:r *too much*.

Cf. Bahnar hie:r *to find someone tiresome* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 212.)

1558 *cnʔiir; *cnʔər *kind of basket.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cəŋʔe: *can'er shallow basket, riddle*, Sre nir *kind of hemispherical basket*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat nər [ra:ŋ] *riddle*.

1559 *cʔəər *to belch.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Mon) Central Rölöm ʔə:r, Biat ɒ:r; ~ Khmer cəŋʔao *can'or* (!; contaminated by *to vomit* ad 11 *cʔ[au]ʔ); ~ Nyah Kur təŋʔʔr &c. (L-THONGKUM 1984 p.371).

Cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ &c. *to hiccough, belch*.
(BLOOD 1966 380.)

1559a *cʔur; *cʔuur; *[c]ʔuər; *cʔər; *cʔəər *warm.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng u:r *to heat [leaf, to soften it]* (or B), Kammu dialect ùr *to cook* (contaminated by 1685 *hur *to expose to heat*, which compare), Nancowry ʔóy *warm*; ~ Palaung kəʔuur *to be warm* (or E?), Praok siʔaw *to be hot*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [toʔ] ɔr ɔr *lukewarm* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ur (or A?) *with a warm sensation*, Central Nicobarese o:e *warm*, Nancowry ʔúay; ~ Praok siʔu *to be healthy, warm*.

C: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi (probably, rather than A) or-or *very [warm]*, Vietnamese oi *to be sultry*.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa saʔəu *warm*.

E: (Khmer; contaminated by *hur) Khmer chʔəə ch'ör *to roast, grill*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 527 *cuuŋ. Connect 1671 *waar &c. *hot, to heat*; & cf. 1561 *p[ʔ]ər &c. *to dry*.

1559b *tʔiir; *tʔər *blue, green.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat e:r *yellow*; ~ (*t[l]ʔiir >) Sre təlir *blue, green* (→ Röglai), Khasi lir *blue, indigo* (compounding form?).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat ɒr *green*, Thin ʔūr *blue*.

1560 *d₂ʔuur; *d₂huər *kind of apid.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) ?Central Nicobarese **ta:o** *yellow wasp*, ? Nancowry **tūa** *bee*, (by metathesis, or ~) Khmer **ta: ʔao**, **trəʔao** *tra-o* &c. *kind of large apid*; ~ (*d₂nʔuur >) Kuy **ŋʔo:r** *small yellow kind of wasp* (& (ŋ)ŋò:r *bee*), Bru **taʔur** *hornet*, Kammu-Yuan **cənʔù:r** *small kind of wasp*, Riang-Lang **cəŋɟur** *striped domesticated kind of bee*.

B: (Mon) Mon **tho** *kind of hornet*.

Cf. Thai **tò** *kind of wasp* (< *to *hornet*, BENEDICT 1975 403-4, *sweet...*).

1561 *p[ʔ]ər; *[p]ʔəər; *phər (?); *phəər *to dry.*

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Kuy) Stieng **pə:r**, Sre **pər** *to dry over fire* (DOURNES 1950); ~ Kuy **ŋʔr:r** *to smoke over fire* (or B); ~ Biat **nʔər** *drying-rack*.

B: (Khasi; by secondary derivation) ~ Khasi **tyng-ier** (& **tyng-ür**) *drying-rack for firewood*.

C, D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **phoi** *to dry out of doors* (D); ~ Sre **pənhər** *drying-rack* (probably C, cf. Biat).

Connect Central Nicobarese **hã:-** *to dry*, Bru **ʔur** *to dry out of doors*. A, B contaminated by 1559a *cʔə(ə)r *warm*, or C, D contaminated by 1685 *hur *to expose to heat*?

†1562 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *biʔaar > *baar, Pre-Khmer *[b]ir, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔaar *two*.

Old Mon **ḥār /ḥar/**, Modern Mon **ba**, Old Khmer **ber**, **vyar**, Modern Khmer **pì:**, Kuy **bì:a** (!; contaminated by Khmer ?), Bru **ba:r**, Sre **bar** (!), Chrau **va:r**, Biat, Halang **ba:r**, Bahnar **ḥa:r**, Jeh **ba:l**, Kammu-Yuan **pà:r**, Riang-Lang **ar**, Palaung, Khasi **ar**, Mường **hal** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **hai**, Kintaq Bong **biyeh**, Che' Wong **ber**, Central Nicobarese **ã:**, Nancowry **ʔã:**; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭərʔar** *pair*, (~?) Praok **ra**, Lawa **laʔa** *two*; ~ Temiar **na:r** *two*; ~ Mah Meri **hma:h**, Semaq Beri **mar**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 38; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 279; SMITH 1972 415; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 271.)

Sora compounding form **ba(:)r-**, Kharia **u'bar**, &c.; ~ Sora **bə'nar-** *second, next* (PINNOW 1959 49; with derivation cf. Temiar)

1562a *snʔaar *kind of stinging insect.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **səŋʔa:** **san'ār**, Kuy **ŋʔa:r** *kind of black ant with painful sting*, Riang-Lang **səʔar** *wasp*.

†1563 *sʔuur; *sʔər *to emit a smell.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Halang **su:r** *to smell*, Jeh **sul** *smell* (*quantifier*), Kammu-Yuan **[həʔúur]** **həʔòor** *to smell pleasant; pleasant scent*, Palaung **ur** *smell, to smell, stink*; ~ (*snʔuur >) Lawa Bo Luang **[saʔau]** **hɲau** *fragrant*; ~ (*smʔuur >) Mon **həmao** **samū** &c. *odour* (merging vapour, gas < 1807 *k/m/huul).

B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **həʔúŕ** *to smell pleasant...*, Central Nicobarese **ɣi smell**, Nancowry **ʔũy**; **haʔũy** *to make sth. smell* (or A?).

Connect Chrau **nthoŕ** *fragrant*. Cf. 15 ***sʔu** []? &c. *mouldy, spoiled*.

(SMITH 1972 419.)

Sora **'uŕ-ən**, **uʔuŕ-ən** *bad smell*, ~ **ə'nur-** *to emit a smell*.

***1564 *koor** *to scrape, shave*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **kao kor** *to scrape, shave*, Bru **kɔŕ** *to scrape with spoon*, Stieng **kuŕ** *to cut [hair], shave*, Biat **koŕ** *to scrape*, Bahnar **kɔŕ** *to comb, scratch with comb*, Jeh **ko:l**, Halang **koar** *to shave*, Khasi **khur** *to rake (together), scrape*, Central Nicobarese **koĩ:-[hə]** *to scrape [coconut meat]* (or is Nicobarese /kuʔi/?).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **cạo** *to scrape, shave*, **cào** *to scratch, claw, rake*.

(SMITH 1972 422.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kurkur**: Javanese **kukur** *to scratch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83); (ii; ?) ***kud₃kud₃**: Malay **kukur** *to rasp*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82, ***kudkud**; DAHL 1973 § 14.7). See BENEDICT 1975 371. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 65.)

***1565 *k[u]r** *to dig*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **kir** /**kør**/ *to dig*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kiir**! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V215), Stieng **kuŕ** *(to dig with) mattock*; ~ Old Mon **kwir**, Modern Mon **kwn** *digging-stick*.

Cf. Biat **kar** *to dig*; & 1593 ***ciir**.

Pampangan **kulkúl** *to dig*, perhaps Karo Batak **ng-kurkur-i** *to turn surface soil without tool*.

1566 *kuur *infected*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **koŕ** *painful*, Central Rölöm **[ji:] kɔŕ** *sickness*, Bahnar **kuŕ** *festering* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***knmuur** > ?) Sre **mour**, Biat **moŕ** *inflammation*.

(BLOOD 1966 7.)

1567 *[]kuur *wind, storm*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin (**h**)**kūr**, **ʔkūr** *thunder (storm)* (contaminated by 1582 ***[t₁]gə(ə)r?**), Palaung **kur**, Riang-Lang **ṭkur**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **kaw**, Lawa Umphai **kau** *wind*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həŋkúŕ** *storm*.

***1568 *cnkuər**; ***[c]nka[a]r** *integument*.

A: (Mon) Mon **həko jakow** *bark, outer husk of coconut*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cəŋkuar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N77).

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **nkar** *shell, husk*, Bahnar **akaŕ** *skin, rind, shell, bark*, Bru **ŋkar** *skin*, **sakar** *scalp*.

(SHAFFER 1965 401; SMITH 1972 418.)

- (i) Sora ə'kur- *to peel off* (v.i.), kur-ən (compounding form, ~ 'kur(r)əŋ-ən), Mundari uŋ *bark*, &c.; (ii) Mundari harta *bark*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 366; but some cited forms rather : 1687 *huur *skin*).

1569 *[t]kur *to stir*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ko: kūr *to stir*, Stieng ku:r *to stir, to beat or turn while cooking*; ~ Mon həkəp thakuīw &c. *to stir*.

1570 *[d]kər *tree, plant*.

- A: (Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Mường câl (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese cây, Jah Hut, Mah Meri təkəh *tree*; by secondary derivation ~ (Pre-Viet-Mường *p-kər >) Mường cál (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese cây *to transplant [rice seedlings]*.

Cf. 1719 *d₂gəl &c. *trunk, stump*.

1571 *[b]kaar *to cook over fire*.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kár *to grill, roast*, Riang-Lang ʔkar *to broil, roast, toast, cook in smoke of fire*.

Malay bakar *to set on fire, burn, roast, toast* (probably → Javanese) (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *baka[!]).

1572 *sk[e]r *to look intently, aim*.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Literary Mon kew, Sre ker *to aim at*, Chrau ke:r *to look at*, Central Nicobarese həki:ə- [hətə &c.] *to peep, aim, with one eye closed*, Nancowry hakīa ~ kīa (rather *-iər?).

1573 *skəw sugar.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon kə (s)kaw *syrup*, Khmer skə: skar (→ Stieng sʰkə:r?), Biat [kac] kə:r *sugar* (beside chkə:r ← Khmer).

If ← Indo-Aryan, an early loan; for Mon-Khmer origin cf. PRZYLUSKI in MSLP 22 208² (& TURNER 1962-66 12338).

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1574 *[]gar *seed*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre gar *seed, grain, kernel*, Bunör gar *seed*, Bahnar gar *seed, pip*; ~ Sre gənar = gar; ~ Central Rölöm ŋgar *seed*, Biat ŋgar *grain, kernel*.

Or *bgar, ~ 1276 *grap by metathesis?

(BLOOD 1966 345.)

² [Editorial note: we were unable to confirm the Przyluski reference. The journal is apparently *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Perhaps Volume 22, page 208 are indicated.]

1575 *gəər to catch fire.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **gīr** /gər/ to shine, Modern Mon **kə̀** to blaze up, shine, glow; ~ (*p̥gəər >) Middle Mon **bguir** to cause to shine, to set light to; ~ (*pr̥gəər > ?) Mon **həkə̀** **baguiw** to fan or blow into flame, Vietnamese **gỏi** to arouse, awaken [memories, desires].

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 1978 *guh &c. to glow, burn.

1576 *gur earth yielding red ochre.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gur** earth yielding red ochre (DOURNES 1950), Biat [luʔ] **gur** laterite, Bahnar **gu:r** earth yielding red ochre (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps ultimately Sanskrit **hiṅgula-**, **hiṅguli-** vermilion (whence Old Mon **hiṅgul**).

1577 *gur; *guər ear of grain.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **_səmkər**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kù:ə** **guə(r)** ear, pod.

1578 *gur; *guər; *gər ridge, handle.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **gor** central ridge or vein, spine.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **gə:r** id., range of hills (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Bahnaric, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Sre **gər** central ridge or vein, spine (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **gər** handle of tool, Bru **kīr** rod; ~ ?Nancowry **hinkóʔa** spine; (probably) → Cham **kār**, Jarai **gə:r**, Röglai **gər**, North Röglai **gə**, Acehnese **gə** handle, stem; ~ Chrau **ḡgər** bridge [of nose], Biat **ḡgər** handle of knife.

†1579 *guur to fall, be shed.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Old Mon **gūr** /gur/, Modern Mon **kù** [rain] to fall, Riang-Lang **_kur** [leaves] to fall, (?) Kerbat **göl** to fall (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 20).

Add Khmer /ʔol/ **'ur** [rain] pouring down, **bəŋʔol** to rain, **bəŋʔao paŋ'or** to rain; Khasi **ur** to fall down?

Sora **gur-** to rain, Kharia **gur** to fall, &c. (PINNOW 1959 106).

(Proto-Austronesian *gu[]gu[d_{2/3}]) Malay **gugor** [fruit] to fall singly, Javanese **gugur** to fall off, fall away (so Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ~ *gad_{2/3}gad_{2/3} to fall apart, DEMPWOLFF 1938 51 & BLUST 1972 no. 26).

1580 *guər fitting, proper.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **gor** /gor/ to be meet, fitting, good, Modern Mon [kòp] **kò** ought, Khmer **kù:ə** **guər** proper, suitable; → Cham **guər** proper, suitable; Thai **k^huan**.

1581 ***ŋgər** *to seek out*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **’gir** /**ᵐgər**/ *to seek out*, Modern Mon **ḡì** *to search for among undergrowth or hair*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***k̥iir**! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V217); ~ Sre **təŋgər** *to seek to descry*.

1581a ***[c]gar**; ***cgaar** *to fence, enclose*.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ker**; (by secondary derivation?) ~ **kper** *garden*.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **cəmka**: **cəm̥kār** *garden, plantation*, (~?) by metathesis (***c.raak** >) Riang-Lang **ᵐsərak** *fence, garden*.

Connect (i) Kammu-Yuan **həŋkúur** *wall; to shut [door]*; (ii) perhaps Sre **pəŋgar** *fence*, Biat **ŋga:r** *fence, hurdling*, then contaminated by rather than ← Indonesian (***pagə[d_{2/3}r**]: DEMPWOLFF 1938 110, *-**[l]**), Proto-West-Indonesian; Cham **pakà**, &c.); but this may itself be connected.

1582 ***[t₁]gər**; ***[t₁]gəər** *thunder*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Mon) Kammu-Yuan (by voicing metathesis?) **kúur**; → Malay **tagar** *thunder clap*; ~ (***[t₁]pg-** >) Mon **həkə** (or **B**), Khmer **phkə̀**: **phgar** *thunder*.

B: (Palaungic; probably ~) Riang-Lang **təkər**.

Connect by metathesis **1622** ***gtər** &c. Cf. (i) Bahasa Indonesia **-gegar** *to rumble*, **gelegar** *rumbling (of gunfire, thunder)* (so connected **1584** ***sgər**?); (ii) Proto-Austronesian ***guruq** *to rumble* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, ***guluḥ**; Malay *thunder*); (iii) **1567** ***[k]uur** *wind, storm*. See BENEDICT 1975 368, *rumble*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36, 70; SHAFER 1965 566.)

†**1583** ***t₂guur**; ***t₂gar** *straight, upright*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **dgū** (*figurative*) *to be upright*, Modern Mon **təkù** also *to be straight*; ~ Old Mon **tiŋgūr** /**təŋgur**/ *upright position*.

B: (Khmuic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **səkár** (!) *straight*; ~ **səmkàr** *to straighten, to aim*. Kharia **səŋghor** *straight* (PINNOW KHARIA TABLES 169 no. 20).

(***bgar** see **1574** ***[]gar** *seed*; ***lnguur**, ***lngu[ə]r** see **1720** ***lngal** *plough*.)

1584 ***sgər**, ***sgəər** (*kind of*) *drum*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **sgar**, Modern Khmer **skə̀**; Central Rölöm **gər**, **gar**, Bunör **gər**, Biat **gər**, (?) Bahnar **səgər**, **həgər**, Halang **həgər** *drum*, Palaung **gər** *noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]*; → Cham (**ha**)**kàr**, Jarai **h³gə̀r**, Röglai **həgər**, North Röglai **sagə** *drum*; ~ Old Mon **siŋgir** /**səngər**/, Sre **səŋgər**, Chrau **səgər** *barrel-shaped drum*, Jeh **ŋgàl** *drum*.

Bahnar, Halang perhaps by (back-)borrowing, or < ***srgər**.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Bru **saŋkə̀r**, Kuy **[khù:əŋ]khù:ar** *large temple drum*, Stieng **səŋə̀r**.

Cf. **A144** ***[]ŋguur** *noise*; Stieng **gə̀r**, **ŋə̀r** *drumming of rain* &c.; & for a possible Indonesian connection **1582** ***[t₁]gə(ə)r** *thunder*.

(BLOOD 1966 129; SMITH 1972 402.)

(***ɲiər** see following)

1585 *ɲaər (> Pre-Palaung &c. ***ɲiər**, ***ɲə(ə)r**); ***ɲ[ɔ̌]r** *green*.

A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cəŋá:r**, Palaung **ɲiər**, **ɲər**, Riang-Lang **ɲer**, Lawa **saŋa** *green*, Khasi [**im**] **ngar-ngar** *very [green, unripe]*.

B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **cunɔ̌:ə** *blue, green*, Nancowry **cuná:**; ~ Kammu-Yuan [**cəŋá:r**] **cəŋɔ̌:r** *green*.

Vocalism obscure. Cf. Central Nicobarese **ɲə:-**, **-ɲə:** *yellow*, Nancowry **ɲó**.

***1586 *t₁ɲər** *to listen, hear*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Riang-Lang **ɲar** *to hear*, Vietnamese **nghe** *to hear, listen*; ~ Riang-Lang **təkɲar** *to listen (to), to obey*.

Proto-Austronesian ***d₃əŋəɣ**: Malay **dəŋgar**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 39; DAHL 1973 § 14.7). See BENEDICT 1975 312.

1587 *tɲər *kind of bamboo*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **thɲɔ:** **thiə!** *kind of bamboo with long internodes*, Biat **ɲər** *kind of bamboo*, Khasi [**ri**]-**nger** (compounding form) *kind of rattan, Calamus species*, (? , ***tnər** by assimilation >) Sre **dər** *very straight kind of bamboo, Oxenanthra species*; ~ (***t[n]ɲər** >) Chrau **təŋər** *large kind of bamboo*.

1588 *t₂ɲuur; ***t₂ɲiər** *to make a moaning or sighing sound*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer **thɲo:** **thiūr** *to moan, groan, complain, to hoot, to coo*, Palaung **hɲur** (MILNE 1931), Semang **təŋoh** *to groan* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 GUESDON 1930 118).

B: (Palaungic) Praok **ɲi:a** *to sigh*, (**rək** —) *groan*.

Cf. A144 ***[]ɲguur** *noise*.

1589 *d₁ɲ[ɔ̌]r *abstracted*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon **lɲaw** [**lɲan**] *to be dazed, lost in thought*, (?) Central Nicobarese **ɲɔ:-[cəka:]** *solemn*, **o-ɲɔ:hə-[cəka:]** *melancholy*; ~ Khasi **dyngngor** *to be in a stupefied state, spellbound*.

1589a *rɲar; ***rɲa[ar]** *cold*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **ɲàr**.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rəŋi:ə** **rañā!** (*bitter*) *cold*, Praok **ɲe** *to be cool*.

1590 ***[l]ŋaarh** *the right way up, supine.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mường **ngả** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **ngửa** *to lie on back*; ~ (***[l]ŋaarh** >) Mon **təŋəa** *to lie on back, to be the right way up*; ~ (***[l]bŋaarh** >) **təŋəa** *to turn the right way up*; ~ (***[l]pŋaarh** >) Khmer **phn̄a: phn̄ā** *on one's back, the right way up, looking back.*

Or ***rŋ-**. Cf. (i) Biat **ŋgə:r** *to look up*; (ii) Palaung **səŋguh** *to look up*; (iii) Proto-Austronesian ***tiŋadaq** *to look up*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 138 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

1591 ***[c]ir** *plant used to treat wounds.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **sir** *solanaceous plant used to treat wounds* (↔ Röglai), West Bahnar **[pəga:ŋ] sir** *tuber used as plaster for wounds* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1592 ***cir**; ***ciir**; ***ciər** *to cover, shelter.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **cir** /**cør**/ *to ward [off]*, Middle Mon **cuiw** *to screen*, Modern Mon **cɜ** *to cover over, to wall*, Bahnar **sir** *to be completely covered, hidden*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **sir** *to be completely covered, hidden*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **che** *to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter*.

Add perhaps (***cuər** >) Thin **sər** *to hide*.

1593 ***ciir** *to dig.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ciir**, Biat **chir** *to dig [hole]*, Bahnar **sir** *to dig (out, up, hole)*, Jeh **cil**, Halang **ciar** *to dig*.

Cf. (i) **1565** ***kur**; (ii) Sora **sar-**.

(SMITH 1972 405; cf. SHAFER 1965 482.)

1594 ***ciir**; ***ciər** *to cut up.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ciir** *to cut up cloth*; ~ (***[b]ciir** by secondary derivation ~) Bahnar **təje:r** *to cut into large flat pieces*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ciə ciər** *to slice, trim*, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chia** *to divide*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cér** *segment, slice, to cut into segments* (& **cè:r** *to divide, distribute*; by arbitrary variant?); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **təjer** *to cut into small slices*.

1594a ***car**; ***caar** *wild cat, small felid.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **sár** *civet cat*, Palaung **sər** *wild cat*; ~ Khasi **ksar** *fox (or B; ?)*; ~ Chrau **səmar** **[bər]** *flying squirrel*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (***[k]caar** >) Bahnar **ca:r** *wild cat*; ~ Khmer **chma: chmā!** *cat*, (— **ba:**) *flying squirrel*.

Cf. Cham **muca:**, &c. *civet cat*, Proto-Ambonese ***mader** *dasyure* (STRESEMANN 1927; so Proto-Austronesian ***maZə[ry]**?).

(SMITH 1972 417.)

1595 *caar resinous.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ca:** *cār*, Kuy **ca:r** *Butea frondosa*, yielding red resin, Sre **sa:r** resinous.

1596 *cur pig.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **su:r**, Sre **sur**, Chrau **su:r**, Biat **chor**, Jeh **còl**, Halang **cur**. (SHAFFER 1965 244; BLOOD 1966 164; SMITH 1972 404.)

†1597 *cuur[]; *cuər[]; *car[s] to flow, to pour.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Praok **su** to pour; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **cau**, Lawa Umphai **cau** waterfall; ~ Khasi **nur** /**no:r**/ channel (or ~ 1556 *ʔu[]r?).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Mon) Palaung [**om**] **suər** current, Mon **co** small creak or stream, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cuar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N239); (or A?) → Röglai **sor** to flow, trickle; ~ Bahnar **cə:r** (drainage) channel, to canalize; ~ Kuy **pcar** eaves (contaminated by 1606 *juər[], cf. Mon **həyù** eaves < *jnjuur[]).

C: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon **cə** to pour, Vietnamese **chảy** to flow, melt, leak.

C contaminated by 1600 *jar to exude? Cf. further 1686 *h[u]r? &c. to flow (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Sora **ur-**, **er-** to pour, **er[da:-]** sprinkling (n.).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *k'u[d_{2/3}]k'u[d_{2/3}]) Gayo **chěchər** to seep out, Malay **chuchur** to flow, trickle, Javanese **chuchur-an** to jet out (& **chur** in a jet; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *paNk'u[d_{2/3}]: Malay **panchur-an** conduit, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112, *-[]); Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pa(N)k'a[d_{2/3}]: Malay **panchar** to emit rays, sounds, &c., probably Cebuano Bisayan **pásad** to scatter, to be scattered (then Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 112).

Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *sywar = *śwar to flow; to pour, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 241.

1597a *kcəər fin.

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Nicobaric) Biat **cə:r** [**ka:**] fin, Nyah Kur **c̣ə:r** fin, Central Nicobarese **ka:f̣ə** (— **ka:ə**) dorsal fin, (— **wi:əŋ-ka:ə**) ventral fin.

Connection uncertain Sre **sənor**. Cf. Nancowry **kasú?** a bone.

†1598 *[]ncuur lips.

A: (Palaungic) Praok **jũ**.

Kharia **lu'cur**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 363; Proto-Munda *lukcur?).

†1599 *bcuər to plough.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phcù:ə bhjuər** (& **cù:ə** furrow, by attraction line, row < 1605 *[j]uər^h), Stieng **cuər**, Biat **cuar**; ~ Kuy **cur**. Sora **or** (-'ro:).

†1600 ***jar**; ***jər** to *exude*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmu' **jar** to *leak*; ~ (***j̄njar** >) Bahnar dialects **hə̄njar**, **kə̄njar** to *suppurate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cər** to *drip*, Riang-Lang **_car** to *leak*, (so probably, rather than A) Palaung **jər** to *exude* (MILNE 1931), Khasi [**um**]-**jer** *dew*.

= following? Cf 1606 ***jur**[] &c. to *descend*; 1597 ***cuur**[] &c. to *flow*...

Santali **ṣərɔ** *drip, drop, trickle, leak*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 219).

1601 ***jar** (especially *poisonous*) *sap*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **jar**, **jār**, Modern Khmer **cə̄ə gum**, (*poisonous*) *sap* (→ Thai **cʰan dammar**), Kuy **chà:r sap**, *resin, gum*, Sre **jar** *vegetable poison* (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **jar sap**, *arrow poison*, Biat **jar** *poisonous sap*, Bahnar **jar sap**, *resin*, Palaung **jər sap** (MILNE 1931).

= preceding? (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 52.)

1602 ***jar?** *quick, to run*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Sre **jar** *quick, urgent*, Mường **chă̄l** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **chạy**, Proto-Semai (DIFFLOTH 1977) ***jar?** to *run*; ~ Vietnamese **nhạy** to *be speedy, to react quickly*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 200.)

1603 ***jər** (& ***jar?**); ***jur** to *warm oneself at [fire]*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **co** (< ***jar?**); ~ (***j̄njər** >) Stieng **njər**, Sre **njər**, Biat **njər**.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **jur**.

1604 ***jə̄**[]r *flowers, blossom*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **jar** /**jə̄w**/, Modern Mon **cə̄ blossom**, Khmer **cə̄: jar** *floral pattern, lace*.

†‡1605 ***[j]ur**[?]; ***[j]uər**h; ***[j]iir**[]; ***[j]iər**[] *string, line, row*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Praok **nu** *creeper*, Khasi **snur** *crack, seam, cobweb*, (~ ***j̄pnur?** >?) Mường **nố̄l** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **nối** to *join, connect, to continue, succeed*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **jvar**, Modern Khmer **cù:ə**, (→?) Biat **cuar** *line, row*, Vietnamese **chuỗi** *string [of beads], file, series, succession*; ~ Middle Mon **cnor** /**cnow**/ *row*, Modern Mon **hno** *line, rule*, Biat **nɔ̄:r** [**yo:k**] [*mountain*] *range*, Riang-Lang **nuar** *cord*.

C: (Mon) Literary Mon **jī** to *arrange in order* = Middle Mon **cī** [**reñ**], Modern Mon **ci** [**rèaŋ**], perhaps ← Burmese **cī** [**rañ**] ← Mon.

D: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon **cew** [**reñ**] to *arrange*, Riang-Lang **cər** *row* (→ Palaung, Mon, **taər** to *form a row?*), Praok [**maw**] **si:a** *cord*.

Initial discrepancies obscure; perhaps separate roots in *c-, *j-, with mutual contamination. Add perhaps Vietnamese *giãy*, *giãy* row (then < *-jərɰ; connection dubious Mường *đắ*, BARKER 1966 25!). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 66.)

Sora *ʃul*-(*ʃul*-) *to string* ~ *ʃə'nul-ən string of beads*; *ro'jo:l-le in a line*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'i [d'iə[r]: Javanese *jèjèr in a row, in rows, &c.*

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d'id'i[l]; NOTHOFFER 1975 61; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *d'a [d'a[r]: Malay *jajar line, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay); ~ *baNd'a[r] row. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 18). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 55.)

†1606 *jur []; *juur []; *juər []; *jir []; *jiər [] *to descend*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng *ju:r*, Chrau *juur*, Biat *jur* *to descend*, Jeh *jòl*, Halang *jur* *down*, Lawa Bo Luang *co* *to leak*; ~ Stieng *nju:r* *to take down*, Chrau *tənjuur* *to hand down*, Biat *njur* *to put down*, West Bahnar *ju:r* *to descend* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *jaə* *to shed [tears]*, Vietnamese *giội* *to pour*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Bahnar *ju:r*, Kammu-Yuan *cù:r*, Riag-Lang *_cur* *to descend*, Palaung *jur* *valley*, Khasi *jur* *descent*, Semai I *jə:r* *to fall*; ~ Old Mon *jmūr* /*jmur*/ [*elephant*] *subject to must*, Middle Mon *jmū* also *falling [rain]*, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon *həmù* [*elephant*] *subject to must*; ~ (*jrjuur [] >) Mon *həcù* *to drip*.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy [*ba?*] *chə:r* *to sweat profusely*, Lawa Umphai *chua* *to leak*; ~ Mon *hmò* [*elephant*] *subject to must*; ~ (*jnjuər [] >) Bahnar *həpə:r* *trickling* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *cě* *drizzle*; ~ Bahnar *həpɪr*- [*həpɪr*] *very sweaty*. Cf. Nancowry *céh* *to drip*; Bru *cacù:r* *to drip, ooze*.

E: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Praok *ci:a* *to fall, be shed*, Central Nicobarese *ciě* *to drip*, (~?) Khasi *jiar* (& *pjiar*; original compounding form?) *to drain off, filter*.

*-r if Vietnamese tone is from plosive sequence; but Central Nicobarese *ciyau* *leak (in canoe, roof)* suggests a metathetic *jrūu?. Front vocalism secondary. There is contamination with 1600 *jar &c. *to exude* & 1597 *cuur [] &c. *to flow, to pour*. Cf. also 1657 *yur &c. *to hang down...*; 539 *juuŋ (to) *rain*; 1898a *jus *to take down...*

(SHAFFER 1965 119; BLOOD 1966 157; SMITH 1972 403.)

(i; ?) Santali *nur* *to fell, drop, fall*, Mundari *nur* *to flow out* (PINNOW 1959 106); (ii) Sora *sir-* *to spurt*, *er-* *to pour*, *'er-ən*, *'jer-ən* *flow*.

1607 *juur (& *juər?) *to siphon*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar *jo:r*; ↔ Röglai *jur* *to siphon*, North Röglai *ju* *siphon*; ~ Stieng *jənuə:r*, Sre *jənur* *siphon* (↔ Röglai), Bahnar *jəno:r* *liquid siphoned up*. Stieng diphthong perhaps regular following nasal.

1608 *[k]jir; *[k]jiər *dense, close together.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jir**, Jölong **sir** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar **kir** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (by metathesis?).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jölong **sər** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **kiar** by metathesis?

(*ɲə(ə)r see 1585 *ɲaər *green.*)

1609 *[l][p]ɲaər *soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon [cək] (k)əɲə, Sre **bəɲar** (DOURNES 1950).

1610 *tiər *to forge.*

A: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng **thiər** (!), Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** *to forge*, Bahnar **tiər**, **teər** *to hammer to an edge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Vietnamese **đe** *anvil*; → Cham [pa]tya:, Röglai **tia:** *to forge*.

Cf. Bru **de:r** *to have a knife made*.

1611 *t₁[e][r] *to warn.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **te** *to warn, remind*, Vietnamese **đe** *to threaten*.

1612 *t₁ar *to run.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **tar**, Praok **to**, Lawa Bo Luang **ta**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **tə**.

Cf. Thin **där**.

1613 *taar *counterbalance of axe (*cuuŋ).*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar **ta:r**.

Add perhaps (*tar >) Old Mon **tar** /tər/, Modern Mon **tə** *stalk, handle*.

1614 *tə[]r *to fight.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **tə** [kəneh], Khmer **tə:-**(tùəl) &c., **ta!**; ~ Khmer **trədɔ:** **traɬar** *to struggle*; ~ Old Mon **twar** /twər/ *warrior*.

1615 *turh *to change, exchange.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **do:** **tūr** *to barter, to give change*, Kuy **to:r** *to buy*, Stieng **tu:r** *to change [places]*, Nancowry **tóh** *to change*, Mường **tỏi** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **đổi** *to change* (→ Sre **đuih**).

= following?

(SHAFER 1965 406.)

1616 *t₁[u]r to give.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Literary Mon *tuiw* to give, Praok *tə* to give, hand over, Lawa Bo Luang [həu] *toa*, Mae Sariang [heu] *tau* to send; ~ (*t₁rp[u][r] >) Middle Mon *tawuiw* gift; Nancowry *hatóyhaŋa* to send.
= preceding?

1617 *tur to hit with fist.

- A: (Bahnaric) Biat *tor* to hit with downward movement of fist, Sre, Bahnar *tur* to hit with fist.
(SHAFFER 1965 80.)

***1618** *tuur (to get) burnt.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon *tur* /*tur*/ to burn (v.i.), Modern Mon *tao* also to get burnt, Khmer *dao tor* blistered (→ Kuy *do:r* blistered, burned).
(Proto-Austronesian *tu[]tu[d_{2/3}r]) Javanese *totor* wood fire, to make fire, Iban *tutur* to apply fire to, burn, brand [person] (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1619 *kntiər termite.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *kəndiə kəntiər*, Chrau *gətiər*, Biat *nciar* termite, Bahnar *kəte:r* male termite (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; East Bahnar also *kətiər*).
Connect Khasi *ktiar* centipede?

1620 *ktər board, plank.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *ktār*, Khmer *kda:* piece of wood, plank (→ Stieng *kəda:r* table, plank, Chrau *kəda:r* plank, Biat *kda:r* board), Kuy (k)*ta:r* board, plank, Bahnar *tər* board; ~ Old Mon *kintir* /*kəntər*/ seat, Modern Mon *həto* board, seat.
Khmer/Kuy vocalism post-dental. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 32.)

***1621** *kt₂uur; *kt₂uər ear.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Katuic) Kuy (k)*tə:r*, Bru *kuto:r*, Stieng *tu:r*, Sre *tour*, Biat *to:r* ear (→ Chrau), Riang-Lang *cor* (!) outer ear.
B: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon *ktor* /*ktor*/, Modern Mon *kəto*, by metathesis (*t₂kuər >) Khasi *shkor* ear.
Chrau **c(h)o:r is expected.
(SHAFFER 1965 404, 460; BLOOD 1966 18.)
Kharia *lu'tur*, &c.; ~ Remo *lintür*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 147; Proto-Munda *luktur; suggesting *-t₁-!).

***1622** *[g]tiər; *gtər (to) thunder.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar *tə:r* thunder clap, [lightning] to strike (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !); ~ (*[g]ntiər >) Mon *həte* to lament, Kuy *nthi:r* resounding, Biat *ntə:r* to cry out; ~ Middle Mon *gater* /*gətew*/ long-drawn-out intonation, Biat *ntə:r* clap.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer **khtə̌**: **khdar** to reverberate, Stieng **tə̌rh**, Chrau **tər** thunder, Biat **[tah]** **tər** (to) thunder; ~ Sre **ntər** thunder, Besisi **gentah** thunder bolt (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119).

Cf. Malay **guntur** thunder connected by metathesis 1582 *[t₁]gə(ə)r.

(SHAFFER 1965 502; BLOOD 1966 131.)

Santali **ṭher** stroke of lightning, &c. (PINNOW 1959 165; Proto-Munda *-e-).

(Proto-Austronesian *kitər?) Iban **ngitar** lightning.

†1623 *gt₁ar (& *gt₁ər?) to shiver.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **khtə̌** **khdār** to vibrate, sound (contaminated by preceding?), Bahnar **tar**-[war] (!) to shake with fear, (variant > ?) Central Nicobarese **kəṭrə** to tremble, vibrate, Nancowry **túá** v.i., **katúá** v.t.; ~ (*gt₁- >) Mon **həṭə** to shiver, Khasi **kynther** (~ variant?) to shake off, shed, flutter; ~ (*gt₁ar gt₁ar >, or by secondary derivation?) Khmer **tətə̌** **dadār** (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **dəḍā** [teeth] to chatter?), Tolo Bahnar **tətar** to shiver (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Bahnar **təṭey**, Gölar Bahnar **təṭuey**; **tətəṭ**, (probably) → Cham **tətəṭ** [trèy], **katəṭ**, Jarai **təṭur**, Röglai **katəṭ**, North Röglai **tətəḥ**; Jölong **təta:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); all by expressive variant? *-t₁- in view of Sora

Sora by metathesis 'takar-.

Proto-Austronesian *kə(N)tər: Malay **gətar**, **kətar**, &c., Tagalog **katál** (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 33.)

1624 *[c]t₁ur; *[c]t₁uur; *[c]t₁əər crest.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **səntər** crest, fin.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ntor** crest, fin (probably, rather than A), Biat **ntur** [cə:r] ridge of roof.

C: (Bahnaric) Jeh **tə̌l**, Halang **tə̌r** comb of cock; ~ (*[c]lt₁əər >) Stieng **altər**, Chrau **gəṭər**, Biat **ntər** [iar] comb of cock.

(SMITH 1972 408.)

†1625 *di[]r; *diər; *dar to circle round.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **dir** **təḍir** [large bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Chrau **diər** to swerve, go around, Biat **dər** to make a detour, Bahnar **dər** **təḍər** [small bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (or C) ~ Khasi **gynter** spinning-wheel.

C: (Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai), Bahnar **dar** going round, circumambulation; ~ Sre **sədar** to go round (→ Röglai **adar**).

Add as derivative 1630 *[]na(a)r sun, day? Note further Bahnar **təḍuer** to revolve rapidly.

(SHAFFER 1965 122; SMITH 1972 414.)

Sora dialects **ə-dider** round about.

(***daar** see 77 ***da[ʔ]** *duck*.)

1626 *[d][o]r *hill*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **dor** (→ Röglai), Halang **doar**, (or 1741 ***dul**, which compare, >) Mae Sariang **tu**, Mường **tôi** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **đồi**.

If Viet-Mường is cognate, ***d-**.

1627 ***duur** *back*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **tù [cah]**; ~ Biat **ndur [kə:i]**.

Cf. Bahnar **kəduʔ**.

1628 ***kɔɔr**, ***kdar** *woman, wife*.

A: (Central & South Aslian) ~ Semai I **kərdɔ:r**, Semelai **kərdɔ:r** *woman*.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **kindar /kəndɔ:r/**, Modern Mon **kəlo** *wife* (→ Burmese **katô** *wife of [official &c.]*), Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəmtar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N176).

Add Khmer **kəmdə: kamtar** *to keep company, cohabit*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 63.)

1629 ***sdur** *lips*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Rieng-Lang **_tor**; ~ Khasi **shintur** *mouth*, Sakai **səntór** *lips* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 2).

1648 ***sɔur** contaminated by 1471 ***snduy**?

1629a ***fiir**; ***fiar** *to spread, extend*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **dir** *to open out, spread*.

B: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi **diar** [*wings*] *spread wide*; ~ Mon **həde** *to extend, spread (v.i.)*.

1629b ***dur**; ***duər** *curve, arch*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Biat **dor** *arch*, **dur** *curve*, Thin **dūr** *rainbow*, (or B) Khasi **dor** *curve, curved*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **do:l** *curved surface*.

?Add Central Nicobarese **dɔ:n** *curved*, Nancowry **rón** *to bend*. Note Khmer **tò: dor** (< *[d]uur?) *leaning, bending*.

1630 *[]nar; *[]naar *sun, day*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **nar** *sun, day*, Chrau **nar** *day, daytime*, Bahnar **nar** *day*, (~?) ?**nar** *sun, day*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm, Biat **nar**.

Or ***dna(a)r**, ~ 1625 ***dar** *to circle round*?

(BLOOD 1966 310.)

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *t'ilay *light* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 154, *-n-; DAHL 1973 § 15.4, 8; BENEDICT 1975 470 compares the variant *t'ingay, DEMPWOLFF 1938 154).

1631 *[c]n₂[a]r *to snore*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*[c]nn₂[a]r >) Stieng **nnar**, Sre, Biat **ndar**; (?) → Malay *sēndar*; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkhlər**.
Or *-ə(ə)r? Then add perhaps Bahnar **hṇər**, by dissimilation; but with this cf. Vietnamese *ngáy*, & note Proto-Monic *sn₂ur *grind (one's teeth)*; *snore*. (SHAFFER 1965 557.)

1632 *tni[i]r; *tniər *floor*.

A: (Mon) Mon **nəe knī** *floor, floor boards*.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **niər** *top layer of bamboo floor* (→ Bunör **ṇiar**?); ~ (*tpniər >) Khmer **phniə phiər** *bamboo-twill floor of cart*, Chrau **təniər** *bamboo flooring*.
For Stieng **pəni:r** *bamboo partition* (= **pini:r**, compared at B107) see A147 *piir.

†1633 *par *to fly*.

(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Mon **pə**, Kuy, Stieng **par**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar, Halang **par**, Jeh **pal**, Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **pər**, Praok **po**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəu**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peu**, Mường **pəl** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *bay*; → Cham **par**, Jarai **pər**, Röglai **pər**, Acehnese **pə**; ~ Semang **kəpuih** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 203); (?) → Madurese **ngappər**; ~ Biat **mpar**; ~ (*pnar —& in part *pmnar?— >) Stieng **penar**, Sre **ḍar**, Chrau **pənar** *wing*, Biat **nar** (!) *wing, feather*, Bahnar **pənar**, Jeh **manal**, Halang **manar**, Kammu-Yuan **pənúr** (!) *wing*, Khasi **'ner** (~ *sner*) *fly*, Nancowry **nuāy** *wing*.

Kammu-Yuan vocalism by attraction **túr** *to fly*, ad 1683 *həər.

(SHAFFER 1965 25; BLOOD 1966 362, 368; SMITH 1972 412, 413.)

Mundari **a-pir** *to fly*, &c. (Proto-Munda *per); ~ Kharia **pə'ner** *wing* (PINNOW 1959 K 501).

Paiwan *mi-pə[ɣ]pə[ɣ] (!; BENEDICT 1975 394, *to spread (out)*..., which see); perhaps also Proto-Austronesian *lə(N)pad_{2/3}: Tagalog *lipád* *flight, flying*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 247; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1634 *pəər (& *pər?) *rice-gruel*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **pər** *soup*, Sre **por** *rice-gruel* (< variant?), Chrau **pər** *soup, gruel*, Biat **pər** *rice soup*, Bahnar **pər**, Jeh **po:l**, Halang **poar** *cooked rice*; ~ Khmer **bəbɔ: papar** (→ Stieng **pəbər**) *soup, rice-gruel*.

Bahnar **[ḍa:k] bu:r** *water in which rice has been cooked* is ← Indonesian, cf. Cham **(a)pù:**, Röglai, North Röglai **bu** *rice-broth*, < Proto-Austronesian *bud_{2/3}bud_{2/3} (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32). Is this ultimately cognate?

(SHAFFER 1965 553; SMITH 1972 421.)

1635 *p[]uur?; *p[]uər[]; *p[]ər[]; *p[]ar[] to bind round, wrap.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *pūr* /*pur*/ to surround with, to bind round, Modern Mon *pao*, Mường *púl*, Vietnamese *búi* to bind round.

B: (Palaungic) Praok *pua* to wrap.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *par* to wrap; (probably, rather than D) ~ Palaung *rəpər* winding round, to wrap [bandage] (MILNE 1931).

D: (Mon, Khmuic) Thin *pär* to wrap; ~ Old Mon *kupar* /*kəpər*/ to put round; ~ *kunpar*, Modern Mon *həpə* to go round; (?) → Bahasa Indonesia *kumpar* to wind on a spool.

Or **pw-*, causative ~ 1669 **wuur* &c. to go round...? Cf. 1754 **p[]ul* &c. to twine round. Sakai *sapur* to wrap up (Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 145) is probably ← Malay *simpul*.

Connection uncertain Mundari *biur* to turn round, to surround, to move round, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361 (Proto-Munda *[p]ijur).

***1636 *knpur lime.**

A: (Mon, Khmer Katuic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *gapuiw*, Modern Mon *həpə*, Khmer *kəmbao kəmpor* (→ Stieng *kəmuə:r*?), Kuy *mphə:r* (!), Vietnamese *vôi*.

Khmer/Kuy vowel lengthening precedes lowering; Kuy chest register obscure.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian **k[]-(q)apuɣ*: Malay *kapur*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 75, **kapuɣ*: Proto-West-Indonesian; ~ *(*q*)*apuɣ* = **apuɣ* lime, DEMPWOLFF 1938 16). *-*ɣ* suggests Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, with secondary infixation.

1637 *cpiir pumpkin.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Thin *pīr*, Vietnamese *bí*; ~ Mon *həpə*, Proto-Nyah Kur **cəmpiir* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N102), Riang-Lang *səpīr*.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect perhaps 1756 *[c]puəls &c.; a similar alternance in 1675 **siir*/**suul*.

***1638 *cpiər to blow, to winnow.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Mon) Thin *pīər* to blow, Riang-Lang *pīər* winnowing-tray, Central Nicobarese *ifuə* to blow, *ifuī* to fan, Nancowry *ʔifuú*; & *fūy* breeze, Nyah Kur *hwīr* (& Thin < *-*iir*?); ~ Chrau *səpiər* kind of winnowing-basket, Proto-Semai **jmpīər* winnowing-sieve (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ Vietnamese *nia* winnowing-basket.

Nicobaric vocalism contextual.

Kharia *humper* to blow (PINNOW 1959 K 159).

‡1639 ***tnpaar** *flat surface*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?North Aslian). Mon **həpa** *flat surface, back [of hand &c.]*, Khmer **dɔmba:** **tənpār** *flat surface*, Semang **tebal** *plain* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 122; ?).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***da(N)pa**[d_{2/3}ɣ] *flat*: Malay **dampar** *stranded*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***da(m)pay**; sep. Tagalog **lapag** *floor*, or -g by dissimilation?; separate probably Ngaju Dayak, *step*; Proto-Malayo-Javanese *-r, NOTHOFER 1975 153); (ii) ***la(N)pad**_{2/3}: Javanese **lampar** *flat and spacious...*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 20.7, ***laNpar**; add Cebuano Bisayan **lapad** *flat, level surface*; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 291.

1640 ***mpuər** *leguminaceous plant yielding shampoo*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **kəpo** **lapow** &c. *soap-acacia creeper*, *Acacia concinna* De Candolle; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Khmer **səmbuə** **səmpuər** *Mimosa fera*, (—**kək**) *kind of shrub from fruits of which shampoo is made*, Riang-Lang **səmpuar** *soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna* De Candolle.

1641 ***[b]iir** *to forget*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **bir** *neglectful*, Palaung **bir**, Praok **pi[ɔm]** *to forget*.

1642 ***ber** *to float*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **pè** *to ride low in the water*, Khasi **per** *to float*.

1643 ***boor** *plentiful*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pò** **baw!** *to be plentiful* (→ Burmese **po**), Khmer **pò:** **bor** *to be full to overflowing*.

1644 ***ʔbaar** *to kneel*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Muong) Old Mon **ʔbār** /^m**bar**/, Modern Mon **mèa**, Khasi **par** *to kneel*, Vietnamese **bái** *to bow, pay homage to*. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence.

1645 ***gbur** *to eject from mouth*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **khpùl** **khbur** *to rinse mouth, spew out, make a shower*; ~ (***gnbur** > Middle Mon ***kambuiw** >) Mon **kəmə** *ejected residue of betel chew*. Mon head register results from Middle Mon voicing distribution rule.

1646 ***cbaar** *hibiscus*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[kao]** **hwèa** *hibiscus*, Khmer **cha:** **cpā!** *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*. Add perhaps by voicing metathesis (***jpaar** >) Central Nicobarese **cəfa:** *Crinum laurifolium*.

1646a ***tbar**; ***tbər** *sticky, slippery*.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ Sre **mbar**, Chrau **mvar** *glutinous*; ~ (***trbar** >) Bahnar **təbar** *sticky*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **mbər** *slippery, to slip*.

Connect Nancowry **kipáy** *sticky*.

(***[b]**ir see 1562 ***biʔaar** *two*.)

1646b ***ḡ[a]r** *flying ant*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **[i]bər**; ~ Khasi **kber** *flying white ant*.

Cf. Riang-Lang **buŋ** *bay flying ant*.

(***ḡaar** see 1562 ***biʔaar** *two*.)

1647 ***[k]bur** *dark, night*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bur** **[tru:]** *dark, overcast* (DOURNES 1950), Riang-Lang **ʔbor** *evening, night, to get dark*, Lawa Bo Luang **[ma]-pu**, Lawa Umphai **[mua] phu**, Mae Sariang **[mua] pu** *evening*; (?) → Malay **kabur** *dim, faint*, Ngaju Dayak **kabul** (!) *obscure, misty*; ~ Sre **mḡur** *shadow*, Praok **bo** *night*.

Bahnar has **maŋ mu:** *very dark*; = West Bahnar **mu:** *shadow* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), ad 111 ***[]b[uuʔ]**?

1648 ***tḡur**; ***tḡər** *lip*.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **môi**; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəbo:** **papūr** (perhaps contaminated by Malay **bibir** < Proto-Austronesian ***bibiʔ**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 129; → Khmer **pəpì:** *labia pudenda*).

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **vər** **[vəʔ]** *lip*, Biat **bər** *mouth, opening*, Sre **bər**, Bahnar **ḡər** *mouth*; ~ Palaung **səbər** *lip*; ~ Bru **tamber beeʔ** *lip*.

Cf. 1629 ***sdur**.

(SHAFER 1965 407.)

1649 ***mar** *to increase in size*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **mar** /**mər**/, Modern Mon **mò** *to increase*, Khasi **mer** *to grow well, to sprout*; ~ (***kuən mar** by contraction >, cf. 1127) Riang-Lang **kənmər** *to be pregnant*.

Separate Biat **mo:r** *to swell*, = *inflammation* ad 1566 ***kuur**.

1650 ***mar[ʔ]**; ***maar[]** (*equivalent*) *quantity*.

A: (Central Aslian, ?Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **mấy** *how much, how many; some, a few* (?; then → Mường, BARKER 1966 16), Temiar **mar** *size* (BENJAMIN 1976B 165), **mar-** *as big as*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **ma** *quantity* (sandhi-form, ***tm-**, from */**bnət ma**/), Praok **mə** *how many, as much as*.

1651 *[]maar; *miir (& *mir?) *dry hill-field*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang **_mar**, (!) Praok **ma**, Lawa **?ma**.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **mir** (< *mir? BLOOD 1966 **mi:r**), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **mi:r**.

With presumed Bahnaric fronting, cf. 1923 *rmaas; 1381 *m-yaam. A perhaps, as Waic suggests, *k(n)maar, ~ (*kaar >) Late Old Mon **kār** /kar/ element in toponyms of cultivation; but B must then be separate.

(SHAFFER 1965 179; BLOOD 1966 217.)

1652 *muur to pass, duck, under something.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **mur** (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar **mo:r** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1653 *m[]uur; *m[]ər (& *m[]uər?) to roll up.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **mù:** **mūr**, Kuy **mù:r**; ~ Mon **kəmao** **tmū** &c.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **mɔ:r** to fold up, roll up, roll [cigarette] (< *-uər?), Riang-Lang **_mar** to roll, Nancowry **mūa** twisted (< *-uər?); ~ Khmer **khm̥:** **ghmar** round, curled up.

Or *mw-, ~ 1669 *wuur &c. to go round, turn round? Cf. 1772 *m[]il &c. roll, with mutual contamination

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

(*kmaar see 1651 *[]maar dry hill-field.)

1654 *[s]rm[ɔ]r chebulic myrobalan, Terminalia chebula Retz.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həmò!** **khamow**, Khmer **sɤmɔ:** **sɤma!**

Or *-ɔr; or *-uər (Mon), *-ər. Mon chest register by arbitrary differentiation **həmo** nasal mucus, ad following? If *j-, Khmer head register obscure.

1655 *smuər nose, beak.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North Aslian) ~ Old Mon **sinmor** /səmmor/, Modern Mon **həmo**, Semang **hāmoh** nasal mucus (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98), (~?) Sre **səmoar** beak.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **m̥:** mucus. Khmer **səmbao** **sənp̥or** mucus is perhaps < *spmuur by metathesis; for a variant *smuur cf. also Palaung **gɔŋ** **mur** nose (literally *handle of the mouth*, so for **hmur by attraction **mur** mucus, under the entry 147 *[hy]mu?). (Cf. SHAFFER 1965 408.)

1656 *yaar to lift.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **yèa** to lift up, raise, Khmer **yì:ə** **yār** to raise [fist].

1657 *yur; *yuər; *yaar to hang down, to carry hanging down, to lower.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **yùl** **yur** to droop, Sre **yur**, Chrau **yur** to lower, Thin **yūr** to descend (contaminated by 1606 *jur[], which compare); ~ Riang-Lang **̣yor** to hang (v.t.).

- B: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **yù:ə yuər** to *c. dangling in hand*; ~ Kuy **(k)ya:r** to *carry by handle*.
 C: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric; contaminated by following?) Khmer **yù:ə yār** *hanging down, drooping*, Kuy **yì:ar** *sagging, drooping*, Biat **ya:r** to *carry in hand*, Nancowry **céy** to *tangle* (< *yər?).

1658 *[k]yaa[r] to *come loose, come undone*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ (*[k]ryaa[r] >) Mon **kəya** to *come loose*; ~ (*[k]byaa[r] >) Praok **ya** to *untie*.
 Or *t₁-; *-l.

1659 *[dy][a]r sticky (substance).

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **jər** *bird-lime* (MILNE 1931) (≠ *sap*, < 1601 *jar); ~ Sre **nar**, Vietnamese **nhầy** *sticky*. Or rather compare Palaung to Bru **ya:yh** and Bahnar **iaih** *bird lime* (< *fa(a)s?).

1660 *syaar outstretched.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **hia:r** *unfolded, spread out* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **ïar** *extended, stretch wide, to extend*.
 Connect by metathesis 1501 *s-raay to *be scattered*?

1661 *[d]rer to wait.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Literary Mon **tre(w)** to *abide*, Khmer **drer** (GUESDON 1930), Central Nicobarese **[hã:]-təre-[yən]** to *wait*.
 Connection dubious Vietnamese **chờ**.

1662 *lir?; *liir[]; *liər[] cricket.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Sre **lil** by assimilation; → Jarai dialect **lir**, Röglai **lil**, **lir**; ~ → Jarai **klir**; ~ (*t₁caar lir? by contraction >, cf. Riang-Lang ̣car ad 838a *raac *grasshopper*?) Kammu-Yuan **cəlél** *kind of cicada*, Vietnamese **đế** (for **ré) *cricket*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **le:r** *cricket*.
 C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **le:r** *kind of cricket*.
 With Sre assimilation cf. following onomatopoeic? So allegedly Kammu-Yuan.

1663 *liər to project.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre **liu** to *stick out* (→ Röglai) (< *liəl by assimilation; cf. preceding), Biat **le:r** to *jut out, project* (& to *lick*; so Stieng **liər**), Palaung **liər** to *(cause to) protrude*, Khasi **[sei] ler**, Vietnamese **lè** to *stick [tongue] out*; ~ Riang-Lang ̣klier to *protrude*.

1663a *lær lie, falsehood.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **lær lie** (DOURNES 1950), Khasi **[lam]ler (to) lie**; ~ Biat **nau klør lie, ɲə:i klør to lie**.

1664 *loor to glide, creep.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **lò lo!** [*snake*] *to wriggle*, Central Sakai **lôr to creep**.
Connect Khasi **ler(ler)**, **lir-lir** *creepingly*; perhaps **1793 *luul** *tadpole*.

1665 *lur; *luur; *luər to slide in, to push in.

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **lur** *to push [wood] further into fire*; ~ (*tl- > ?) Bahnar **klur** *to push into, to penetrate, fall into* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (B) Old Mon **tinlūr /tənlur/** *bolt, bar*; by secondary derivation ~ (A) Riang-Lang **ṭkhlør** *to thread [needle]*.
C: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lùa** *to slide into, penetrate, drive*; ~ Literary Mon **klow** *to thrust through a hole*; ~ Khasi **phalor** *gate of sliding poles*.
Cf. Mon **hno** *bolt, bar* (for **kəno? Literary Mon has **khañow**), by attraction *line, rule* < **1605 *[j]/n/uər**.

1666 *[]luur; *[]luər to slip, come loose.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **lol** *to slip*. by assimilation; ~ (*nluur >) Lawa Bo Luang **klaw**, Lawa Umphai **ɲglau** *to slip, fall*.
B: (Palaungic) Praok **lu:a** *to come unfastened*; ~ (*t,pluər > ?) Kammu-Yuan **təluər** *to slip*, Riang-Lang **ṭəkluar** *to slip, to cause to slip*, Khasi **phlor** [*ring*] *to come loose and fall off*.
Connect **1668 *[s]liər** ...*slippery*? But connection dubious **2067 *loh** &c. *to unravel*...

1666a *luər worm.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **luar**; ~ (*rluər >) Vietnamese **giòi** (for **ròi) *worm, maggot*.
Connect obscure Bahnar **huar**. Palaung **riər** is < **1926 *riəs**.

1667 *tlaar ancient.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tlār /tlar/** *to be anterior; first, formerly, before*, Modern Mon **kla** *time before*, Sre **klar** *to be old, worn* (→ Röglai **kla?**!).

(*pliir, *pliər see **1791 *pril** *hail*.)

1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **liər** *to be slippery*; ~ Biat **ple:r** *smooth* (& by metathesis **ple:r rle:p**).
Connect **1666 *[]luur** &c. *to slip*...? Cf. also **1803a *(l)hiil** &c. ...*smooth*...; **1076 *lit** &c. *slippery*...

‡1669 ***wir**; ***wiir**; ***wiər**; ***wər**; ***war**; ***waar**; ***wuur**; ***wuər** to go round, to turn round.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **wi:r** to twist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B), Kammu-Yuan **wer**[ka:y] to turn (v.i.), Mường **wəl** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **về** to return; → Jarai **wi:r** (or B?), Röglai **wir** to turn; ~ Biat [ndac] **lwur** to turn (v.i.), Bahnar **rəwir** to stir (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **vui:r** to avoid (or A), Kammu-Yuan **wi:r** confused, Praok **vi** to visit, (or A?) Khasi **wir** astray; ~ Vietnamese in compounds **vi** to surround; circumference; ~ Central Nicobarese **hen-wi:yə** eddy, Nancowry **wí** to go round and round, wander (or 231 ***wii?**?).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **viə viər** to go aside, avoid, Biat **wə:r** to abstain from; avoidance; unlucky, Bunör **wə:r** (→ Sre, → Röglai, **wer?**), Central Rölöm **wiər** taboo, Bahnar **wə:r**, Palaung **viər** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **vi:a** to go aside, avoid; ~ Khasi **tawiar** to go round and round.

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **və: var** to go wrong, to cause trouble, Sre **wər** to stir round, Chrau **wər** to stir; edge, Biat **wər** to stir, Bahnar **wər** to turn (v.t), to enclose, to wag [tail], to paddle, to go and come back, Kammu-Yuan **wür-wür**, [wì:t] **wər** dizzy, Khasi **wer-wer** [to hear] by rumour; → Iban **uar** to stir.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre **war** to go or put round spirally, Biat **war** to roll up (v.i.), Nancowry **wáy** to go around; ~ Kuy (k)**war** to stir, Bru **kuwar**; ~ Riang-Lang **_wər** to wander, ramble; ~ Kammu-Yuan **sərwər** round and small.

F: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **ua:r** cattle-pound, Chrau **wa:r** pen for livestock, Biat **wa:r** circumference, Central Rölöm **ua:r** to stir (BLOOD 1976), Bahnar **wa:r** to fence round, Riang-Lang **_var** edge, rim, boundary, Praok **ve** that which surrounds; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənwà:r** fence, garden; to fence.

G: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **wūr** /**wur**/, by sandhi Modern Mon **wùt** [təh] round, around, Praok **vur** to turn round (v.i.t.); ~ Palaung **kən?ur** edge, boundary; ~ Khasi **lyur** circular.

H: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **vua** to wrap round; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kərwə:r** [bent] in a curve; ~ Vietnamese **ngoe** [ngoáy] to wag [tail].

Add perhaps (***p-wuur** &c. causative =) 1635 ***p** [juur? &c. to bind round, wrap; (***m-wuur** &c. =) 1653 ***m** [juur &c. to roll up. Cf. 1794 ***wil** &c. to turn.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; SHAFER 1965 409; SHORTO 1973 378-9; BLOOD 1966 94.)

(i) Sora **jar-**, **jer-** again, re-, **jar-jar-** around, on all sides, round and round; (ii) ~ Sora **tor-**(**tor-**) to stand round, to form a fence, to surround, Kharia **tər** to enclose (PINNOW 1959 197); (iii) perhaps (by metathesis?) Sora **-ju(:)r** in **'gujur-** &c. to whirl, **'piju(:)r-**, **pij'ju:r-** to turn round (: Mundari **biur**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361; Proto-Munda ***[p]ijur**; otherwise : ***p** [juur? &c.

(Proto-Austronesian ***kəuir** or ***kiuər**) Iban **kuir** to swing, whirl, by metathesis Ilocano **kiwar** to stir, turn over, **kiwer** curly [tail].

1670 *wiir to raise, tend.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **wir** /**wir**/ husbandry, Modern Mon **wì** to raise, tend, Bahnar **wè:r** to look after, tend (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1671 *waar; *wər hot, to heat.

A: (Khmuic) Khmu' **wa:r** hot, to heat, Kammu-Yuan **wà:r** to be warm.

B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 1812 *rʔuəl to grill) Stieng **uər** to heat in pan. Connect 1559a *cʔur &c. warm.

1672 *wər; *wəər; *waar; *wuur to crawl.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Stieng **wər** (BLOOD 1966).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **wə:r**; ~ Palaung **mur**; ~ (*[]mw- >) Kuy **mù:r**, Pakoh **mò:r**.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **vì:ə vār** to creep, crawl, Kuy **wì:ar** [plants] to creep, climb; ~ Gölar Bahnar **kua:r** [plants] to creep, climb.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **_mur** to crawl.

C-D secondary.

(BLOOD 1966 424.)

1673 *twər forearm.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **tu:r** [ti:] (?); ~ (*tpwər >) Mon **kəwə** [toa] arm, forearm, Sre **təwər** [ti] arm, (merging 1913 *puəs, which see) Palaung **puər** (— ti) forearm, (— grəŋ) calf.

Cf. (i) Central Nicobarese **koa:l** (upper) arm, Nancowry **kuál**; (ii) Pangan **huál** arm, forearm (Kensiu), Kěnaboi **rhûah** upper arm, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 136.

1674 *sw[e]r cicada.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **ːwər**, **ːvər** large kind of cicada, Vietnamese [con] ve-ve cicada.

1675 *siir; *suul to incise, write.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng **sir** to carve, Sre **sir** to decorate with pigmented incisions; ~ Old Khmer **sarsir**, Modern Khmer **sə:se:** to write; ~ Khmer **sme:** **smer** secretary, clerk.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **sūl** /**sul**/ to write.

Middle Mon has **kṣū** write (Modern Mon **chu**) by back-formation from ***dasū** writing, for which cf. Old Mon **sirsūl**, Modern Mon **kəsao**. Connection obscure Vietnamese **tô** to draw, colour. On rhyme-alternance cf. 1637 *[c]piir.

(SHAFER 1965 482.)

1676 *sər; *sar scrub.

- A:** (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **sər** *abandoned field, fallow*, Bahnar **tsər** *brushwood* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; beside **tsər**, cf. **sar** below); ~ (***srsər** >) Middle Mon **dasuiw**, Modern Mon **kəsp** *bush*.
- B:** (Bahnaric) Sre **sar**, Biat [**bri:**] **char** *brushwood*, Bahnar **sar** *unploughed field*.
- B** by interdialectal borrowing, cf. Stieng? With it connected probably Khmer [**prèy**] **phsay** *scrubland*, by rhyming deformation &/or popular etymology, cf. **phsay** *to be scattered...*
- (SHAFFER 1965 463.)

1677 *sur[]; *suur?; *suər[] bag.

- A:** (Palaungic) Praok **haə**.
- B:** (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hur** *bag*, Vietnamese **túi** *pocket, purse, small bag*.
- C:** (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **kenhō:ə** *small bag, pocket*.

1678 *suur; *suər to poke, pierce.

- A:** (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **cho:r** *to impale, spit, skewer*; ~ (*[t]**suur** >) Mon **chu khyū** *quanting-pole*.
- B:** (Palaungic) Palaung **huər** *to transfix with*.

1679 *kmsiir relation by marriage.

- A:** (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **kumsīr** /**kəmsir**/ *parents- (or father-?) in-law* (& Modern Mon **khamśəe** *parents-in-law*, originally as learned form), Semai I **gəŋsi:r** *husband*.
- BENJAMIN 1976 compares Semai with North Aslian forms: Kensiu **gəswy**.

1680 *ksiir; *ksiər; *ksur to blow one's nose.

- A:** (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **chir** (→ Röglai), Chrau **che:r**, Central Nicobarese **hehe:-[hətə &c.]** (!; by expressive deformation?), Kuy (**k**)**sər**, Bru **ksir**; ~ (***knsiir** >) Biat **nche:r** [**moh**].
- B:** (South Bahnaric) Stieng **cər** [**muh**].
- C:** (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **khúr**.
- C** secondary; primacy otherwise uncertain.

1681 *ks[uə]r quill of porcupine.

- A:** (Bahnaric) Biat **chər**; ~ Chrau, Bahnar **gəso:r** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Biat excludes ***kc-**. Cf. (i) Kammu-Yuan **cəŋkhál** (contaminated by **khú:l** *body hair*, < 1803 ***ksuul?**); (ii) Palaung **pər hur** *short and bristly [hair]* (MILNE 1931).

1682 *hiir thirsty.

- (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi). Khmer **həl hir** *peppery, hot on tongue* (by attraction 1684 ***h[əə]r**), Biat [**ji:**] **hir** *thirst, to be thirsty*, Bahnar [**to?**] **hir** *deliciously hot* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **hir** *longingly, ardently*; ~ Stieng **thir** *to be thirsty*; ~

(***t̪hiir** >) Sre **təhir** *thirst*, Chrau **kə̃hi:l** *to crave [food]* (BLOOD 1966 **kə̃hi:r**),
 (— **da:ʔ**) *thirsty*.
 (BLOOD 1966 41a, b.)

1683 *hər; *həər to fly.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **her**.

B: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **haə hör**; ~ (***t̪həər** >) Kammu-Yuan **tú:r**.
 Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **he:h-hə̃ə**, Nancowry **héh**.

1684 *h[ə]r; *h[ə̃]r burning, smarting.

A: (Katuic) Kuy (**ʔa:har**) *hot taste e.g. of ginger*, Bru **ʔahar**.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **haə hör** *hot, peppery*, Chrau **hə:r** *to sting, hurt*, Bahnar **ha:r** *bitter, fiery, strong* (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has **hər** East Bahnar, **h̃r** West Bahnar).

1685 *hur to expose to heat.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **hur** *to warm, soften by heating*, Biat **hor** *to expose to flame*, Sre **hur** (→ Röglai **hu:**), Bahnar **hur** *to harden in flame* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1812 *[r]huul &c. *to grill contaminated by* **1559a *cʔur** *warm?*
 (SHAFFER 1965 273.)

1686 *h[u]rʔ; *huər[] to flow.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ho: hūr**, Sre **hor** (!); ~ (***ch[u]rʔ** >) Vietnamese **xôi** *to pour*; ~ Khmer **cə̃ho:** *small channel*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng, Chrau **hə:r** *to flow*, Biat **hə:r** *to dribble [saliva]*, Palaung **huər** *[blood] to flow* (MILNE 1931), Central Nicobarese **wua:** *current, (-)ne to flow*, **wa:yə-[da:k]** *stream*, Nancowry **riáktwuá** *river, stream*; ~ (***khuər[]** >) Kammu-Yuan **kó:r** *to flow*.

Connect **1556 *ʔu[]r** &c. *stream-bed?* Cf. also **1597 *cuur[]** &c.
 (SHAFFER 1965 272, 405.)

***1687 *huur skin.**

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hur**, Riang-Lang **hur** *skin, hide, leather*; ~ Vietnamese in compounds **phu** *skin*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **hə̃mpú:r**, Thin **hə̃mpur** *skin, hide* (& Thin **pūr** by back-formation).

Mundari, Santali, Ho **ur** (PINNOW 1959 366; other forms cited rather : **1568 *c[n]kuər** &c.).

1688 *kh[ee]r burnt [food].

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **khe:r**, Vietnamese **khê**.

Or ***i(ə)r**; then perhaps connected Sre **hiər** *dried [meat]*; but not Röglai **khia** *burnt*, : Cham **khyaʔ**, Jarai **khi:aʔ**.

1689 *chiər? *to tear.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **chier**, Vietnamese **xé**.

***1690 *dhu[]r; *dhuər** *loose, lax.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **thù: dhūr** *slack, loose, soft*; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy **ntho:r** *loose [rope]*, **nthur** (by arbitrary variant?) *over-large, fitting loosely*, Khasi **kynthur** *with loose-fitting clothes*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **thoar** *widely spaced, loosely attached* (DOURNES 1950).

Cf. **1549 *t₁huuy** &c.

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***kə(N)duy**: Malay **kěndur**, &c., Cham **catù:**, **tatù:** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77, ***kəṇḍuy**; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(***d₂huər** see **1560 *d₂uur** *kind of apid.*)

1691 *[p]haar *intensive.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **phār /phar/** *very*, Khasi **phar** *entirely*.

Or ***bh-**.

(***phə(ə)r** see **1561 *p[ʔ]ər** *to dry.*)

1692 *phu[]r; *phuər *soft in texture.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **phūr** *glossy, velvety, soft* (GUESDON 1930); ~ **pəpho: paphūr** *soft, smooth...*

B: (Mon) Literary Mon **phow [lāy]** *to be downy*.

1693 *lhu[r]; *lhuə[r] *to throw horizontally.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hrur** *to throw along the surface of the ground* (MILNE 1931; with perhaps regular assimilation).

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **lhor /lhow/**, Modern Mon **hlo** *to hurl [spear &c.]*.

Connection dubious Vietnamese **lao** *javelin, to throw*.

(***ʔil** see **1780 *[y]il** *barking deer.*)

1694 *ʔəl *anxious, hesitant.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon by alliterative deformation [**sba**] **s'aw** *to be anxious, fearful*, Khmer **ʔəl** *perplexed, hesitating*.

Cf. Khmer **phʔaəl** *to panic*, → Biat **pʔə:l** *timid*.

(***ʔəl** see also **1696 *iʔəl** *to see.*)

†**1695** *ʔul[]; *ʔuəlʔ; *ʔəl[]; *hul[] *nausea, to choke, vomit.*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer ʔol *unwashed after sleep*, (GUESDON 1930, **dik** —) *stale saliva in mouth on waking*, Bahnar ul *indigestion, nausea* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔu:əl *to gasp for breath, choke, gag*, Kuy ʔu:l *to have sth. stuck in throat*, Stieng uɔ:l *indigestion*, Chrau ɔ:l *to choke*, Bahnar ɔl *indigestion, nausea* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ói *to have indigestion, to vomit; surfeit*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer chʔəl! *flatulence, nausea; to overeat* (contaminated by **951** *cʔ[ə]t ...cloyed), Kuy ʔəl *dirt on teeth*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung hawr. Riang-Lang ʔəl, Praok haw *to vomit*.

Connect **1766** *ʔu(u)l *drunk*.

Sora 'o:l-ən, compounding form ad 'o:le:n-ən *saliva*, Mundari hul, ula *to vomit*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 312).

Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[aə]l: Malay *m-uāl* *queasy, to loathe, to vomit*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 341; Proto-Hesperonesian); & connected Cebuano Bisayan *sum-ul* *cloying*.

†**1696** Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *iʔəl > *yəl, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔəl *to see*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Asian) Khmer yùəl *to see, to understand*, Stieng io:l (& iə:l) *to look at from a distance*, Riang-Lang ʔəl *to see, perceive, to find*, Jhai ʔəl *to see*; → Cham yal; Thai yon; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese ngó, (~?) Sakai terniəl *to show* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 155); ~ (*y/mp/ɔl >) Sre mpol *to see in the distance*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 190, 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 135, (?) U 15.)

(~) Santali ɲəl *to see, to look*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 495i); (?) Sora mel-'mel- *to examine, inspect*.

1697 *[c]ʔiəl[]; *[c]hiəlʔ *to wilt, wither*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon ea s'ey *to wither, become withered, dry up*, Jölong yel *poor [harvest]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang hiu *to wither*; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese héo *to wilt, dry up, wither*.

Cf. Semang wāl or ul *withered, faded*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 131.

1698 *prʔiəl *to be high, rancid*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat rʔi:u *to become rancid*, Kammu-Yuan pəʔiəl (to) *smell of fish*.

1699 *rʔal; *rʔaal; *rʔiəl; by metathesis *rlaʔ *forehead*.

A: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ləl.

B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʔdal, Nancowry ləl.

C: (Palaungic) Praok [dɔŋ] **re**, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdɛ, Lawa Umphai ʔrɛ, Mae Sariang ʔɣɛ.

D: (Khmer) Khmer **rəl̩iːə** *ralā* forehead, skull.

C obscure.

†1700 ***rʔəl̩h**; by metathesis ***r̩lʔəh** each, every.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *ruih*, Modern Mon **rəh**, Khmer **rə̌l**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **dəh**.

Cf. for Mon -h 1758 ***dpuulh** &c.

Sora **di-** (< ***rəlʔih**, with further vowel metathesis).

Proto-Austroasiatic ***riʔəl̩h** or the like?

(***rʔuul**, ***rʔuəl** see 1812 ***[r]huəl** to grill.)

1701 ***[s]ʔɔɔl** satiation.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon [**baw**] 'aw to be plentiful, Khmer **sʔɔ:l** satiated, stuffed (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; GUESDON 1930 'al).

†1702 ***kal**; ***kaal** to break off, to be broken.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon **kaw**, Modern Mon **kə** to break in two, snap (v.i.), Khmer [**kat**] **kal** to break with someone, repudiate one's child, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kal** to cut down, Kammu-Yuan **kəl!** to lop; ~ (***.nkal** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ŋga** to cut down.

B: (Nicobaric) Nancowry **kál** to cut, Central Nicobarese **kā:l-[həŋə]** to trim down, halve, (~?) **okā:l-[həŋə]** to amputate (or 1707a?).

To cut down &c. by attraction 1707a ***k(u)əl**, which compare with Kammu-Yuan cf. Vietnamese **gãy** to break, snap (v.i.).

(SMITH 1972 397.)

Sora **al-** to bend, crush, pluck, break.

1703 ***kaal** in front, before.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ká:l** before, Praok **ka** first, before, until, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ka** in front, before.

Add Sakai **kāl** tomorrow (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178?

†1704 ***ka[i]l** to speak.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon **kinkāl** /**kənkāl**/ to declare, tell, expound; ~

(***[k]rka[i]l** >) Praok **sika** to speak.

Sora dialect **kaj** to say, to tell, &c. (PINNOW 1959 65). For Munda loss of *-l cf. 1782 ***kyaal**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kayɨ** language, to speak: Atayal **kai** language, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 198). See BENEDICT 1975 389-90.

1705 *kəl[]; *kəəlʔ to support, help.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəl** to support from below (→ Sre **kəl** to help?), Kuy **kal**, Biat **kəl** to put wedge under; ~ Khmer **khnəl** rest, cushion.
- B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Stieng **kə:l** to prop up, Chrau **kə:l** to pile together, lean [something] on, Bunör, Central Rölöm **kə:l** to help, Biat **kə:l** to help, save, Muong (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **cứu** to save, Bru **takw:l** put (support) under head; ~ Sre **kərnə:l** support, **kərnə:l bou** pillow, Chrau **gənə:l** pillow, East Bahnar **kənə:l** base of post (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi **syngkhien** to prop.
- A variant ***kulʔ** may underlie Vietnamese **gối** pillow; to rest one's head (& Sre **kəl**, above?); & ***kuul[]** West Bahnar **kəno:l** base of post (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Cf. then **B106 *gur** to help.
- (BLOOD 1966 396.)

***1706 *[]kuul knee.**

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Aslian) Kuy **kə:l** (& by contraction of compound **tkə:l**), Bahnar **ku:l [ta:ŋ]** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by sandhi Stieng **ku:k [ta:ŋ]**; by contraction Sre **kəl[taŋ]**; & with vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir **kal[ton]**, Semelai **kal[tuŋ]**.

For **ta:ŋ** &c. see **543a *t₂a([a])ŋ**. Perhaps ***rk-**, see Bru **rakə:l** and by metathesis Temiar **karə:l** (with cognates in most Central Aslian languages) < variant ***rkuəlʔ**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40.)

Proto-Austronesian ***dəNkul**: Javanese **ḍəngkul**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***ḍ-**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); → Vietnamese **gối**?

1707 *kuulh naked.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre, Chrau **kuh**, Riang-Lang **ˀkul[ˀkal]**; → Röglai **kul**, North Röglai **kuluh**.

Hence by metathesis **A31 *sl[uu]kʔ**

1707a *kuəl; *kəl to cut down, fell.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **kə:l**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:l**.

- B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kəl**.

Chrau **kal**, &c., are < **1702 *kal** by attraction Cf. **1702**.

1708 *krkuul descent group.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **kirkūl /kərkul/** family, clan, Modern Mon **həkao** also race, nation, Khmer **trəko:l** family, race; → Thai **trakuun**.

Cf. Bahnar **khu:l**, Gölar Bahnar **khul**. Hardly connected Sanskrit/Pali **kula-**, which would give Old Mon **/-kəl/**; but perhaps connected **1759 *dpuul** &c. **1708a *ckal** turbid (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic). ~ (***[c]rkal** >) Sre **səkal** polluted, Biat **rkhal** (!; contaminated by **1221 *khən** thick...?) turbid, Bru **takal** muddy; ~ Riang-Lang **ˀsəkkəl** muddy.

Connect Acehnese **cökə**, Jarai **cəkə:l**, North Röglai **cakən** (< *k'ək[ə]l).

1709 *[c]kuul (?); *[c]kuəl; *[c]kəl; *[c]kiil; *[c]kiəl *to call, to bark.*

A: (North Aslian) Semang **kul** *to call* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 8).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **kuə:l** (BLOOD 1966 **khua**l), Chrau **kuəl** *to call*, Biat **kwal** *to call, to bark*, Sre **khua**l, Bahnar, Jeh **kua**l (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by affective deformation?) Kammu-Yuan **kwá:l** *to bark*.

C: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **gâu** (!) *barking*.

D: (Mon) Mon **ki** *to bark*.

E: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **kêu** (!) *to call*.

*[c]- in view of Stieng, Sre **kh-**; front vocalism then secondary; Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal.

(BLOOD 1966 87; SMITH 1972 400.)

†1710 *[t₁]kiəl; *[t₁]kail *cucumber.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **ke**, Lawa Umphai **cə** *cucurbitaceous plant*, Palaung **təkiər**, Khasi [**soh**]-**khia** *cucumber*, Central Nicobarese **ke:əl** *brinjal*, Nancowry **kíal**.

B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy (**ŋ**)**ke:l** *cucurbitaceous plant*.

Mundari **tahər** *cucumber*, &c. (!; ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1322-3).

1711 *dkiəl *to weigh.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **ke**; ~ Late Old Mon **dinkel** /**dənkel**/, Modern Mon **həke** *tical, unit of weight*; ~ (***dnkiəl** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ke**, Lawa Umphai **ŋje** *to weigh, measure*.

Connection uncertain Semang **takāl** **təkol** *heavy*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 67; or Kharia **ke'nəl** *heavy*, &c., PINNOW 1959 332.

1712 *[b]kəl[]; *[b]kəəls *to give, make over.*

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Mon **kil** /**kəl**/, Modern Mon **kə** *to give*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kul** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V236; implies *-ul); ~ Old Khmer **pragalbha**, Modern Khmer **prəkùəl** *to hand over*.

B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **gửi, gởi** *to send, despatch, to leave in someone's care*.

Literary Mon **pakuw** *to convey to, procure for, to give* is probably a late causative formation rather than : Khmer. Connection dubious A156 ***gəl** *to change, exchange*.

(***rkuul** see 1706 *[]kuul *knee*.)

1713 *gaal *right, proper.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **ga:l** *right, correct*, Bahnar **ga:l** *right, proper, to agree* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1721 *sgaal *middle*.

1714 *guul *clearing*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kù** *market garden, cultivated clearing*, Biat **go:l** *clearing*.

1715 *guul; *guəl *mortar for pounding rice*.

A: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***guul** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Serau **tergul** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 179B).

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **kwùal!**, Thin **guŋl**.

Connection dubious 1757 ***tpal**; or Vietnamese **cóí**.

(***ŋgal** see 1720 ***lngal** *plough*.)

1716 *jgal *to recognize*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **skə̀l** *to know, recognize*, Kuy **khàl** *to know, be acquainted with*; ~ Chrau **səngal** *to recognize*, by metathesis (***gnal** >) Sre **dal** *to look at, observe, recognize*, Biat **nal** *to recognize*; (probably ~) Bahnar **gənal**, **kənal** *to recognize*.

(BLOOD 1966 360.)

***1717 *[j]guul** *finger*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **cərku:l** *finger, toe*, Thin **kɾgul** *finger*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cəŋku:l**, Thin **cəŋgul** *to point out*; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **rəngor** *finger*.

Sora **i'gu(·)l-**, **i'gud-**, **a(g)gul-['si:-]**, **aig'go:l-** *to beckon*; Kharia **[tui]'gəl**, Mundari **[tui]gəl** *to point out; index finger...* (PINNOW 1959 K 348).

1718 *t₁g[uu]l; *t₁gəl *top*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **gor**, (→?) Riang-Lang **[ˈtha] _kol** *above*; ~ Riang-Lang **_təkol** *top, above, on*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəl** (→ Jeh **kàl**, Halang **kəl**), Rəngao **gə:l** *head, top* (GUILLENINET 1959-63), Hre **gàw** *head*.

(SHAFFER 1965 563; SMITH 1972 389; see SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 46.)

***1719 *d₂gəl; *d₂g[əə]l** *stump, trunk*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon **taguiw**, Modern Mon **həkə̀** *stump*, Khmer **kùəl** *stump, floating log, trunk of tree*, Kuy **khàl** *tree-trunk, (in compounds) plant* (by attraction 1570 ***[d]kər**; or B?), Biat **gəl** *log (quantifier)*; → Cham **gal** *stump* (& **gul** *stump, trunk*, contaminated by Indonesian); ~ (***d₂ngəl** >) Kuy **ŋəl** *stump*, Chrau **təŋəl** *stump, stubble*, Biat **[yo:k] ŋəl**, Bahnar **dəŋəl**, Central Sakai **děngál** *stump*.

B: (Palaungic; or ***-al**, perhaps with Kuy **khàl**; ~ ***d₂n_[2]g-** >) Riang-Lang **_cəlŋəl** *stump*.

Cf. A167 *[d]ng[əw]; Palaung ṇoe (MILNE 1931). Mon-Khmer vocalism contaminated by 1570 *[d]kər *trunk, plant?*

Proto-Austronesian *tuŋgul: Karo Batak *tunggul-tunggul* *dead tree*, Malay *tunggul* *stump*, &c., perhaps Tagalog *tunggól* *decapitated* (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 99; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian).

†1720 *lŋgal, *ŋgal; by dissimilation *lŋguur; *lŋgu[ə]r *plough*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon təŋð, əŋð *lañaw* &c. *yoke, pair*, Khmer nɛəŋkðəl, (TANDART 1935) ʔəŋkðəl (→ Biat ŋgəl?), Kuy ŋkhəl, Sre ŋal *plough*, Stieng ŋa:l *ploughshare*, Mường cāl (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese cày (& cày) *to plough*; ~ Cham laŋal (& liŋan), Rōglai ŋal, Acehnese laŋay *plough*; Sanskrit lāṅgala-; & connected Malay tēnggala (→ Sakai —i.e. Temiar— tēnggāla, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 147A).

B: (Mon) Old Mon laŋgur /ləŋgur/, Literary Mon lñū *yoke, pair*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi lyngkor *plough*; → Sanskrit lāṅgula.

A variant *ŋgəl might be constructed from Vietnamese cày, Khmer, Katuic, Biat ~ Sora gal- *to yoke* (≠ *to plait*). (Cf. KUIPER 1948 127; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1721 *sguul; *sgə[]l; *sgaal *middle*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre gu:l *middle, half, mid[night]*; ~ (*snguul >) Biat ŋgu:l *id.*

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng gə:l *half, mid[night]*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon sgāl /sgal/ [tney] *mid[night]*, Modern Mon kèa *mid[day, night]*.

C perhaps contaminated by 1713 *gaal *right...*; cf. semantically Mon thò *to be exact, in the centre...*

1722 *ŋil; *ŋiil; *ŋiəl; *ŋəl; *ŋul; *ŋuul; *ŋuəl *to bend, sway*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ŋil *to shake head in denial* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (— ŋul) *to sway in wind*; ~ Bahnar ʔŋəʔŋil *to shake head*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riag-Lang ŋil ŋil *to nod in assent*, (~ ?) Bahnar ʔŋe:l-ʔŋe:l *shaking head*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar ŋel *to shake head in denial* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese nghèo *to tilt [head] to one side*; ~ Bahnar ʔŋəʔŋel *to shake head*.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar [ŋu:l &c.] ŋə:l *to sway* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ŋəl-ŋəl *shaking one's head*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [ŋil] ŋul *to sway in wind* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ngun (or < E) *with head bent down*, Central Nicobarese ŋol-[fire] *to bow head*; ~ Khmer ŋəŋùl *with head down*.

F, G: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ŋu:l, ŋə:l *to incline head (in assent, from weariness)*, (— ŋə:l) *to sway* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

†1723 *j[n]ɲəl *fire*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung ɲər, Riang-Lang ɲal, Praok ɲu, Lawa Bo Luang ɲa, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ɲɔ, Danaw ɲɔn.

Note also Nancowry cāl *to burn*.

(SHAFFER 1965 144, 421.)

Sora 'aɲəl-ən, Kharia sɔɲ'gəl *firewood*, Santali sɛɲgəl *fire*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252; Proto-Munda *cəɲgəl?).

1723a *[t₁]ɲuul; *[t₁]ɲul; *[t₁]ɲəl *stupid*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *ngu* *foolish, stupid*; ~ (*[t₁]mɲuul by metathesis >) Stieng bəloɲ *foolish, stupid*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ɲoa, Lawa Umphai ɲau *stupid*, ~ Palaung kəɲuər *to be simple-minded, clumsy* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Tolo Bahnar [ɲɣ:p] ɲɣ:l *stupid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese *ngây* *to look stupid*; ~ (*[t₁]mɲəl by metathesis >) Biat məl *ignorant*; by secondary derivation ~ Sre bəɲəl *ignorant, stupid*.

Cf. Bahnar ɲi:l *immature, ignorant [child]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Cebuano Bisayan *tunggul* *stupid*.

1724 *ɲal; *ɲuul *to wake (v.i.)*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [kah] ɲəl *to wake up in the night*, Bunör ɲəl, Central Rölöm ɲal *to awaken*.

B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon [yah] lañū *early [in the morning]*, Proto-Nyah Kur *ɲuul *morning* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N238) (rather *ɲuul with metathesis).

With Mon vocalism cf. *ɲuul ~ 1720 *ɲla.

(BLOOD 1966 372.)

†1725 *cul; *cuəl; *ciil *to light up, look for with a light*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sol *to light up, illuminate*; ~ səmpol *torch*.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau sɔ:l *to look for with a light*, Bahnar sɔ:l, Rōngao cɔ:l *to light up, illuminate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon) Mon ci *to look for with a light*.

C secondary.

Proto-Austronesian *t'uluq: Acehnese lhoh *to look for with a light*, Malay suloh *torch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62). Hence with secondary infix Cham (ha)nuh, Röglai hanuh *torch*, probably → Khmer cənloh *canluh*, Stieng cəɲluh.

1726 *cul; *cuəl *to hire*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng cul *to hire, borrow*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer jval *to engage, employ for compensation* (!; contaminated by 1729 *j[u]l?), Modern Khmer cù:əl, Kuy cu:l *to hire*.

1727 *jal near.

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Khasi *jan* to be near; ~ Kuy *ɲchəl* near.

1728 *jəl to charge, fight.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon [sic] *jal* /jəl/ to quarrel, fight, Modern Mon *cə* to fight, Old Khmer *jal*, Modern Khmer *cùəl*, Kuy *chəl* to knock into, fight, Bahnar *jil* to butt, strike with horns, (~?) Pangan *'yal* angry (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 17); → Thai *c^hon* to bump against, butt, collide, fight with horns; ~ (**pjəl* >) Late Middle Mon *byuiw* to cause to fight, Modern Mon *pyə* to stir up enmity, Khmer *phcùəl* to set [animals] fighting; ~ (**prjəl* >) Mon *həcə*, Khmer *prəcùəl* to set [animals] fighting; ~ (**pnjəl* >) Literary Mon *bayuiw* to incite to quarrel or fight, Khmer *bəɲcùəl* to cause to fight, (~?) Pangan *nyiyal* to fight with, oppose (Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906). Literary Mon *b-* in *bayuiw*, & Khmer chest register in *phcùəl*, by levelling.

*1729 *j[u]l; *jiəl to buy.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung *juur* (A), Riang-Lang *_yɛl* (B).

B secondary. Cf. 1726 *cu(ə)l to hire; 1822 *jaw? &c. to hand over.

Proto-Austronesian *Zu(S)[a]l: Malay *jual* to sell, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d'u'al, less Toba Batak; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; add perhaps Cebuano Bisayan *dúhul* to hand to; then *ZuSəl, Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 375, sell, buy. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 54.)

Cf. Lushei, Mikir, Meithei forms referred at BENEDICT 1972 51 & n. 170 to *ywar to sell ← 'Austro-Thai'.

1730 *jul[] (& *juul[]?); *[j]uəl^h basket, to make baskets.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer *cùl* to weave, braid..., (**juul*[] >?) Riang-Lang *_yol* [cotton-]basket.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Palaung *juər*, Sakai *chuəl* basket (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 62A); ~ Vietnamese *giỏ* market-basket.

1731 *[s]jaal; *[s]jəəl light in weight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Praok *yɛ*, Lawa *ywa* easy; ~ Kammu-Yuan *həmcà:l* light.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Hre *hìw*, Sedang *hia*, Palaung *juər* light; ~ Mường *nhẹl* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *nhẹ*.

Cf. 1801 *saal.

(SMITH 1972 393.)

1732 *bɲuəl pangolin.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat *ɲual*; ~ Sre *bəɲpoal* kind of saurian (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar *bəɲual*, Bru *manyùəl* pangolin, by metathesis Khmer *pùəɲrù:l* pangolin; → Cham *pìno:r*, Jarai *m'no:l*, North Rōglai *bipũn* pangolin.

Connect Kuy *khyù:r*.

†1733 *t₁iil; *t₁əl (or *t₁il?) *to plant, sow*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre s̄anti:l, Chrau s̄ati:l, Biat n̄ti:l *seed, sow-grain*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon t̄il /t̄əl/, Modern Mon t̄o *to plant (a seed of)*, Nyah Kur t̄əl *to plant*.

*t₁- in view of Sora.

Sora t̄il- *to bury*.

1733a *t₁iil (& *t₁il?) *tracks*.

A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau t̄e:l *footprint*, Biat t̄e:l *tracks*, Sre t̄i:l, Rōngao t̄e:l *tracks, mark* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < variant?), Pangan t̄il *tracks* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (b)).

Cf. 1745a *d̄iil &c.

(BLOOD 1966 40.)

1734 *tal; taal *linear measure, (?) cubit*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tal *cubit*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon t̄āl /t̄al/, Modern Mon ta 7 *cubits*; → Burmese t̄ā.

Old Mon has hat *cubit* (Modern Mon h̄ot), ← Pali hattha-; is t̄āl the displaced native term?

1734a *t₁uəl *six*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung t̄or, Riang-Lang t̄ual; ~ (*t₁puəl >) Central Nicobarese t̄əfu:əl, Nancowry taf̄uəl.

1734b *[t][uə]l *cataract*.

A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy t̄a:l *cataract*, Bahnar t̄o:l *blind*.

Or *.d-, perhaps connected 1745 *k̄diil &c. *to cover*.

†1735 *kt₁aal *under-surface, under*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin t̄āl (*space*) *under, underneath*; ~ Old Mon k̄intāl /k̄əntāl/, Modern Mon h̄əta *under-surface, bottom*, (in compounds) *palm, sole*, Vietnamese dưới (*to be*) *below, under*.

Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

Sora ətal-, Mundari talka *palm, sole* (probably not ←, but Mundari metathesis contaminated by, late Sanskrit t̄āla-, t̄ālika- *palm*).

1736 *ktuəl *lump, clod*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy tu:l; ~ Bahnar k̄ətual *clod*.

Cf. Biat rcual *clod, [blood] to clot*; (~) ← unrecorded Chrau form?

†1737 *bnt₁iil sand.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *bintil* /bəntil/, Modern Mon *hətəe*.

*t₁ in view of Munda.

(~) Nahali *biṭil*, Kurku *bitil*; connected Santali, Mundari, Ho *gitil* (so Proto-Austroasiatic *g^w-?).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *pat'iɣ: Malay *pasir*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 115; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1738 *bt₁ul; *bt₁uul; *bt₁uəl swelling, mound, hill.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Khmer *dul*, Modern Khmer *tùl* to bulge, Stieng [bu:k] *tu:l* anthill (or < B?), Biat *tol* tumour, Mendriq *tol* mountain; & from sandhi-form in *bu(u)k bt₁ul (cf. Stieng; 369) Biat [yo:k] *ktol* (termite) mound, Riang-Lang *kətəl* wasps nest; ~ (*bnt₁ul >) Chrau *ntuəl* anthill; ~ Sre *bərtul* termite mound.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *pətəl* termite mound, anthill (& by metathesis < compound East Bahnar *bəko:l* GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, ?Central Aslian) Old Khmer *dval*, Modern Khmer *tù:əl* hill, mound, knoll, perhaps by metathesis Semai I *lɔ:t* mountain; → Cham *dual*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *đuuk. Hill, mountain perhaps contaminated by 1741 *dul, with which Khmer forms are compared at SCHMIDT 1905 66 (so SHORTO 1971).

Note (i; Proto-Austronesian *b[əu]Ntud₁ >) Cebuano Bisayan *bungtud*, *ka-bungtúr-an* hill, anthill; (ii) Javanese *mbēṇḍul* bulging, *mbēṇḍol* knobbed (referred to (Proto-West-Indonesian) *bēNduł threshold at DEMPWOLFF 1938 26). (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 100; cf. also H 101, F 230; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41.)

1739 *dal; *dəl to block, obstruct.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Old Mon *dal* /dəl/ to bar the way, Middle Mon *dar*, *daw*, Modern Mon *tə* to close, block, Old Khmer *dal*, Modern Khmer *təəl* blocked [road], Stieng *dal* held up, obstructed; ~ Kuy *nthəl* to dam (or B); ~ Khmer *prətəəl* baffled, (~?) Khasi *padan* to obstruct, hinder.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer *tùəl* to hold back, (*tùp-* —) bar the way; → North Röglai *dən* deaf, Acehnese *dəə* blocked up; ~ Khasi *sden* to dam; ~ Biat *rdəl* to stop up, block, (*kaŋ* —) bar the way.

Cf. 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1740 *dəl; *dal as far as; to reach.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *duiw*, Modern Mon *tə* as far as, Khmer *tùəl* (to reach) as far as, till, Biat *dəl* as soon as; ~ (*[k]dəl >) Khmer *dəl* to arrive, reach; as far as (→ Cham *tal*).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *dāl*, Modern Khmer *təəl* to go right through; as far as, till, Bahnar *dal* till (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)

1741 *dul (& *duəl?) hill.

A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *dal* /dəl/, Modern Mon *tè*, (or 1626 *[d][o]r, which compare, >) Mae Sariang *tu*, Mường *tôi* (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese *đài*; ~ Khasi *kynton mound, ridge, heap, pile; to accumulate* (?; see below; or variant?; by attraction 1738 *bt₁u(ə)l, which compare).

Uncertain. Khasi may rather be connected to Praok *ton mound, hillock* (< *dun?). SCHMIDT 1905 66 compares Mon with Khmer forms under the entry *bt₁u(ə)l.

1742 *dul?; *duul[]; *duəl[] to carry on head.

A: (Viet-Mường) Mường *tội* (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese *đội* *to wear or carry on head*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer *tù:l*, Kuy *thù:l*, Central Nicobarese [ɔl]-to:l *to carry on head*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat *dual* *to carry on head*. Note also Kuy & Bru *də:l* *carry on shoulder* (< *d-?).

Cf. 1781 *[y]uəl &c.

1743 *dul; *duəl; *dəl middle, belly.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer *tùl* *belly flesh [of certain fish]*, Lawa Bo Luang *tu intestines*, (or C?) Praok *tu belly*; ~ Stieng *kəndu:l*, Sre (kə)ndul, Chrau *kəndu:l*, Biat *ndul* *belly*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon *dor* /dow/, Modern Mon *tò* *middle*; ~ Stieng *kənc:l* *middle*; ~ Central Sakai *pěduâl* *centre*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Biat [di:] dəl (*in the*) *middle*; ~ Khmer *kənda:l* *middle* (?; with secondary lengthening; if so, → Chrau *kənda:l*).

(SHAFFER 1965 574; BLOOD 1966 159; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41 (a).)

1744 *duul; *duəl; *d[ə]l to prop, support.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*[c]duul >) Bahnar *təl* *to prop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre *səndul* *short post supporting floor, prop*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese *hətə:l-[hətə]* *to support*; ~ (*drnuəl >) Bahnar *dənc:l* *prop* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer *tùəl* *to prop (up), lean*, Kuy *thəl* *to support, hold up, prop*, Bru *təl* *support (with stick)*, Biat *dal* *to prop up*, Stieng *dal* *to prop (up), lean*; ~ Bahnar *tə:l* *to prop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer *cəntuəl* *prop, pile*, Kuy *nthəl* *prop for shaft of cart*, Biat *ndal* *pile, to prop*; ~ Old Mon *dnal* /dnəl/, Modern Mon *nì* *pillow*; ~ Stieng *drəna:l* *prop*.

Vocalism at C post-dental? For Bahnar -ɔl see 335a *đuuk. Separate Bahnar *dəl* *to prop up*; Sre, Nicobaric exclude *d-.

(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)

†1745 *kdiil; *kdiəl; *kdəl to cover.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **kənde:l** to put over, cover; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **təde:l** to put over, cover, Biat **rde:l** to stop up, block.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *kndiəl >) West Bahnar **kəne:l** stopper, wad for gun (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **kətə** to cover up, cover over, close, Vietnamese **đậy** to cover; ~ (*krdəl >) Middle Mon **kaduiw** coverlet, Kuy **thàl** lid, cover, Bahnar **kədəl** pot- cover of leaves (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy **nthàl** to close, cover; ~ Chrau **gədəl** to stop one's ears, Bahnar **kədəl** blocked up, solid; → Cham **kadal** to cover, stop up.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. To stop up, block by attraction 1739 *dal &c., which compare.

Sora **da(·)l-** to cover, put lid on, ~ **də'nal-ən** lid, cover.

†1745a *diiil; *diəl; *dail tracks.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **de:l**.

B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai *diəl (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Khasi) Khasi **dien**.

C secondary. Cf. 1733a *t₁iil.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (a).)

(?) ~ Sora 'onid-, 'onil- (& 'sannil-) to follow tracks of.

1746 *də[ə]l to press down on.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **də** to press down on, crush, squeeze, Bahnar **də:l** to crush by pressure, force stopper in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*duul see 86 *dii? one.)

*1747 *kdiəl; *kdail low, shallow, short.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Riang-Lang **ṭdēl** to be low, shallow, humble, Bru **ntiəl** (!) shallow; ~ Semnam **kəldē:l** short.

B: (Mon) Mon **da** to be shallow; → Röglai **dal** ford; ~ (*kbfail >) Mon **həda khḍā** to make shallow.

Cf. (i) Lawa Bo Luang to shallow (< *kḍul?); (ii) A165 *[d]h[əə]l shallow, suggesting Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔəl ~ *dihəl. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) (?)

Proto-Austronesian (*di/[](N)p/ay =) *di(N)pay (to) ford: Cham **tapa:**, Kelabit **dipar** to ford, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 160, *(dD)-; Proto-Hesperonesian; ≠ each of two sides, DAHL 1973 § 20.7, Proto-West-Indonesian). Note also Malay **dampar** stranded, under the entry 1639 *tnpaar.

1748 *kɗuul; *kɗuəl; *kɗəl; *kɗəəl *heel*.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) → Jarai **k^əɗu:l**; ~ Sre **kəndol** (!), Bahnar **kəʔno:l**, Riang-Lang **kəndol**; by secondary derivation ~ Pangan **duldul** (i.e. Mendriq &c.; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 69).
- B: (?South Bahnaric) (or A, C?) Stieng **kənɔ:l**; → Cham **kadol**, North Röglai **kaɗuən** [**takai**], Acehnese **gönuə**.
- C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) ~ Stieng **kəndəl** (BLOOD 1966), Sakai **kənöl** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 70), Besis **kenthöl** (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. H 69) (or D?), Central Nicobarese **kentvələ-[la:h]**.
- D: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Mon) ~ Kuy **nthù:al**, Bru **kəndə:l**, Pakoh **kandool**; ~ Chrau **gənə:l**, Biat **ndə:l** [jəŋ], Jeh **kanè:l** (→ Bahnar **kənə:l**?), Halang **kəʔnè:l**; ~ Nyah Kur **ndɣɿl**.

Connect obscure Thin **-pəlʔyɿl**.

(SHAFFER 1965 417; BLOOD 1966 399; SMITH 1972 392.)

1749 *krn[uə]l *groin*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **gənɔ:l**, Biat **rnɔ:l** (→ Sre **nol**?), Bahnar **kənɔ:l**.

Connect by metathesis Khmer **krəlɿən** *groin*, Kuy **k(ə)li:n** & Bru **panɛ:l** *lymph glands in groin*?

(*gnal see 1716 *jgal to recognize.)

1750 *dnaal (& *dnal?) *coconut-shell as measure of capacity*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **dnāl** /**dnal**/ *measure of rice*, Modern Mon **nɛ̀a** (*coconut*-)shell, Khmer **nɨ:əl** *coconut-shell measure, weight of rice (600 grams) so measured*, (→?) Stieng **na:l** *pound weight*, (? , variant >) Biat **nal** [jək] *weight*.
With Khmer initial cf. 1354 *[d]/n/im.

1751 *rn[ii]l *roller*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **nì** *roller for moving boats &c.*, Khmer **rənè:l** *roller for moving loads*.

Or *-eel. Cf. Biat **rnə:l** *log, chopping-block*.

***1752 *paal; *puul** *pale, indistinct*.

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon [pəriʔ] **pa** *to fail, be ineffective* (?), Stieng [sə:u pu:r] **pa:l** [*to see*] *imperfectly, to glimpse*, Sre **pa:l** *pale, faded* (→ Röglai), Biat **pa:l** *pale*, Bahnar **pa:l** *pale, livid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ late Middle Mon **sapā** *to have defective sight*, Modern Mon **həpa** *to see imperfectly, to be dimly lit*.

- B: (Palaungic) Praok **pəə** *pale*.

B secondary.

(SHAFFER 1965 95.)

Sora **polu-**, **palu-**, Gutob **pār** *white*.

1752a *pul *bag-like organ.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pul** *stomach, intestines*, Biat **pol** *gizzard*, Bahnar **pul** *womb*.

1753 *pul; *puul; *puəl *to divine, take an augury.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pol** *to take an augury*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **bo:l** *to take an augury*, Kuy **po:l** *to prophesy in trance*; ~ Khmer **phno:l** *omen*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **pə:l** *to divine*; → Röglai **pual**.

1754 *p[]ul; *p[]uəl; *p[]al *to twine round.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pul** [**pal**] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pual** *to lean on, grow round* (→ Röglai **pual** *to lean on*), Biat **pual** *to hang from*. Note Nancowry **fúalɲa** *to embrace* (?)

C: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Bahnar **pal** *to twine round* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (? , ***[k]pal** >) Mon **kwə** *to bind [chick, floor bamboos] together*.

Or ***pw-**, causative ~ 1794 ***wil** &c. *to turn?* Cf. 1635 ***p[]uur?** &c. *to bind round, wrap*.

1755 *pul; *pəl *to borrow.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **bol** *to borrow at 100 percent interest*; ~ Khmer **bəmnol**, Sre by dissimilation **kənl** *debt*.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre **pəl** *to borrow [rice]*; ~ (***[k]pəl** >) Kuy **bəl** *to borrow [item of food]*.

Cf. Vietnamese **nợ** *debt, to owe*.

1756 *[c]puəls; *[c]pə[]l[] *pumpkin.*

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mu'ong) Stieng **phuə:l** *kind of gourd or melon* (& **puəl** *kind of greenish cucumber*), Bahnar **pual**, Vietnamese **buổi** *pumpkin*; ~ (***[c]rpuəls** >) Chrau **ləpuəl** *long squash*, Sre **rəpual**, Biat **rpuəl**, Bahnar **həpual** *pumpkin*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **hapə:l** *pumpkin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1637 ***[c]piir**.

(SHAFFER 1965 100.)

1757 *tpal (& *tpaal?) *mortar for pounding rice.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **tbal**, Stieng **pa:l** (< variant?), Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **pal**, Praok **pə**; ~ (***tnpal** >) Sre, Biat **mpal**, Bahnar **təpal** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **pə**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbə**; ~ (***trpal** >) Kuy (**t**)**pal**, Chrau **ləpal**.

For variant note also Khmer **tba:l** (TANDART 1935). Connection dubious 1715 ***guul** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFFER 1965 309; SMITH 1972 398.)

1758 ***d₁puulh**; ***d₁puəlh**; ***d₁pəlh** *seven*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Kuy (th)**phò:l**, Palaung **pur**, Riang-Lang **ṽpul**; ~ Riang-Lang **ṽtəpul**, (~?) Ulu Indau **tempo** (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 122; or B?).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **poh**, Stieng, Chrau **pəh**.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **pəh**, Mường **páy** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **báy**, **báy**; ~ Old Mon **dum̐poḥ** /**dəmpəh**/, Modern Mon **həpəh**, Bahnar **təpəh**, Jeh **tapèh**, Halang **təpèh**.

Central Nicobarese **təfu:əl** *six* is < 1734a ***t₁/p/uəl**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 21; BLOOD 1966 262; SMITH 1972 338.)

1759 ***dpuul**; ***dpuəl** (*descent*) *group*.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **bo:l** *group*; ~ Sre **mpoul** *family*, Biat **mpo:l** *group, tribe*, **bal mpo:l** *family*, Bahnar **təpo:l** *herd, troop*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **bual** = **bo:l**; → Röglai **puəl**; ~ Jölong **təpu:əl** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Rōngao **təbu:al**) = **təpo:l**; → Cham **tapor** *herd, group*, Jarai **təpuəl**, North Röglai **tapuən** *group*.

Conceivably ***k/mp/uul** &c. ~ 1708 ***krkuul** *descent group*, contaminated by 1763 ***tbəl** &c. *clump, bunch*. Connect Khmer **ʔəmbo:** *'ampūr family*.

(BLOOD 1966 16.)

‡1760 ***p[r]pail** *skate, ray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[kaʔ]** **həpa** *skate*, Khmer **bəbael**, **prəbael** *skate, shark*.

Or ***p(r)p-**.

(~) Proto-Austronesian ***payi(S)**: Malay **pari**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111).

‡1761 ***b[e]l** (& ***beel?**) *to spread a mat*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **ṽpəl** *to spread (mats in), strew* (with tone by levelling on derivation?); ~ (***bp[e]l** >) Mon **həpe** **bapew** *rush matting* (with **-p-** unlevelled in absence of simplex), Palaung **per**, Semang **pil** (i.e. Sabum; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 63 (a)), by assimilation or metathesis Sre **bi:l**, Chrau **ve:l** *mat*; ~ (***[b]nb[e]l** >) Biat **mbe:l**, Praok **bi** *mat*; ~ (***t₂nb[e]l** >?) Riang-Lang **ṽsəmpəl** *mat*.

(BLOOD 1966 32.)

Sora **be'l**, Santali **bel** *to spread mat*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 221; Proto-Munda ***bel**).

(Proto-Austronesian ***b/an/iŷ** >) Proto-Philippine (ZORC & CHARLES) ***baniG**: Tagalog **baníg** *mat*, &c.

1762 ***cbal**; ***cbaal** *companion, friend*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat **bal** *companion*, Jeh **bal** *group* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (→, or ~ ***cpbal** >?) Bahnar **bal** *in a swarm*, (**dih** —) *each other*; ~ (? , ***cnbal** >) Lawa Bo Luang **hməu**, Mae Sariang **hmeu** *friend*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **hwèa** *close male friend*, Praok **[paw]** **pə** *friend*.

(SMITH 1972 396.)

1763 *tbəl; *tbul; *tbuul clump, bunch.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Khmer *thpal* clump (of trees), bunch; ~ (*tnb- >) Mon *kəmp* *tamuīw* &c. clump, bunch (or B), Old Khmer *tampal* grouping, cluster, settled area; → Thai *tambon* locality, district, group of houses, → Khmer *təmbən* locality.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *təbul* forming a small group or clump; to roll up in a bunch; ~ (*tnbul >) *həmul* bundle of notes.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy *pə:l* bush, grove, clump, Bru *pù:l* bush; ~ Bahnar *həməl* sheaf, bundle, armful.

B, C secondary? For Bahnar -əl see 335a *đuuk. Connect Nancowry *mól* to be together, (ta)múl to be in a group (< *mu(u)l?).

POU & JENNER 1975 no. 10 compares Proto-Austronesian *təbəl thick, for which see 1768 *[t]bəl.

1764 *biəw? askew.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mon *bea* to be out of alignment, out of true, out of the square, Nyah Kur *bíəw* bent out of shape, Vietnamese *méo* to be out of shape, Bru *biəw* distorted; ~ Bru *kubiəw* to pull out of shape, Pakoh *tarbèaw*, *kubèaw*, *bibèaw*. ↔ Thai *bīaw*.

***1765 *bul; *buul drunk.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *pùl* vegetable poison, Jeh *bòl*, Halang *bul* drunk; ~ Sre *bəpəl*, Chrau *vəpəl*, Biat *jul* drunk, Bahnar *bəpəl* poisonous (mushroom).

B: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Central & South Asian) Literary Mon *hū*, Kuy *bu:l* to be drunk, Proto-Semai *bryl drunk (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besis *bul* sick, vomiting (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 23); ~ Old Mon *balbul* /*bəlbul*/, Modern Mon *həbu* to be drunk; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəmpù:l* poison, poisonous, to be poisoned by. Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer probably *biʔul in view of infix *ɲ*, Kuy *b-*; connected then 1695 *ʔul[] &c. ...to vomit.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; BLOOD 1966 161; SMITH 1972 390.)

Kharia *bul* drunk, &c. (PINNOW 1959 105).

1766 *bul; *buul; *buəl green pigeon.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riag-Lang *tənbəl*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer *pəpù:l* green pigeon, *Treron nipalensis vernax*; ~ Pakoh *kambòal* green pigeon.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Mon [həcem] *pha bo* emerald dove, *Chalcophaps indica indica* (by secondary expansion, cf. Khmer); → Cham *babuyəl* green pigeon; ~ (*[t₁]nbuəl >) Biat by hypercorrection *mʔual*, Bahnar [se:m] *kəmu:əl* pigeons (generic) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 273, dove.

1767 **ḡulʔ*; **ḡuəl* [] kind of lizard.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng *bu:l* grey lizard, Biat *bul* lizard, Vietnamese *mỏi* house lizard.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh *bual* lizard, Halang *bual* snake.
(SMITH 1972 401.)

***1768 **[t]ḡəl*; **[t]ḡul* thick.**

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng *bə:l*, Chrau *vəl*; ~ (**[t]mḡəl* >) Stieng *nbə:l*, Biat *mbəl*, Kammu-Yuan *həmpuəl*; ~ (**[t]rḡəl* >) Bahnar *həḡəl*, Khasi *rben*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *pu*, Lawa Umphai *phu*.

B secondary.

Proto-Austronesian **təbəl*: Malay *təbal*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132-3; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 407.

1769 **dḡəl*; **[d]ḡail* cheek.

A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer *thpə̀l*, Nyah Kur *təbəl*.

B: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)*pɛ:l* (!) buttocks, Vietnamese *má* (?)cheek, South Nicobarese *təpə:ə* cheek, Nancowry *tapuá* (suggest *-ɔr?).

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. Semang *pen-al*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 83. But separate Praok *siba* (< *-paʔ, cf. Lawa *sapaʔ*).

***1770 **[m]ḡil* salt.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *ḡuiw*, Modern Mon *bə*, (~?) Old Khmer *am̐pyal*, Modern Khmer *ḡəmbə̀l*.

Cf. Vietnamese *muối* (< **[m]ḡuəlʔ* or connected Bru *bə:yʔ*); Bateg Nong, Semaq Beri *təpəl*, Jah Hut *pol*; separate Proto-Nyah Kur **phəʔur* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N236) & 2037 **ḡəh*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SHAFER 1965 41, 440.)

Kharia *bi'luŋ*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 277c).

1771 **m[ḡ]il*; **[m]ḡiəl* tamarind.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer *am̐vil*, Modern Khmer *ḡəmpuəl* tamarind tree, Kuy *mphəl*, Biat [*plai*] *muəl* tamarind, Sre *mil* tamarind tree; → Cham *amil*, Röglai *mil* tamarind tree, Acehnese *mɛ* wood, pods, of tamarind; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *same*, Lawa Umphai *sami* tamarind.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [*cây*] *mɛ* tamarind [tree]; → North Röglai *mě* tamarind tree.

Hardly all ← Pali *ambila-* sour!

1772 **m[]il*; **m[]iəl*; **m[]uul*; **m[]uəl*; **m[]əl* round.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *mèl-mèl* rolling.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy *mì:l* to roll (v.t.); ~ Khmer *rəmìəl* toround (down) (v.i.t.).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:l**, Stieng **mu:l** *round*; ~ Khmer **rəmù:l** *roll* (& **lmù:l** *(to) roll* by assimilation).

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:əl** *to twist*, Stieng **mu:əl** *to twist; spiral, ellipse*; ~ Stieng **krəmu:əl** *to twist, form into spiral &c.*, (~?) Chrau **təmħə:l** *to roll up*.

E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔbəu**, Lawa Umphai **ʔməu** *round*.

Or ***mw-**, ~ 1794 ***wil** &c. *to turn?* Cf. 1653 ***m[]uur** &c. *to roll up*, with mutual contamination

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

1773 *məl; *məəl; *mil; *miil *to watch (for)*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi, ?Mon) Pakoh **mal** *to wait for, expect*; ~ Khasi **kyrmen** *to hope*; (or variant) ~ Old Mon **cirmil** *to wait for*, Modern Mon **kəmæ** *to await, hope (for), expect*.

B: (Khmer) Old Khmer **mel**, Modern Khmer **m̥ɛ:l** *to look (at), see, to wait (for)*.

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **rəmùl** *to steal a glance*.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Praok **simi** *to look*.

Connect Khasi **pyrman** [*to observe*] *from a distance*. C, D secondary, contaminated by 129 ***mii?** *to look at?* For Sora **mel-'mel-** *to examine, inspect* see 1696 ***i?əl**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

1774 *kmuul *silver*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **kəmú:l** *money*, Praok **maə**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **mau**, Lawa Umphai **mau** *silver, money*; → Shan **máə**.

1775 *[j]m[ɔ]l *mountain*.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) (~ ***jnm[ɔ]l** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **mə**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mo**, (~, or by assimilation?) Jehai **jəlməl**, Temiar **jəlməl**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 87 (a).)

1776 *jm[oo]l *male*.

A: (Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer **jmol**, Modern Khmer **chmò:l**; ~ (***jrm[oo]l** >) Semelai **rəmɔ:l**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 20.)

***1777 *jmuul; *jmuəl (& *jmul?)** *to dabble*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **mor** (!); ~ Stieng **jərmu:l**, Bunör **rəmu:l**, Bahnar **jəmu:l**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **muəl** *to dabble* (BLOOD 1966), Kammu-Yuan **cəmɔ:l** (perhaps < ***jnmuel**) *to sow [rice, cotton]*, (***jmul** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **[ŋgrəi?] ʔmə**, Lawa Umphai **[ŋgre?] ʔmo** *dabbling-[stick]*; ~ Chrau **ləmɔ:l** *dabbling-stick*, Kammu-Yuan **cərmɔ:l** *dabbling-stick; sowing-season*.

Cf. following.

(BLOOD 1966 237.)

Sora **jam'məl-ən**, **'jammə:l-ən** *seed* (= **jəb-məl**, ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1304-5, 1307; Proto-Munda *[cs]i(N)-moXl).

1778 *t₂maal to sow.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*t₂[n]maal >) Riang-Lang **səmal**, Praok **sime** *seed*; ~ (*t₂rmaal >) Stieng **rəma:l**, Bahnar **təma:l** *to sow second lot [of paddy] where first fails* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa **sama** *to plant*.

Cf. preceding & Khmer **thna:l** *seed-bed*.

(SHAFER 1965 425.)

†1779 *smuul; *smuəl; *smaal (& *smal?) shadow, soul.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Kuy **smə:l**, **mhə:l** *shadow*; ~ Mon [pəŋ] **həmao samū** &c. *butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly*, Khmer **srəmaol** *shadow, image in mirror*, (— **khmaoc**) *ghost*.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *snmuəl by metathesis > *mnsuəl >) Bahnar **pəhŋə:l** *soul*.

C: (Khmuic; *smal > ?) Thin **hmāl** *shadow*; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kó:n] **hərmà:l** *image, shadow of animate or mobile entity*.

Khmuic vocalism obscure.

(SMITH 1972 571.)

Sora **um'mul-ən** *shadow, reflection, image*, Santali **umul** *shadow*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 121).

1780 *[y]il barking deer.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **il**, Chrau **ju:l**, Biat **jil**, Jeh **jèl** *barking deer*, Halang **jil** *small kind of deer*, Bahnar **jil** *kind of deer*.

Or *ʔil? Literary Mon [**drāy**] *e antelope*, if not ← Pali **eḷaka-** *wild goat*, may with Khmer **ʔael** *doe, fawn* reflect *ʔel. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kaNk'il *mouse deer*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 73 (Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

(BLOOD 1966 138; SMITH 1972 388.)

(*yɔl see 1696 *iʔɔl to see.)

†1780a *yo[o]l to oscillate.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **yò:l** *to oscillate, ripple, to swing* (v.t.), Bahnar **ju:l** [**ja:l** &c.] [*large object*] *swinging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **yù:l** [**rəŋyù:l**] *shaking continuously*; ~ Kuy (**k**)**yɔ:l** *to swing* (v.t.), Kammu-Yuan **kyù:l** *shaking once*.

Proto-Austronesian *iuyiuɣ: Acehnese **mö-yu-yu** *to shake back and forth*, Tagalog **yugyog** *to shake*, Hiligaynon Bisayan **yugyug** *to shake, to rock cradle*, &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

1781 *[y]uəl; *yəl to carry on head, raise high.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat **jua:l** to carry on head, Bahnar **jɔ:l** to raise higher than oneself, hold out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **yò:l** to lift something up with both hands.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **yil** /yəl/ to place on one's head, Modern Mon **yè** to support or carry on head, to lift, Bahnar **yəl** to wear on head.

Cf. Nancowry **ʔusúl** to carry on head; **1742** *dulʔ &c. to carry on head.

***1782** *kyaal air, wind.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **kyāl** /kya:l/, Modern Mon **ca** air, wind, Khmer **khyəl** (!) wind, air, breath, Kuy (k)**ya:l** air, wind, Sre **ca:l**, Chrau **cha:l**, Biat **chia:l**, Bahnar **kia:l**, Jeh **kaya:l** wind (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

With Khmer vocalism cf. **1381** *yaam. Connect Vietnamese **gió**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 410; BLOOD 1966 286.)

Kharia **kɔʔɔ** wind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 202).

(*kyaal, *t₁yaal see **1658** *[k]yaa[r] to come loose, come undone.)

1783 *syuul; *syuəl to fly through the air.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung **hyur** to fly (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **səmyò:l** floating [hair] (TANDART 1935).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Literary Mon [**sān**] **sow** to fly through the air, to throw [e.g. spear]; ~ (*sryuəl >) [**tasow**] **tayow** to glide, dart (with t- by phrasal deformation); ~ (*snyuəl >) Sre **səpnoal** casting-net, Bahnar **həpual** net.

Add following as derivative?

1784 *[s]ryuul; *[s]ryuəl gibbon.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **həryo:l**, Nyah Kur **yuyùl/ʔuyùl/yùl**; so connected Mon **wət ʔ**?

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayua**, Lawa Umphai **rayua**.
Flier through the trees, ~ preceding?

1785 *ril blunt.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rùl**, Biat **ruul**.

1786 *riəl to cut up, dismember.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **rèa** **rey** to cut up, Khasi **ria** small, broken; ~ Khasi **pharia** to split into small pieces.

(*[]riəl see **1792** *[b]riəl pebble.)

1787 *raal *old, aged*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **rɛ** [ju], Vietnamese **già** (for **rà); ~ Mường **khà** (BARKER 1966 20).

Rather than Praok ~ 164 *kra[]ʔ, which compare.

***1788 *kriəlʔ** *crane (bird)*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **krea**, Khmer **kriəl** *Sarus crane*, Stieng **kriɛ:l**, Biat [kla:ŋ] **krɛ:u**, Vietnamese **sếu** *crane*.

Connect obscure Khasi **sarew**.

Sora **ar're:d-ən** *parakeet*, Mundari **kerea'd** *rose-ringed parakeet*, Santali **kereɔ'd** [*fowls*] *to scream* (PINNOW 1959 K 10).

So originally onomatopoeic.

1789 *[c]riil *gold*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **sri:l**; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khriɪr**, Lawa Bo Luang **khrea**, Lawa Umphai **khrai**, Mae Sariang **khyai**, Praok **khri** (& **khrai** *treasure*; ← Lawa?).

1790 *t₂reel *thin*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **kræ trī** &c. *to be (flat and) thin, to be sparse*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***triw** *slim, thin* (DIFFLOTH 84 V207; suggests ***-iiw!**), Palaung **hrer** (MILNE 1931), Lawa Umphai **hre**, by metathesis **hləi**, Riang-Lang **ler** *thin*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Mae Sariang **khyei**; (ii, with metathesis) Khasi **jlir** *thin*.

***1791 *pril; *priəl**; by metathesis ***pliir; *pliər** *hail*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **pruəl** (!; & **pruəl**; contaminated by 180 ***briiʔ** *...rain?*), Praok **pre**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Jeh **pri:l**, Halang **prial** *ice, hail*, Bahnar **prel**, Palaung **preər**, Lawa Bo Luang **phre**, Lawa Umphai **pre**, Mae Sariang **phyɛ** *hail*, Khasi **phria** *hail-stone*.

C: (Mon) Mon **pləe**.

D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bunör **plɛ:r**, Central Rölöm **pliər**, Bahnar dialects **p(ə)lɛr** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **plíar** (& by further metathesis ***lpíər** > Sre **[mi:w] piar**); → Jarai **plɛ:r**, Röglai **[haja:n] pəliar**.

Connect Kuy **tre:l**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54; BLOOD 1966 100; SMITH 1972 394.)

Sora **a're:l-ən**, **'are'l-ən** (& by metathesis ***aler-** > **ader-**['gum-ən]), Kharía **'arəl**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 225).

1792 ***[b]riəl** *pebble*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **brəl** *pebble*, Khasi **[maw]-ria** *gravel*, **[tha]-ria** *shingly bed of shallow stream* (compounding form?; ≠ **ria** *small, broken* < 1786 ***riəl**).

Or ***[]riəl**, ~ ***.mriəl** > Bahnar?

1793 ***luul** *tadpole*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riāng-Lāng **_lul**, Khasi **lun**.

Cf. 1203 ***[k]lun**. Connect 1664 ***loor** *to glide, creep, (wiggle)?*

†1794 ***wil**; ***wiil**; ***wiəl(?)**; ***wəl**; ***wal**; ***wail** *to turn*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **vùl** *to turn (round)*, Sre **wil** *circle*, Bunör **wil**, Central Rölöm **wul** *round*, Praok **ve** *coil*; → Cham **wil** *round*, Röglai **wil**, North Röglai **win** *circle*; ~ Khmer **krəvəl** *ring*, Bahnar **kəwil** *large and bent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau **we:l** *to beat [game]*, Biat **[da:k wac]** **we:l** *eddy*, Bahnar **wi:l** *round* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vir** *to return*; ~ Central Nicobarese **kəwi:lə** *round, circular*, Nancowry **kīl** (?); ~ Old Mon **tirwīl** /**tərwīl**/ *to attend on*, Modern Mon **kəwi** **[kəwəŋ]** *to be attended by*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **viəl** *to dig or cut round, to enlarge [hole]*, Bahnar **wəl** *to spin*, Riāng-Lāng **_viəl** *to turn round*, Vietnamese **vəo** *to be twisted, crooked, distorted*, Kensiū **wəlwəl** *to turn*, Temiar **wəl** *to turn*; (BENJAMIN 1976B 134) *again*, Central Nicobarese **wi:əl-** *to turn*; → Thai **wian** *to revolve, gyrate, encircle*; ~ Bahnar **kuel** *bend in road, enclosure*, Vietnamese **quéo** *to be curved, bent, crooked, queo* *to be tortuously curved*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **[kərwi:c]-krwùal** *winding, meandering*; ~ Khmer **chviəl** *to dig round, to fly in circles*, Kuy **fi:l** *to stand around in a circle*, Sabum **ciwəl** *to turn*; ~ (***[]mwīəl** >) Riāng-Lāng **_miəl**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **me** *again*.

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) (probably Old Mon **wel** /**wel**/ *also*.) Khmer **vùəl** *to turn (round)*, Sre **wəl** *to turn; re-, afresh*, (probably) Central Nicobarese **wəl-** (— **-to**) *again*, (**hə-** — **-hətə**) *to repeat*; (or E) → Cham **val** *to turn*, North Röglai **[win]** **wan** *circle*; ~ Vietnamese **quây** *to surround, encircle* (or ad 1669 ***wər**, which compare?); ~ Old Mon **tirwīl** /**tərwəl**/ *limit, term*, Middle Mon **trawuir** *also boundary*, Modern Mon **kəwə** *limit, boundary, area or period within limits*, Khmer **trəvəl** *extent*; ~ Praok **mu** *boundary*.

E: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Sre **wal** **[boŋ]** (*lunar, solar*) *halo*, Rōngao **wal** *to return (v.i.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vər** (MILNE 1931), Riāng-Lāng **_vəl** *to stir round and round*, (?) Khasi **wan** *to come*; ~ Semai II **riywal** *to turn*.

F: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Sre **kuel** *to bend, twist* (?), Bahnar **kua:l** *to coil [rope], turn [handle]*; ~ Khmer **krəvael** *to go and return, to explore, run back and forth, circle round*; ~ Nancowry **cawál** *to turn* (or E. ?); ~ Biat **rpuar:l** *circle, hoop*.

Add perhaps 1796 ***wiil** *confused...*; & as derivatives (***p-wul** &c. causative =) 1754 ***p[]ul** &c. *to twine round*; (***m-wil** &c. =) 1772 ***m[]il** &c. *round* (SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 414; BLOOD 1966 149; SHORTO 1973 379-80, with further derivatives; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 251.) (i) perhaps Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to circle, wind* (or : 1090 ***wi(i)t**); (ii) ~ Santali **gerwel** *ring-shaped marking* (PINNOW 1959 K 521).

‡1795 ***wiil** *left-hand*.

A: (Central & South Aslian) Semai II **wi:l**; ~ Semelai **sawil**.

Connection uncertain Kensiu **ʔəyil**, Temiar **yəl**.

Cf. 233 ***w[i]ʔ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b).)

Proto-Austronesian ***uiyi**: Malay **k-iri**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 164, ***v-**; cf. DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 13.3).

1796 ***wiil** (& ***wiəl**?) *confused, to forget*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **wi:l** *mixed up, confused*, Bahnar **wi:l** *to confuse, to be puzzled, at a loss* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy **swi:l**, **fi:l** *dizzy* (ad variant?), Biat **cue:l** *to forget*; ~ Riang-Lang **_tərvil**, **_tərwil** *to forget (to), to faint*.

= 1794 ***wiil** *to turn*? Cf. also 1798 ***wəəl** *to deceive*.

1797 ***waal** *grazing, open ground*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **wèa** *open ground, pasture*, Khmer **vì:əl** *plain*, Kuy **wì:al** *to herd*; ~ Old Khmer **gvāl**, Modern Khmer **khvì:əl** *to herd*, Bru **kuwìal**, Stieng **gua:l** *to graze, to herd*; ~ Mon **həmèa**, Khmer **kùəŋvì:əl** *herdsman*.

Cf. Sre **kuil** *open ground, clearing*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1798 ***wəəl** *to deceive*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Mon **wè** *to deceive, cause false perception or impression*, Praok **[khuum]** **vɿ** *to be guileful*, Vietnamese **vờ** *to pretend to*.

Cf. 1796 ***wiil** *confused...*

1799 ***sil** *to peel*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy **sel** *to peel, to slice thin*, Bru **si:l** *to peel with knife* (< *-iil?), Stieng **se:l** *to peel*, Biat **chu:l** *to peel*, **chil** *to clean with knife* (→ Sre **chil** *to peel*?), Kammu-Yuan **[há:l]** **híl** *to peel with knife, remove bark*; → Röglai **sil** *to peel*.

1800 ***siil**; ***siəl** *ashamed*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[ʃa]si:l** *to be ashamed, put to shame*.

B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***səel** *shy, ashamed* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 158A.)

1801 *saal *light in weight.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *sa sā*; ~ (**snsaal* >) Kuy *ŋha:l*; ~ (**srsaal* by metathesis >) Khmer *sra:l*.

Cf. 1731 *[s]jaal &c.

(**saal* see also 191 **laʔ* to spread, extend; **suul* see 1675 **siir* to incise, write.)

1802 *ksaal *split bamboo fibre.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *kṣā*, Modern Mon *cha*, Riang-Lang *ṭkhal* [_roʔ &c.]; ~ (**kmsaal* >) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *hma*.

1803 *ksul; *ksuul *hair, fleece.*

A: (Mon) Middle Mon [*twor*] *kṣuiw* dressed [cotton], Modern Mon *chɔ* to be fleecy.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *khú:l* body hair.

Connect Central Nicobarese *pu(l)yo:l* body hair, Nancowry *puyól* (< **bu(l)sul*?; perhaps contaminated by Malay *bulu*).

1803a *hiil, (**hiil hiil* >) **lhiil*; **lh(i)əl* *bare, smooth, worn.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer *hɿl* blunt, Chrau *hi:l* cleared, bare, empty, Biat *hi:l* cut short, (— *bo:k*) bald, Bahnar *ʔie:l* (!) smooth; (**lh-*) Khmer *rəhɿl* even, smooth [road], Khasi *lin-lin* very [smooth]; ~ Khasi *plin* smoothly.

B: (Khasi) Khasi *len* smooth, *len-len* smooth and bare.

With Bahnar initial cf. *ʔie:p* < 1294 **[h]iəp*. Note further Khmer *lha:l*, *rəha:l* flat and open, spacious, Khasi [*khuid*] *lan-lan* bare, bald, *plan-plan* barren, empty space; Vietnamese *lì* very smooth; & cf. 1668 **[s]liər* smooth, slippery.

1804 *hul *to abuse, threaten.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *hol* to threaten (DOURNES 1950), Jeh *hòl* to abuse (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

For Bahnar dialects *hu:l* to be angry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see 1808 **[t]huul*. Cf. A162 **wal* annoyingly persistent.

(**hul* [] see 1695 **ʔul* [] ...to vomit.)

1805 *khe[e] *shield.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *khael*, Stieng [*ni:m*] *ghe:l*, Biat, Bahnar *khe:l*; → Cham *khe:l*, Jarai *khi:əl*; Thai *kʰĕn*, (?) ultimately → Vietnamese *khiên*.

1806 *khal (& *khaal?) cup, bowl.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **khal** /khəl/, Modern Mon **khə** *small cup for food-offerings*, Kuy **khal** *bowl used as dipper*, (variant >?) Stieng **kha:l** *small copper drinking-cup*; → Burmese **kho** *small basket for offerings*; Thai **kʰǎn** *bowl*.

BENEDICT 1972 63 no. 266 compares Burmese with Lushei **khou** *kind of basket*.

1807 *khuul vapour.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Sre **kənhul**; ~ (*kmhuul >) Mon **həmao khamū** &c. *vapour, gas* (merging *odour* < 1563 *s/m/?uur); ~ Bru **tahɔ:l** *steam, vapour* (< *-ual?).

Connect perhaps (i) 1811 *[mh(u)əl] *cloud*; (ii) Vietnamese **hơi** *steam, breath, vapour, gas, air*.

(*[c]hiəl? see 1697 *[c]ʔiəl[] *to wilt, wither*.)

1808 *[t]hiil; *[t]hiəl angry.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hi:l** (& Bahnar dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **hu:l**; contaminated by 1804 *hul *to abuse...?*).

B: (Mon; or *dh-) Mon **thea** *to be angry, annoyed*.

1809 *thu[s]; *thuul[] to blow.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **thổi**.

B: (Central Aslian) Temiar **təho:l**.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **thú:** [*wind*] *to blow*.

1810 *bhaal (kind of) jack-fruit.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **pha** *mountain jack, Artocarpus chaplasha Roxburgh*, Khasi [**soh**]-**phan**, Central Nicobarese **pəya:l** *jack-fruit*.

†1811 *[]mhuəl; *[]mhəl cloud.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **mhoal** (→ Röglai), Jölong **h(ə)mu:əl** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mường **māl** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **mây**; (probably ~) Kuy **lməl**, Bahnar **həməl**.

Connection uncertain Thin **ʔǎŋʔul** *mist*; Bahnar **kəŋuəl** *cloud* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Kensiu **ʔal** *cloud*, which suggest *(k-)nʔ-; Munda, Austronesian support *mh-. Cf. 1807 *khuul *vapour*.

Sora (i) **'mo:da:-n**, compounding form **mo:l-ən** *mist, fog* (referred at PINNOW 1959 384 to a root meaning *smoke*; final discussed ib. p. 361); (ii) **mor'mo:ri-**, **mom°** (*to be*) *foggy*, **mor-** [*smoke, mist*] *to spread*; (iii) **umod-ən** &c., compounding form **'mo'd-ən** *fog, mist, smoke, v.*

Proto-Austronesian ***Samuy** (?) *dew*: Tagalog **hamóg**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, *1-, Proto-Hesperonesian; Javanese < *S/al/amuy?; Proto-Philippine ***hamquR**, ZORC & CHARLES). See BENEDICT 1975 268-9, *dew*.

1812 *[r]huul; *[r]hə[]l; *rʔuul; *rʔuəl to grill.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **hɔ:l** to hold over flame, Sre **houl** to heat up [food] (→ Röglai); ~ Biat **nhɔ:l** to heat up [food], to grill.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **həhə:l** to grill, dry by heat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer) Khmer **rò:l** to expose to heat of fire, roast (probably → Kuy **rò:l** to singe).

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:əl** to grill [fish], (~?) Chrau **uəl** to toast, roast, Biat **ual** to grill.

Connect Khmer **ʔa:l** to roast, grill, burn, (**rò:l** —) to irritate, ~ Biat **rʔa:l** irritation, rash; but connection uncertain Khasi **phon** to make stock. Cf. **1685** *hur to expose to heat; **1671** *waar &c. ...to heat.

(*lhiil, *lh(i)əl see **1803a** *hiil bare, smooth, worn.)

1813 *ʔaawʔ upper garment.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ʔa:v** upper garment, Sre **a:w** garment, Chrau **a:w** shirt, clothes, Biat **a:ɔ** jacket, Jeh, Halang **a:w** shirt, Bahnar **a:w**, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **áo** upper garment; → Cham, Röglai **a:w**, Jarai **a:ɔ**, North Röglai **au**.

Hardly all ← Vietnamese.

(SMITH 1972 438.)

***1814** *kiəw; *giəw left-hand.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kiaw**, Biat **ciau**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **giɔ:**, **giɔu**, Chrau **gyaw**; ~ Bahnar **ʔɲiew**.

Jeh **i:w**, Halang **iaw** are ← Indonesian (*uSiau?), see **233** *w[i]ʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 96; cf. SMITH 1972 436; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (c).)

Proto-Austronesian *kiua: Malay **kiwa** left-handed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; DYEN 1953 § 97; DAHL 1973 n. 20.22; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 327.

1815 *kaw areca nut.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **cau**; ~ Old Mon **kmow** /kmɔw/, Literary Mon **[tnaŋ] kmau** areca palm.

1816 *ŋk[awʔ] (kind of) owl.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Nyah Kur **kýw** owl, Chrau **nko:** screech-owl, Stieng **kɔu**, (→?) Biat **[kla:ŋ] kɔ:u**, Sakai **'ngkō** owl (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 72).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **cú**.

1817 *jkaw (*kind of*) *bear*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bru **sakaw**, Stieng [klah] **kəu**, Biat **kau** *bear*; ~ Sre **jirkaw** *Ursus malayanus*, Chrau **səkaw** *black bear*, Bahnar **cəgə:w** (!), Mường **cú** (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **gấu** *bear*; → Cham **cakəw**, Jarai **jəgə:ɔ**, Acehnese **cagəə** *bear*, Röglai **jəgəw** *Melursus ursinus* (& **jirgəw** *Ursus malayanus*, contaminated by Sre), North Röglai **cagəu** *bears*.

Bahnar →, vocalism contaminated by, Indonesian! Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Jakun **dehó**, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 107.

(SHAFFER 1965 531; BLOOD 1966 194.)

1818 *tkaw[ʔ] *to sit, stay*.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)**ka:u** *to sit*, Bru **takù:** (suggs. ***tguuʔ?**), Kammu-Yuan **kʂʔ** *to (lie in) wait for*, Praok **kaə** *to endure*, ?Nancowry **kũʔ** *to sit* (or ad 283 ***[ʔgukʔ]**).

Connection uncertain Vietnamese **cũ** *to continue to*, **cũ** *to dwell*.

†1819 *pkaaw; *pkaʔ *flower*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **pkāw** /**pkaw**/, Modern Mon **kao**, Stieng **ka:ɔ**, Biat **ka:ɔ**, Mendriq, Semnam, Semelai **bəkaw**; → Röglai **bəka:w** (→ Sre); Proto-Karen ***p'kau** (SHAFFER 1965); ~ (***pnkaaw** >) Chrau **ŋka:w**, Bahnar **pəka:w**.

B: (Khmer) Old Khmer **p(h)kā**, Modern Khmer **phka:**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFFER 1965 42; BLOOD 1966 273; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 187.)

(Ad B) Santali **baha**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 21; Proto-Munda ***baqa**).

Note Proto-Austronesian ***buŋa**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 35-6; DYEN 1953 § 110; &

***bu(N)ka** *to open*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***buka**; DYEN 1953 § 108; NOTHOFFER 1975 193.

†1820 *rk[aw]ʔ (& ***rkaawʔ?**) *husked rice*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **rəko**, Riang-Lang **ʔkoʔ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔakauʔ**, Lawa Umphai **rakoʔ**, Mae Sariang **yakoʔ** *husked rice*, Khasi **khaw** *rice*, Sakai **rəkuaʔ** *husked rice* (i.e. Jah Hut; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 111); ~ Khmer **ʔəŋkə:** **'an̄kar** (!), Kuy **ŋka:u**, Kammu-Yuan **rəŋkóʔ**, Praok **gaw**, (var. >?) Mường **cáo** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **gạo**! *husked rice*.

(SHAFFER 1965 222, 304, 550; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)

Gutob, Juang **rukɔ:**, ~ Sora **'ruŋku:-n**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 139).

(***skəəw** see 1866 ***ksəəw** *red ant*; ***giəw** see 1814 ***kiəw** *left-hand*.)

1820a *gaaw (& ***gawʔ?**) *to go up, climb*.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **kà:**, (variant >?) Khasi **kiew**.

Separate Praok **kaw** *to stand up*, : Lawa Bo Luang **kauh**, &c.

(***lɲaw?** see 34 ***lɲaa?** *sessamum*; ***sɲiiw** see 37 ***sɲi?** *house*.)

1821 ***cəw** *to come, go, to return.*

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **caw** /cəw/ *to return*, Modern Mon **cao** also *to proceed to arranged destination*, Kuy **cau** *to come*, Jeh **cìw**, Halang **ciw** *to go*.
Cf. Khasi **shaw** *to fetch, to go to meet*.

1821a *.**caaw** *to bargain.*

A: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **cá:** *to bargain, haggle*, Khasi **siew** *to pay*; ~ Vietnamese **giao** *to hand over* (by attraction following, which compare).

1822 ***jaw?** (?); ***jaaw** [] *to hand over.*

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Praok **co**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **cho?** *to sell* (& Lawa Bo Luang **thau?**!), (?) Khasi **iew** *market*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer **jāhv** *to barter*, Modern Khmer **cì:əv** *to buy, sell* (monk's language), Sre **ja:w** *to offer, to hand over*, Chrau **ja:w** *to entrust, hand over*, Bahnar **ja:w** (*what is*) *handed over*; → Cham **cà:w** *to hand over, give*; Thai **c^hâw** *to rent, lease, hire, let*.

Cf. besides preceding. 1729 ***j[u]** &c. *to buy*, with which there is contamination connection uncertain Praok [la] **caə**, Vietnamese **chợ** *market-place*.

(SHAFFER 1965 547.)

1823 ***[b]jəw?** *to bewitch, exercise supernatural powers.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **cə?** *to bewitch the affections of* (& **cə?** *to bewitch so as to cause sickness or death* by arbitrary variation; → Kammu-Yuan **có:** *to kill by sorcery?*); ~ Sre **bəjəw**, Bahnar **pəjəw**, **pəjəw** *shaman*; → Cham **pacəw**, Jarai **pəjəu**, Röglai **bəjəw**, North Röglai **bijəu** *shaman*.

(SMITH 1972 425.)

1824 ***taaw** *to stand.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Old Mon **tāw** /taw/ *to stand, remain, stay, endure*, Modern Mon **tao** *to be stationary, to dwell, be located in*, Chrau **ta:w** *to get up, stand up*; ~ (*[t]ntaaw >) Sre **nta(:)w** *to be upright, get up*; ~ Old Mon **ptāw** *to halt* (v.t.), in compounds *to set up, maintain*, Modern Mon **pətao** *to set up...*, (?) Khasi **thaw** *to make, create*.

Connection dubious Bahnar **pəd̥** *to raise, set upright* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFFER 1965 580.)

1825 ***kt[aw]?** *skin.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Kensiu **katə?**, Semai **gətə?**, Semaq Beri **gətu:h**; ~ Sre **gəltaw** *leather, hide*, Chrau **nto:** *skin*, Biat **ntəu** *skin, leather*.

(BLOOD 1966 199; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 236 (c).)

1826 *kt₁aaw *sugar-cane*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre **ta:w**, Chrau **ca:w**, Biat **ta:ɔ**; ~ Bahnar **kəta:w**, Sedang **katéo**, Bru **kata:w**.

(SHAFFER 1965 466; BLOOD 1966 336; SMITH 1972 447.)

1827 *ptaw *creeper, rattan*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **phdau** *rattan*; ~ (***prtaw** >) Chrau **pəta:w**, Biat **rtaw** *creeper*, Khasi **pathaw** *gourd, melon, pumpkin* (by attraction Tai ***taw**, cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, *dip*...).

1828 *pt₁[əw]ʔ *smoke*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **pətəʔ**, Riang-Lang **ṽtəʔ** [**ṽal**], Praok **taw**.
Connect obscure Sre **otərto** *smoke-cloud, smog*.

1829 *daaw *noble*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **təa** *nobleman*, Khmer **tì:əv** *royal title* (TANDART 1935 *first princess of blood*); → Thai **t^háaw** *rank title for court ladies*; ~ Khmer **cùmtì:əv** *lady, noblewoman*.

1830 *[]diiw; *[]d[i]əw; by metathesis ***[]d̥uəy** *to point (out)*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) **səndi:w** *to point out*.

B: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi **kdew**, **'dew** *to point (out)*.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **nthù:ai** *to point with finger*, Bru **sadɔ:y**.

1831 *cdaw *lamp, torch*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon [**pnān**] **cḍow** /**cdḍow**/ *lamp*; ~ (***crdaw** >) Mon [**kəmot**] **hədao** *illuminations*, Chrau [**uŋ**] **sədaw** *torch*.

1832 *[c]pn₁[ə]w *young unmarried man, bachelor*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **pənu**, Riang-Lang **ṽsənu**, Praok **sino**.

(***krpii**w see 103 ***krpi**? *buffalo*.)

***1833 *[t₁]pawʔ** *to put hand in*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **po** *to take [fish] by hand*, Riang-Lang **ṽpoʔ** *to fumble, to put hand into*.

Cf. Lawa Umphai **pək** *to take [fish] by hand*.

Mundari **tupu**, Santali **topo** *to dip* (PINNOW 1959 K 531).

(***tbaw** see 1835 ***[r]baw** *kind of gourd*.)

1834 *d[b]aw millet.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer *tvau*, Modern Khmer *thp̄u*, Stieng *bou*; ~ East Bahnar *t̄b̄u* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 125 *(t)ḍuu? *sugar-cane?* Cf. also 122a *[j]ḍ[o]? *kind of cereal crop.* (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Khmer *lp̄u*, *rəp̄u* *Cucurbita pepo* (TANDART 1935), Kuy *phà:u* *pumpkin*, Stieng *rəb̄:u* (& *krəb̄:u*) *edible wild gourd*, War [cya]-*təp̄u* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Vietnamese *bầu* *gourd*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang *pai*, Lawa Umphai *mbai* *Cucurbita pepo*.

With Lawa vocalism cf. ?nai ad 1856 *ləw?

Cf. Sanskrit *alābu-* *bottle- gourd*, *lābu-*, *lābū-* *gourd*, ← Austroasiatic according to MAYRHOFER 1953-80 i 55; supposedly → Malay *labu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89, **labu*^c; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; → Central Nicobarese *ləbu*, *ləpu*). But perhaps **tbaw* ~ **trbaw* (then Stieng *rəb̄:u* ← Khmer; Khmer contaminated by Sanskrit?), : Toba Batak *tabutabu*, Malagasy *tavu* *bottle- gourd*. (referred to **tabu*^c *dipper* at DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; HENDON 1964, 372 ff. proposed **tabew*; cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, *dip*...).

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; cf. BEFEO 55, 193.)

(*ḍiəw? see 1764 *ḍiə[l]? *askew*.)

1836 *ḍ[aw]? companion, mate.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre *baw* *spouse*, Chrau *vo:* *to mate*, Riang-Lang *ṭbo?*, Praok *paw* *companion, friend*, (?) Lawa Bo Luang *po?*, Lawa Umphai *pho?*, Mae Sarian *pu?* *one another*.

Palaungic contaminated by 109 *b[oo]? *friend*.

1837 *kḍaw to rinse mouth out.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Mon *baō* [paiŋ], Kuy *pau* [trai]; ~ (**knḍaw* >) Bahnar *gəṃȳ:u*, *kəṃȳ:u* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(**miiw* see 127 **mi?* (to) *rain*.)

1838 *miəw cat.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **me:w**, Biat **mɛ:u**, Chrau, Bahnar **me:w cat**, Jeh **mi:w**, Halang **miãw wild cat**, Kammu-Yuan **mè:w**, Riang-Lang **_meau**, Lawa Bo Luang **meau**, Lawa Umphai **mɛu**, Mae Sariang **mia**, Khasi **miaw**, Vietnamese **mèo**, Semang **méu** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 45), Central Nicobarese **meau cat**; → Cham **muya:w**, Röglai **mia:w**, North Röglai **miãu**, Acehnese **miə**, Iban **mayau**; by back-formation Jarai **ɛ:ɔ**, → Bunör **ʔɛ:w**, Biat **ɛ:u**.

Onomatopoeic. Cf. Thai **mɛɛw**, Shan **měɔ**, &c. (see BENEDICT 1975 411, *tiger...*; → Kuy **mɛ:u**, Bru **me:w**).

(BLOOD 1966 99.)

***1839 *by[əw]h storm.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **p(h)yùh storm, hurricane**, Kuy **phyùh**, Vietnamese **bão [tố] storm**; ~ (? , *bry[əw]h >) Sre **brìuh fog**, Chrau **[vəh] vrɛh drizzle**.

Connection uncertain Kensiu **bewaʔ**, Mah Meri **buwaʔ wind** (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 109 (a), ? (c)).

Proto-Austronesian ***bayiuS**: Tagalog **bagyó storm, tempest**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 32).

1840 *raw; *raaw to make a loud sound.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **rɔ:u to cry, howl, roar, bellow**; ~ Bahnar **jrew (to give an) exultant cry**, Jeh **dri:w to hoot**, Halang **driaw to talk loudly** (with secondary fronting); ~ (***.nraw** >) Stieng **ndrɔu**, Chrau **ndraw to crow**, Biat **ndrau to croak, crow**; ~ Mon **krèa to crow, coo, hiss**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khrɔw** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V208).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **riw, riew to make a sound**; ~ Khmer **krì:əv breaking of voice, mew; hoarse**, West Bahnar **gra:ɔ to crow** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **nra:w to crow**.

Add perhaps as derivatives **1845 *kra(a)w to call out, announce**, **1847 *craaw babbling...** . Cf. **161 *roʔ &c. to make an inarticulate noise**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 202.)

1841 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *riʔaawh > ?) *r[]aawh to wash.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rì:au**, Bru **ʔariaw**, Sre, Chrau **ra:w**, Biat **ra:ɔ to wash**, Jeh, Halang **ra:w to wash [hands]**, Kammu-Yuan **rà: to wash [dishes, edibles]**, Vietnamese **rửa to wash**; → Cham, Röglai **ra:w**, Jarai **ra:ɔ**, North Röglai **rau**; (probably ~) Bahnar **hra:w to wash rice**; ~ (? , Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***rinʔaawh** >) **ʔpa:w to wash**.

Cf. **2053 *ruuh to wash [clothes]**. But hardly connected **165 *kruuʔ**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 517; BLOOD 1966 323; SMITH 1972 441, 444.)

1842 *raaw openwork basket.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *rèa* openwork basket, Khmer *rì:əv* basket for crockery, fish, &c.

Connection dubious Bahnar dialects *rɔ:ʔ* small coarsely woven kind of basket

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *rou*, Halang *ro:* back-basket (&c., see SMITH 1972 568; < *rɔʔʔ?).

1843 *kri[i]w; *kriəw to castrate.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *kri:u*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *kriəv*, Sre *kria:w* (& *kra:w*) to castrate, Biat *kre:u* castrated, Bahnar *krew* to castrate; → Jarai *kreɔʔ*, Röglai *kria:w*, North Röglai *kiäu*.

(SHAFFER 1965 61.)

1844 *krawʔ back, behind.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Asian) Old Mon *krow* /*krɔw*/ behind, after (& *krāw* /*kraw*/; with secondary lengthening?), Modern Mon *krao* to be subsequent, Mường *khau* (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese *sau* (!)behind, Kensi *kiyɔʔ*, Temiar *kəruʔ* back; → Burmese *kro* back; (probably) ~ Lawa Umphai [ka]ngroʔ, Mae Sariang [ya]ngyoʔ back (or [kaŋ]groʔ &c.; then < simplex).

With Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 1856 *ləwʔ; 170 *jriiʔ.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 4 (a).)

1845 *kraw; *kraaw to call out, announce.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*knraw >) Riang-Lang *_krau* news, report (with tone contaminated by Shan *khǎu*), Praok *grɔ* [grɔŋ] facts, about; ~ (*kpraw >) Chrau *praw* legend, tale.

B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon, ?Nicobaric) Jeh, Halang *kra:w* to call, Bahnar *kra:w* to call, cry out, summon; ~ Middle Mon *kamrau* to announce (or A), Sre *kəmra:w* to be passed round by word of mouth (→ Röglai), Vietnamese *rao* to announce, advertise, cry out; ~ Literary Mon *kamrau* narration, Modern Mon *pərao* (facts) about. ~ (?) Nancowry *kayów* to gossip.

~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?

(SMITH 1972 443.)

1846 *kraw; *kraaw to poison.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng *krɔ:u*, Chrau *kraw* to poison [fish] with bark of creeper, Biat *krau* to poison, Bahnar *krɔw* to poison [fish]; ~ Bru *ntràw*.

B: (Bahnaric) Jeh *tra:u*, *kra:u* to poison [fish] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*kpaaaw >) Sre [bəs] *pra:w* viper, poisonous snake, Bahnar *pra:w* kind of snake.

Cf. Khasi *khariaw* *Millettia pachycarpa* creeper, yielding fish-poison.

(SHAFFER 1965 103.)

1846a *[c]riəw *in quantity.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **sea sea** *all together*, Khasi **riaw** (compounding form!) *in a crowd, in large numbers.*

Or ***sr-**.

1847 *craaw *babbling, tinkling.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [**sea**] **sao srau** *with a confused noise*, Khmer **cra:v** *metallic tinkling.*

~ 1840 ***ra(a)w** *to make a loud sound?*

***1848 *[c]rəw** *itch.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **hrəv** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **rau** *itch*, (~?) Khasi **sarew** *scab, skin disease causing scabs* (& **satrew** *sore caused by itch*, [**'niang**] **trew** *sore caused by itch*).

~ (i) Proto-Austronesian ***gar[ə]u**: Acehnese, Gayo **garu**, Cham **kàra:w**, &c. *to scratch*, Malay **garu** *to scratch hard*, &c. (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 88, Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***garəw**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham, perhaps Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) East Formosan ***kayaw**, Thao ***k/m/uyaw** *to scratch* (BENEDICT 1975 370, which compare).

1849 *triəw *oriole.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre [**si:m**] **tre:w** *kind of oriole* (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar [**sɛ:m** **yɔ:ŋ**] **kia:o** *oriole* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Distinguish 1788 ***kriəl?** *crane.*

***1850 *t₂raw?**; ***t₂raaw** [] *taro.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon) Mon **krao** (or **B**), Khmer **trau arum** (GUESDON 1930), Sre **traw**, Chrau [**vu:m**] **traw taro**, East Bahnar **trɔ:u** *amaranth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **səro?** *taro*; ~ Kuy (**ʔa:**)**rà:u** *taro*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **tra:v** *taro*, East Bahnar **tra:u** *amaranth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **shriew**, **'riew** *arum*.

Sora **'saro:-** [**'gai-ən**] *Caladium esculentum*, Mundari **saɽu** *kind of edible root*, Santali **saru** *taro*.

Proto-Oceanic ***ntalo** (which might be cognate if Polynesian → Melanesian!) is referred to Proto-Austronesian ***talət'** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128-9; Malay, Javanese *kind of tuber*).

***1851 *t₁praw** *six.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon **turow** /**tərw**/, Modern Mon **kərao**, Sre, Chrau **praw**, Biat **prau**, Mường **kháu** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **sáu**, Serting **pěřū** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 231); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **tədrɔw**, **tədrəw**, Jeh **tadraw**, Halang **drəddraw**, Ulu Tembeling **těmpěřū** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Mường, Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Khasi *hinriw* (< *-raaw?). (SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 196; SMITH 1972 432.)
 Kharia 'tib(h)ru, &c. (PINNOW 1959 148; Proto-Munda *tiwru).

1851a *braw[ʔ] mature unmarried person.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *prəu* *old maid*, (boʔrəh —) *old bachelor*; ~ Biat *ndrəu*, (by metathesis *bnruəʔ >) Bahnar *adrə*, Gölar Bahnar *hədrə* *widow, widower*; → Röglai *bənra:w* *widow, widower*.
Widow(er) perhaps by attraction Cham *piləw*, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *balu(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 22; DYEN 1953 § 93; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1852 *braaw coconut palm.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon *brāw* /braw/, Modern Mon [nəm] *prəa*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *phrua*, Mae Sariang *phua*, Central Nicobarese *oyau*; → Thai *map^hráaw*, → Khmu' *bla:w*, Thin *blau*; ~ (*bnraaw > ?) Vietnamese [*cây*] *dừa* (for ***rừa*).

(*sriəw see 1846a *[c]riəw in quantity.)

1853 *law[ʔ] finger, digit.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ləu* *finger (quantifier)*, Biat *lau* [ti:] *finger*; ~ Sre [ti] *naw* *forefinger*, Stieng *ŋləu*, East Bahnar &c. (h) *anjləu* *finger, toe* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1854 *law; *laaw to pass, exceed; past time.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Halang *law* *more than; to pass by*; ~ Stieng *nəu* *formerly*, Sre [or] *naw* (*in the*) *non-immediate past*, Praok *naw* *to be early, primitive; once, formerly*; ~ Sre *rəlaw* *more*, Biat *rlau* *to exceed; past, more, exceeding*, Jeh *llaw* *more than*.
 B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh, Halang *na:w* *more*, Jeh *?na:w* *recently* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
 Not *rl- ~ *rnl-, which should yield Stieng *rən-*, Praok *sin-*. (SMITH 1972 448.)

1855 *laaw which?, what?

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *lhāw* /lhaw/ *which?, what?* (& Modern Mon *lə* < weak form), Kensiu *ləw*, Temiar *ləʔ* *what?*; ~ Vietnamese *nào* *which?*.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 77 (a).)

1856 *ləwʔ long in duration.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Old Mon **lɔ'** /lɔʔ/, Modern Mon **lòʔ**, Proto-Semai ***liiw** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Mường **lô** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **lâu** (!) *to take a long time*; ~ (*jnləwʔ >) Riang-Lang **cənwʔ** *duration; to be long in time*, (?) Lawa Umphai, Lawa Bo Luang **?nai** *late*.

With Lawa vocalism cf. Lawa Bo Luang **pai**, &c., ad 1835 ***[r]baw**; with Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 1844 ***krawʔ**; 170 ***jriiʔ**.

1857 *klaaw male sexual organs.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Stieng **klau** *male sexual organs*, Chrau **klaw**, Biat **[ŋkɔ:ŋ] klaɔ** *penis* (vulgar), Hre **klew**, Sedang **kléo** *testes*, Kammu-Yuan **klá** *scrotum, penis*, Semang **klau** *penis* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 53); ~ Central Nicobarese **[no:t]-kəmələu** *boar*.

Hence by deformation Cham, Röglai **klaiy** *penis*? Cf. here Lawa Bo Luang **kləiʔ**.

Cham **pə:h klu:**, Jarai **bə:h tʰlu:**, Röglai **boʔ kluh** *testes* are < Proto-Austronesian ***qət₂luɣ** egg (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134, ***[t]əluɣ**). Connect 1859 ***t₁l[ə]w[ʔ]** *male*? (SMITH 1972 449.)

1858 *gləw (kind of) leech.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **glu:** *water leech*, Biat **glu:**, Semang **alu** *leech* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 46); ~ (*gpləw >) Vietnamese **[đia] trâu** *large kind of leech*; ~ (*gmləw >) Sre **blu** *leech*.

Cf. 1410 ***t₁ləm** &c. *land leech*.

(BLOOD 1966 231.)

1858a *t₁nlaaw[] (& *t₁nlaw[]) lake, pond.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **tənw** *pond*, Biat **ŋlaɔ** *pond, marsh*, (variant >?) Thin **tənlɔ** *lake*.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***d₁an₁au** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***danav**; DAHL 1973 § 14.5, 15.2; Cham **tàna:w**, &c., probably → Bahnar **dənw**); or Vietnamese **ao** *pond*.

1859 *t₁l[ə]w[ʔ] male.

A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian, Khmuic, Katuic) Sre **klaw**, Chrau **klɔ:**, Biat **klɔ:u** *male (human being)*, (by metathesis ***t₁luəʔ** >?) Bahnar **klɔ:**, Jeh **klou** *husband*, Halang **klɔ:** *man*; ~ (*t₁nluəʔ >?) Bahnar **tənw** *male*, Jeh **tanou**, Halang **təno:** *male animal*; → Jarai **t^ono:**, Röglai **tənw**, North Röglai **tano** *male [animal]*; ~ Besis **malâu**, **ma'lau** *husband* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 21 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **səklo:** *husband*, Kammu-Yuan **cəmrəʔ** *man, male*, Bru **nlaw** *man*.

Connect 1857 ***klaaw** *male sexual organs*?

(BLOOD 1966 200; SMITH 1972 561, 563.)

1860 *ml[əw] *betel*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **mlù:**, Kuy **mphlù:**, Bru **manlùə**, Stieng, Chrau, Biat **mlu:**, Bahnar **[hla:] bəlw, bəlw**, Kammu-Yuan **plù:**, Mường **trù** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **trầu**; → (i) Thai **p^hluu**, Shan **p^hlū**, → Riang-Lang **plu**, Lawa Bo Luang **plo?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **phlo?** *betel*, Palaung **plu** *areca nut*; (ii) Karo Batak **belo** *betel*; & (iii) by obscure borrowing route (***sla blu** >) Middle Mon **sablu**, Modern Mon **həplù?** *betel leaf*; Central Sakai **blök** *areca nut*.

Culture-word; Khmer **perhaps** → South Bahnaric; but hardly all ← Tai in view of Khmer **m-**. Hence ultimately Proto-Austronesian ***buyuq**, BLUST 1973 no. 92 (Proto-Hesperonesian)? Cf. BENEDICT 1975 299, *fruit...* (IV); Tho-Nung shows anomalous diphthongization, supporting ***-əw**.

(SHAFFER 1965 298; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 125.)

1861 *rliw (& *rliiw?) *lazy*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic). Mon **[kənùh] lì** *to be lazy, idle*, Khmer **rəli:v** *drowsy*, (~, or with phrasally conditioned tone?) Vietnamese **lêu-[ông]** *to loaf, be lazy*; ~ (? , ***krliw** >) Kammu-Yuan **[krá:w] kríw** *carelessly; untidy*.

Mon, Khmer vowel lengthening perhaps regular in context. Cf. 189 ***la?** *lii?* &c. *careless, slovenly*.

1862 *slew? *to squint*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **slaev** *squinting*, Vietnamese **lé** *to squint*; ~ Mon **həle salew** *to be oblique*, (**mòt** —) *to squint*, Khmer **srəlaev**, (TANDART 1935, SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.) **srələev**, Khasi **share** *squinting*; ~ (***splew?** > Vietnamese **tréo** *to be at an angle, crossed* (& **trẹo** *to be off natural position, to be dislocated*).

Cf. 759 ***sliŋ** &c. ...*to squint*.

1863 (*tawaw >?) *twaaw, *ta[]waw *koel, Eudynamys scolopaceus malayana Cabanis and Heine*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) (***tw-**) Old Mon **twāw** /**twaw**/, Literary Mon **kwau**; (***ta[]w-**) Mon **kaowao** (& **həcem kəwao**; by contraction?), Khmer **ta:vau**, Biat **ta:wau**; → Cham **tawa:w**.

Onomatopoeic.

†1864 *ksiw; *ksiəw *to whisper*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[dəs] chiw**, by metathesis (***kwis** >) Biat **[ŋə:i] chwih**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **[khsɿp]-khsiəv**; ~ (***kpsiəw** >) Mon **kəsea**, Riang-Lang **kəsiao** (!), Khasi **pasiaw**.

Riang-Lang -s- by onomatopoeic retention.

Sora **pə'se-pə'se-** [*to speak*] *in whispers* (RAMAMURTI 1938; beside **pə'se:ge-pə'se:ge-**).

1865 *ks[aw]ʔ red.

A: (Kuy, Palaungic, Khasi). Kuy (**k**)sau, Palaung **kho**, Khasi **saw** (compounding form?).

Kuy may imply *-ʔ. Connection dubious Chrau **prhɔː**.

***1866 *ksəwʔ; *ksəw[] red ant.**

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **khúʔ** red ant, Semang **kaso'** ant (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 101).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Stieng **ce:u** large kind of biting ant, Central Nicobarese **ka:hvə** large red ant, by metathesis (***skəw[]** >) Khasi **'khiew** (~ **dkhiew**) ant; (probably, rather than A) by secondary derivation ~ Mon **(k)əchao** red ant.

(By metathesis?) Mundari **hao-[mui'j]**, Santali **hao** large red ant (PINNOW 1959 K 534).

1867 *br[s]aw; *br[s]aaw kind of water snail.

A: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar **bəsv:u** kind of freshwater univalve (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **vəsa:w** small kind of water snail.

?Connected to Khmer **[khyɔːŋ]** **khiav** kind of snail so ***k(m)e-**.

1868 *hiw; *hiəw to drift.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hi** to drift, Kontum Bahnar **hiyu:** drifting (on water), floating (in air) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **hiu-hiu** [wind] to blow very lightly.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Jölong **h(i)ɛ:o** drifting (on water) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Vietnamese **phiêu** to drift, flost.

Rather than Mon : Khmer **hael** to swim.

1869 *haaw to climb, ascend.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **ha:w** to ascend, Biat **ha:ɔ** to go up, climb, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:w** to climb; ~ Chrau **tənhə:w** to raise, Biat **nhə:ɔ** to lift, raise.

(SHAFFER 1965 271; BLOOD 1966 296; SMITH 1972 440.)

1870 *krhiəw small bell, jingle.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Katuic) Mon **hərea** small bell, bicycle-bell, Khasi **[sha]kuriaw** jingle, cymbal, Bru **ʔariiw** small bell.

1871 *ʔas; *ʔəs to swell.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy **ʔah** inflamed and swollen, Sre **as** swelling, Biat **ɛh** abscess, Bahnar dialects **ɛh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **at**, Semai **ʔas**, Semelai **ʔəs** to swell; ~ (***pnʔas** >) Bahnar **pəʔɛh** to swell.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *əs* to swell, swelling, Riang-Lang *as* swollen, to swell, Palaung *ər* to be swollen (so probably, rather than **A**), Praok *u:a*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔəih* to swell, Nancowry *yəh* to swell.
(SHAFFER 1965 431; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 540.)

(**ʔaas* see 1873 **iʔaas* to shine.)

1872 **[ʔus; * [ʔuus; * [ʔuəs* fire, firewood.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *ʔoh us* firewood; → Cham, Jarai, North Rōglai *ʔjuh*, Rōglai *iuh* firewood.

B: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre *ous*, Temiar *ʔo:s*, Semelai *ʔus* fire.

C: (Mon, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Katuic) Middle Mon *'oh /ʔoh/*, Modern Mon *uh* firewood, Kuy *ʔu:h*, Bru *ʔu:yh* fire, firewood, Kensiu *ʔəs*, Semai *ʔo:s* fire, Central Nicobarese *ɔh* firewood.

Cf. **885** **ʔup* fire Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese *củi* may be connected, as Vietnamese *củt* with **794** **ʔic* &c.; so may **2041** **[k]buh* to burn, grill. But Cham &c. suggest **jʔ-*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFFER 1965 436; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 124.)

1872a **ʔuus* to drag.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *ʔo:h 'ūs*, Stieng, Biat *u:ih*, Chrau *uih*.

†**1873** Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **iʔaas* > **yaas*, Pre-Palaungic **ʔaas*; (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **iʔaaʔ* >) **yaʔ* to shine.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon *yās /yas/*, Modern Mon *yèh* dawn, to shine, Riang-Lang *as* to glitter, shine, Proto-Semai **jiis* daylight (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Old Mon *yimās* shining [gold], Old Khmer *mās*, Modern Khmer *mì:əh*, Stieng *ma:h* gold, Sre *mah* (!)gold, shiny (→ Rōglai *məh* shine; ≠ *muh* gold, ← Cham?), Biat *ma:ih*, Bahnar *mayh* gold.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Bahnar *mənaʔ, pənaʔ* gleaming (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; perhaps ~ (**ipʔaaʔ* >) Khasi *ba* to show a light; by secondary derivation ~ *thaba* to glitter (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ (**irʔaaʔ* >) Sre *cira* brilliant, dazzling (↔ Rōglai *cira:*).

Kontum Bahnar, Jeh, Halang *mah*, & probably Semang, Sakai *mas* gold (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 62) are ← Indonesian, below. Connect **1920** **c[b]as* light, clear? ~ Nancowry *cuṇác* natural light.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFFER 1965 178; SHORTO 1972 235; BLOOD 1966 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 35; cf. SMITH 1972 368.)

Kharia *me'jaʔ* morning (ad **B**; PINNOW 1959 K 173).

(Probably →!) Proto-Austronesian **[ʔəmat'* Acehnese *möih!*, Cham *muh*, &c., Malay *emas* gold, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; Proto-West-Indonesian). The same Acehnese vocalism in *döih* : Cham *hatà:h* clear, bright; is this also connected? (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 26.)

1874 *knʔiəs nail, claw.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ndias** *nail, claw, hoof*, Chrau **kənhye:ih** *nail*, Biat **ɲeh**, Bahnar **təʔɲiəh** *nail, claw*, Jeh **kaʔniayh**, Halang **kəʔniah** *nail*.

Cf. (i) Stieng **kəni:**; (ii) Central Nicobarese **keʃuəh** (< *kəcuəs < *kəyuəs by dissimilation?). Connection dubious **1880 *kiəs ...to scratch**.

(BLOOD 1966 98; SMITH 1972 501.)

(*cʔees see **1960 *cʔeh** *to stink*; *cʔaas see **7 *cʔaʔ** *clear, clean*.)

†1875 *cʔu[s]; *chuu[s] to rot.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Mon **ɲh sʔuih** *to rot, be decayed*; ~ (*cpʔu[s] >) Kuy **pʔo:h** *spoiled [food]*, Bru **paʔu:ɣh** *rancid, spoiled*, Khasi **pyut /pʔut/** *to decay, rot*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **cur** (MILNE 1931), Praok **cu [siʔum]** *to decay*, Vietnamese in compounds **hủ** *rotten [wood]*.

In view of Vietnamese perhaps *-h(-s). Cf. **1960 *cʔeh** *to stink*.

Sora **sʔo:-** *to be rotten, to spoil*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 193a).

Hence Tibeto-Burman *u (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 489; Kachin, Burmese, Kuki)?

(*t[ʔ]aas see **1962 *[t,]ʔah** *forehead*; *prʔas see **248a *prsaʔ** *child's spouse*.)

‡1876 *pʔus; *pʔuus guava tree.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ổi**; → Bahnar **o:y**; Cham **uyh**, North Röglai **ui**.

B: (South Bahnaric) → Röglai **ous**; (probably ~) Sre **pəʔous**.

Proto-Austronesian *paSuq: Cham **paʔʔ** *mango tree*, &c., Malay **pauh** *wild mango*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115 16, *paʔuh; DYEN 1953 § 53).

The guava is exotic!

†1877 *rʔis to count.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon **ruih**, Modern Mon **rəh**, Palaung **dir**; ~ (*rmʔis >) Middle Mon **lamih** *number*, Modern Mon **kəmih**, Praok **sime** *total*.

Sora **di·(di·)** *to count*.

(*rʔbi(ə)s see **1927 *ris** *root*.)

1878 *lʔas ripe.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **duh** *to be ripe, grow ripe*, (~?) Vietnamese **nảy** *to grow, sprout*, (— **nở**) *bloom*; ~ Middle Mon **lam'ah**, **ram'ah**, Literary Mon **l(a)muh** *ripe*.

(*lʔəəs see **1965 *lʔəh** *to make, do*.)

1879 *lʔus *fat, grease.*

- A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Lawa Bo Luang **laʔauh**, Lawa Umphai **raʔaus**, Mae Sariang **layɔih**, Jehai, Lanoh **ləʔɔs**; ~ Temiar **lenʔɔs**.

***1880 *kais; *kiəs; *kis** *to scrape, scratch.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **kās** /**kas**/ *to shave oneself*, Modern Mon **kah** *to shave, to scrape off, up*, Khmer **kaeh** (& **keh**; **kəs** &c.), Stieng **kəh** *to scratch*; ~ Bahnar **cəkəh** *to pick up or scratch with nail* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **gãi** *to scratch oneself*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon **keh** *to write with a stylus*, Khmer **kiəh** **kiəs** *to scrape*, Vietnamese **kẻ** *to draw [line]*; ~ Vietnamese **ghẻ** *itch, scabies*.
 C: (Palaungic) Palaung **kir** *to draw a line* (MILNE 1931).
 Connect besides following **1890 *ʔciis** *to draw, write*; & Temiar **gi:s**, Semai II **gih** *to scratch*, ~ Semelai **gahgeh**. Cf. also **802 *kaac**, **799) *kiic** &c.; **1442 *kaay**; **867 *kwaac** &c.; **A138 *kwaay**.

(SHAFFER 1965 73; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kaSit'**: Acehnese **kəh-kəh** *to scratch*, Malay **kais**, &c. [*fowl*] *to scratch up food*, Javanese **krè-kès** *to beg shamelessly*, Cebuano Bisayan **kahis** *to level with strickle* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 72, ***ka'it'**; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***kit'kit'**: Malay **kikis** *to scrape off*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; less Javanese, < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. also ***kat'kat'** *to scratch*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 76. See BENEDICT 1975 371-2. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 58.)

(***kais** see also **1967 *k[i]i[h]** *kind of deer or goat*.)

†1881 *kuus; *kuəs; (*kaus = ?) *ko[]s *to scrape, scratch, shave.*

- A: (Khasi) Khasi **khud** *to scrape off with sharp instrument*.
 B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **kua'h** *to scratch (up)*, Sre **kuah**, Chrau **kɔ:ih** *to shave, scrape*, Biat **kwah** *to claw*, Bahnar **koyh** *to scrape*, Kontum Bahnar *shave*, Central Nicobarese **iko:əh-[həŋə]** *to shave*; → Cham **kwah** *to shave, scrape, scratch*, Jarai **ku:ah**, Röglai, North Röglai, **kuah** *to shave, to scrape*, Acehnese **kuəh** *to dig*.
 C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Khmer **kaoh kos** *to scrape* (or < A, levelled on derivation?), Bunör **kɔih** *to shave off*, Mintil **kɔus** *to scratch*; (or A) ~ Khmer **khnaoh** *scraper*.

Add following? Connect preceding. (which compare, with references). Vietnamese **cạo** *to shave* is perhaps cognate Kammu-Yuan **kòr** *to scratch*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30; BLOOD 1966 58; SMITH 1972 512; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)
 Kharia **kɔi** *to shave*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 382).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kut'kut'**: Karo Batak **kuskus** *crust of rice in pot*, Iban **kukus** *to scrape out*, &c. (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 226, BLUST 1973 no. 175; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***ka[]ut'**: Acehese **kəh** *to level [grain in measure]*, Iban **kaus** *to scrape out* (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. Toba Batak **hao** *to itch, scratch* (< ***ka[]uq**). See BENEDICT 1975 371-2.

1882 ***kuus** (& ***kuəs**?) *to trim, whittle*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng **kù:əh**, Sre **kous** *to trim down, pare down, whittle*, Chrau **ko:ih** *to whittle*; (variant?) ~ Mon **həkuh phakoh, sakoh** *to whittle*.
= preceding?

(***[p]kas** see 1914 ***kpas** *side of body*.)

1883 ***[r]kus**; ***[r]kuus**; ***[r]kuəs**; ***[r]k[iə]s** *porcupine*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **[i]kūr** (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang **rəŋkəs**.

B: (Central Aslian) Temiar **ku:s** (BENJAMIN 1976B 131), Proto-Semai ***kuus** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **[cəŋ] ŋkah**, Bru **sukə:yh**.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Danaw **təŋ kiət**, Khasi **dyngkhied**.

Cf. Iban **angkis**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 185.)

1884 ***gas**; ***gaas** *to separate by force*.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **kəəh gās'** *to pry up, uproot, gouge out, force open*, Kuy **khèh** *to pry up, pry open*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **rga:ih** *to separate persons fighting*.

(***gaas** see also 1975 ***gah** *outside*; ***guus** see 1976 ***guh** *to swell*; ***rgaas** see 1928 ***g-raas** ...*to comb*...)

1885 ***ŋ[]əs** *to wake (v.i.)*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic). Mon **ŋùh** (< */**ŋoh**/ < */**ŋəh**/) *to wake (v.i.)*, (probably) Kuy **ŋùh** *to surface*, Bru **ŋàyh** *no longer sleepy*; ~ Literary Mon **pñah** [**>**] **pñoh** [**>**] **pñuh** *to rouse*; ~ Biat **ŋəh** *to stay awake*.

Or, if Kuy **mèh**, Bru **ʔamàyh** *to wake (v.t.)* are cognate, ***ŋw-**? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 192.)

1886 ***ŋus**; ***ŋuus**; ***ŋuəs** *price*.

A: (Palaungic) Praok **[sin] ŋaw** *wealth*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **ñūs /ŋus/**, Modern Mon **ŋùh** *price*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **ŋuər**, Praok **ŋə**, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋuah**, Lawa Umphai **ŋuas**, Mae Sariang **ŋoih** *price*.

1887 *cis; *ciis; *ciəs low, to descend.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *cis* /cəs/, Middle Mon *cuīh* to go down, Praok *se* [saŋ] to be oppressed = [caŋ ma] *se* south (cf. *laŋ* to be high; (caŋ ma —) north), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]saih, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang [ka]seh below; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəsés* to fall; ~ Semang *măchis* low, shallow; steep descent (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 150 (a)); ? by dissimilation Nancowry *ʔés* down.

B, C: (Mon) Late Middle Mon, Modern Mon *cih* = Old Mon *cis*; Literary Mon *ceh* down. Cf. Central Nicobarese *-je* downwards (< *ciʔ?).

1888 *c[ii]s to oppose.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *ceh* [cah] to oppose, be refractory; ~ Khmer *cəce:h caces* to persist in face of opposition (with vocalism levelled on next); ~ (*cric[ii]s >) Literary Mon *dacih* [daca] to oppose, Khmer *cacres* to persist in face of opposition (GUESDON 1930).

*ce(e)s should yield Khmer *-es*. Literary Mon *ceh* by analogy *ceh* = Modern Mon *cih* to go down (see preceding), or < *ciəs.

†1889 *cuus; *cəs to select.

A: (Central Aslian) Temiar *cu:s* (BENJAMIN 1976B 131).

B: (Mon, Central Aslian) Middle Mon [ruy] *cah*; ~ Serau *chenlas* to choose (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 120A).

Cf. Khasi *jied*, Nancowry *hasət*. Connect by metathesis or assimilation A58 *[s]ac? Sora *se-*, *se'se-* (< *ciəs < *c'əs < *cəs?).

1890 *ʔciis to draw, write.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre (→ Röglai), Chrau, Bahnar *cih* to draw, write, Hre *aci:h*, Lawa Umphai *sas*, Mae Sariang *saih* to write, Palaung *swir* [s'i:] to cross out; ~ Biat *nkeh* to write.

Cf. 1880 *kais, *ki(ə)s ...to scratch (, write); & Biat *rcu:ih* to draw a line, cross out. (BLOOD 1966 209; SMITH 1972 336.)

1891 *ʔcas; *ʔcaʔ; *ʔcaaʔ old.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer (')cas, Modern Khmer *cah*, Stieng *ce:h*.

B, C: (Palaungic) Riag-Lang *caʔ* to be old, mature, tough, rough; ~ *rəŋcaʔ* old age.

B, C contaminated by 164 *kra[]ʔ? Connect perhaps Sakai *jaja* (i.e. Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 20; but Vietnamese *già* is < 1787 *raal.

†1892 ***kcas**; ***kcaas**; (by dissimilation?) ***kcah** *charcoal*.

A, B: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Praok **sua**, Lawa Bo Luang **səih**, Lawa Umphai **səs**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənsáh** (or C); ~ Riang-Lang **kərc(h)as** (A), (B) Palaung **kəsar**.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon, Sre, Chrau **chah** *charcoal* (& Nyah Kur **ksah** *firewood*); ~ (***krcah** >) Kuy (k)**cah**, Bru **kucah**, Jeh **kacah**, Halang **kəcah** *charcoal*.

Connect Stieng **cə: uip**.

(SMITH 1972 370.)

Sora **ə'saŋ-ən**, Kharia **ga'sa'ŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 289; by metathesis or assimilation < ***kasac** or the like).

1893 ***kc[a]s** *lightning*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Semang **kăchā'** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 91); ~ Palaung **kəsər**, Praok [tu] **sa**.

1894 ***k[m]cas** *to sneeze*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (k)**ceh**, Bru **cəyh** (!), Bahnar **kəseh**, Jeh **kacayh**, Halang **kəceh**, (~?) Riang-Lang **kəmchas**; by metathesis (***cmās** >) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **ʔməih**, Lawa Umphai **ʔməs**.

For Khmer **kəndah**, Chrau **kətaih** see 1900 ***dt₁as** *to make a sound*. ?Connected by dissimilation Nancowry **ʔás** *sneeze*.

(SMITH 1972 499.)

(***krcaas** see 874 ***ksac** *sand*.)

1895 ***pcaas** (& ***pca** [h?]) *sour*.

A: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon **phyah** *to be sour, sharp-tasting* (& Nyah Kur **cah**; < variant?), Semang **pēcās** *sour* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349).

Note Khasi **sat** *pungent in taste*; perhaps rather connected 989 ***pcət** *bitter, astringent*.

†1896 ***bcaas** *contrary*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **-cās** /**cas**/, Modern Mon **cah** *to go in the opposite direction*, Khmer **ca:h cās** *contrary, against* (TANDART 1935) (with head register levelled on derivatives?), Praok **cha** (!) *to oppose*, Central Nicobarese [hə]-**ja:hə** *topsy-turvy, to throw spear butt foremost, lie with feet towards hut door*; ~ Old Mon **bircās** *approach*, Khmer **cra:h** (?; with regular metathesis) *in the opposite direction*, Khasi by dissimilation **pyrshah** *opposite*; by secondary derivation ~ (***crcaas** >) Middle Mon **dacah**, Modern Mon **həcah** *to go towards*, Khmer **carcrās** *refractory, obstinate* (GUESDON 1930).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

(?) ~ Proto-Austronesian ***mət'aq**: Javanese **mēsah** *enemy*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 106). See BENEDICT 1975 281.

1897 *[ljiis; *[ljiəs; *[ljəs to prick, to sew.

- A: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **jih**, Bru **yih**, Central Nicobarese **ici:h-[hətə]** to sew.
 B: (Mon, ?Bahnaric) Literary Mon **jēh** to prick skin and draw blood, (or C?) Stieng **jēh** to prick, lance, Bahnar **jēh** to prick, lance, to gut.
 C: (Khmer, ?North Aslian) Khmer **jas'** to prick to extract [thorn] (GUESDON 1930), Semang **cəs** to sew (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; ?).

1898 *jas to shiver.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **còh** to have fever, Palaung **jər** to shake (v.t.); ~ Riang-Lang **_tərcəs** to tremble; ~ Palaung **pənyər** slight chill, shivering (& by back-formation **yər**, Mon, to tremble).
 Cf. 1995 *[r]njuh &c. to shake.

1898a *jus (& *juus?) to take down, out, to lay down.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jus** to take off [carrying-basket], to extract [thorn], Chrau **juih** to drop, let fall, Biat **juih** to put down, (variant >?) Bahnar **yuyh** to take down, dismantle, to take out of storage-place.
 Add perhaps Khmer **cùh juh** to evacuate the bowels. Connect 1606 *jur[] &c. to descend?

(*t₁aas see 1998 *t₁ah level.)

1899 *t₁uəs; *t₁əəs; (by interdialectal borrowing?) *t₁[wə]s to proclaim.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tos** /tos/ to utter, proclaim; ~ (*[t₁]nt₁uəs >) Praok **dua** to assert.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tə:s** to announce a death, Biat **tə:ih [mbu:ŋ]** to carry a message.
 C: (Mon) Middle Mon **twah** /twəh/, Modern Mon **kwəh** to utter, proclaim.
 Connect following?

1900 *kt₁as to make a sound.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **tēh** to make a sound, make a noise (→ or ~ Chrau **taih** loud), Bahnar dialects **tēh** noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **kəndəh kəntās'** (→ Stieng **kəndəh**), Chrau **kətaih** to sneeze (by attraction 1894 *k[m]cas), Sre **ntas** = Stieng **tēh**, (~?) Jeh **tatayh** to speak, Halang **həteh** to say; ~ Biat **nteh**, Bahnar dialects **kəteh** noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 Cf. Central Rölöm **tēh** to report (BLOOD 1976) (< *kt₁əs?). Connect preceding? (BLOOD 1966 251.)

1901 *[k]nt₁a[i]s prawn.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **cənta** (!), Riang-Lang **kəntas**.
 With Thin initial cf. **cəcndraḡh** < 1947 *k/n/lais; but Riang-Lang **k-** perhaps by attraction animal prefix.

†1902 *[j]t[ɔ]s to dam in order to catch fish.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **tùəh das'** to dam; ~ Mon **hətəh datah** dry-dam fish-trap; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **thnùəh** fish-weir or fish-crawl of branches.

Or *-əs.

(?) Kharia **ɟ(h)entu** date-leaf mat, Santali **ɟhənti** wattle, wattle fence, **ɟipri** watering-pot, fish-trap. (PINNOW 1959 K 370).

†1903 *pt₁is; *pt₁iis; by metathesis *psi(i)t fungus.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Mon **ptis** /ptəs/, Modern Mon **pətəh**, Kammu-Yuan **tís**, Khasi **tit**.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **tir**, Riang-Lang **ˈtis**, Praok **ti** (or A?), Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **taih**, Lawa Umphai **tas**, Proto-Semai ***btees** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **phsət**, Stieng **cert**, Biat **chert**, (~?) Sre **bəsit**; ~ (*pns- >) Chrau **nser̥t**, Hre **basèt**, **basit**.

(SHAFER 1965 432; SMITH 1972 217; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 292.)

Sora **'bati:-n**.

(*rt₁a(a)s see 2009 *rt₁ah to explode; *dəəs see 78 *dəə? ...to be brought up short...; *diis see 86 *dii? one.)

1903a *dās; *daas to break (v.i.).

A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Biat **dəh**, Central Nicobarese **dɛʃ-**, **dəh-[ɲə]**, Nancowry **rás**.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon **dah** [rain] to stop (?), Chrau **da:ih** to break. Add perhaps Khmer **təəh dās'** at odds, to quarrel. Bru **dəh** v.t. suggests *-ais.

†1904 *cdis cotton.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **dəh**; ~ (*cndis >) Sre **dīs**.

*c- rests on Munda.

(BLOOD 1966 47.)

Sora **ə'di:-n** cotton, Kharia **si'di?** cotton pod (PINNOW 1959 327).

1904a *tdus; *tduəs to pull out, off, back.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **təh**, Bru **təwh** to pull out [hair &c.] (so *t- ?), Sre **dus** to pull out, pull up, uproot.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **də:ih** [ntə:u] to skin; ~ (*trduəs >) Mon **hədəh th(a)dah** to pull back [bowstring], remove [ear-wax].

(*pdiəs see 2015a *pduh ...to spark... .)

1905 ***tnaas** (& ***tnas**?) *goal, intention*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **tnas** /**tnəs**/ (*in the*) *intention of bringing about*, Middle Mon **tnah** *in order to* (originally weak form, or < variant), Khmer **thna:h thnās** *until*, (GUESDON 1930) *in order to*.

1906 ***bn₂iəs** *spear*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Old Mon **bnas** /**bnəs**/, Modern Mon **nùh**, Kammu-Yuan **plias**, Palaung **leər**, Riang-Lang **pləs**, Praok **plia**, Lawa Bo Luang **pleh**, Lawa Umphai **phlias**, Mae Sariang **pliah**, Nancowry **sanéh**.

Connection uncertain Tagalog **bulos** *harpoon* (& Javanese **bulus** *spear*, cited at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 368), with which cf. Bateg Deq **bulus**, Semnam **bulu:s** *spear*; Moken **bulo**. South Nicobarese **pi:lo:iyə** *pronged spear*, compared at SHAFER 1965 433, more probably belongs here.

*1907 ***mnəs** *to have in mind*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon **mirnas** /**mərnəs**/ *to remember*, Modern Mon **hənùh** *to think of, remember*; ~ (***mpnəs** >) Old Mon **munas** *to inform*, Sre **ḍəs** *to speak*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **srənəh sranoh** *to miss, regret the absence of*.

~ Proto-Austronesian ***manəq**: Toba Batak **por-mano-mano-an** *remembrance*, Javanese **manuh** *to be known*, Cebuano Bisayan **ma/ng/nu**, **ma/ng/nù** *to remember, to remind* (so Proto-Hesperonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 105 compares Toba with Malay **manah** *heirloom*.

*1908 ***pis**; ***piis** *knife*.

A, B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **pəh**, Chrau **pih**, Biat **pəh** (A), (B) Sre **pi:s**. (SHAFER 1965 481; BLOOD 1966 44.)

Proto-Austronesian ***pit'au**: Malay **pisau**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 120; Proto-Hesperonesian).

*1909 ***pis**; ***pəs** *to pound*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon **pis** /**pəs**/, Modern Mon **pəh**, Stieng (→ Chrau ?), Bahnar **pəh**, Jeh, Halang **pəh**; ~ Stieng **brənih**, Biat **rnih** *flour*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **pas**, Modern Khmer **bəh** (& Middle Khmer **poḥ!**) *to pulverize* (→ Thai **bòt** *to crush, grind, pound*), Biat **pəh** *to pound [rice]*.

Connect Sre **piəh** *to pound [rice]*.

(BLOOD 1966 252; SMITH 1972 357; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 15; SHAFER 1965 558.)

Proto-Austronesian ***pipit'**: Malay **pipis** *to grind [spices]*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. Sanskrit **piṣṭa-** *pounded*. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 11.)

1910 ***piəs**; ***pəs** *to kick*.

A: (Mon) Mon **pəh** [*animals*] *to kick*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **pər** *to kick*.

(*pəəs see 2029 *puh to open.)

1911 *pus; *puəs (& *puus?); *pəs barking deer.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **por**, Riang-Lang **ṽpos**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauh**, Lawa Umphai **paus**.

B: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **púas**, Semai dialects **pɔ:s** (DIFFLOTH 1977) (& **pɔ:s**; < *puus?), Bru **pɔ:yh**.

C: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon **pəh** *barking deer* (& **peh** *mouse deer* by arbitrary variation), Semang **pās** *kijang* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 76).

Connect Malay **napoh**, ↔ Central Sakai **napöh**.

(SHAFFER 1965 24a, 426.)

***1912 *puus; *puəs heart.**

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; ~ *pnuus >) Biat **nu:ih** *heart (figurative)*, Sre **nus**, Chrau **[play] nu:ih**, Bahnar **nuyh** *heart*, Khasi **'nud**, **[doh]nud** *liver, heart, mind*, Proto-Semai ***noos** *heart* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pɔ:ih** *wood exclusive of bark (?)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **nuər**, Riang-Lang **[kə]nuas** *heart*, Semai II **nɔ:s** *liver*, Central Nicobarese **[ko:i]-pəni:wə**, Nancowry **kúypaúva** *heart* (connection dubious); ~ Old Mon **pumas** /pəmɔs/, Modern Mon **[kon] kəməʔ!**, (learned form) **paomòh** *heart*.

With Central Nicobarese final cf. **kəyu:ə** < 1936 *kruəs.

(SHAFFER 1965 182; BLOOD 1966 234; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63.)

Proto-Austronesian ***put'uq**: Toba Batak **pusu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 124; DYEN 1953 § 64). See BENEDICT 1975 312-13.

(*puus see also 2028 *puh to blow.)

1913 *puəs calf of leg.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **pəh** **[jə:ŋ]**, Chrau **pɔ:ih**, Biat **[plai] pɔ:ih**, Bahnar **poyh**, Jeh, Halang **puayh** *calf of leg*, (merging 1673 *t/p/wər, which see) Palaung **puər** (— **grəŋ**) *calf*, (— **ti**) *forearm*.

(SMITH 1972 510.)

1914 *kpas; *kpa[i]s; by metathesis *[p]kas side of body.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **pɔ**; ~ (*krpas >) Sre **rəpas** *floor-joist, rib*, Chrau **[nti:ŋ] rəpaih** *rib*; → Bahnar **kəpah** *one side*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[nti:ŋ] pa:ih** *rib*.

C: (Mon, North Aslian; ~ *[p]nkas >) Nyah Kur **[cəlur:t] ŋkayh**, Pangan **bengkəh** *rib* (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 101).

Connect Stieng **rəpa:i** *side of body*, (**ti:ŋ** —) *rib*; the same correspondence ad 1944 ***la[i]s**.

*1915 *kpaas cotton.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) (Khmer **ba:h pās** cotton threads tied round corpse ←?) Stieng **pa:h**, Chrau **pa:ih** cotton; ~ Khmer **krəpa:h krapās**, Kuy (k)**pa:h**, Bahnar **kəpayh**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaphaih**, Lawa Umphai **rapas**, Mường **pái** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **vải** cotton; ~ Khasi **kynphad**, **kymphad** (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Cf. Riang-Lang **ṭpay**, probably contaminated by Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975 427, yarn). (SHAFFER 1965 477; SMITH 1972 506; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)

Proto-Austronesian ***kapat'**: Malay **kapas**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 75).

Austroasiatic → Sanskrit **karpāsa-**, see MAYRHOFER 1953-80 i 174.

*1916 *t₂puus; *t₂puəs; *t₂pəs (& *t₂pas?); *t₂piis; *t₂puəʔ to sweep.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **pos**, Modern Khmer **baoh** (→ Chrau **bo:ih?**), Kuy **pə:h**, Stieng **pu:ih**, Jeh **pu:yh** to sweep (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Proto-Semai ***prys** to wipe (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (*t₂npuus >) Kuy **mpə:h** broom; ~ (Jeh? → Bahnar **həpuyh**, **səpuyh** to sweep.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon **twah**, Modern Mon **kwəh** to sweep (or, with derivation, C), Biat **pə:ih** to remove [rust, scales from fish]; ~ (*t₂np- >) Middle Mon **tamah**, Modern Mon **kəməh** broom; by secondary derivation ~ (*prnuəs >) Stieng **brənu:əh** broom.

C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre **pəs**, Biat **pəh** to sweep, (*t₂pas >?), Bru **tapayh** to wipe off, Central Nicobarese **ifa:h-** to brush, sweep, rub off dirt, Nancowry (ʔi)**fáh** brush, sweep; (?) → Röglai **bah**; ~ Biat **mpəh** broom; by secondary derivation ~ Sre **pərnəs** broom.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung **pir**, Riang-Lang **ṭpis**, Praok **pi** to sweep; ~ Bunör **mpih** broom, Riang-Lang **ṭsəmpis** broom, broom-grass; ~ Bateg Nong **təmpes** to wipe; ~ (*t₂rpiis >) Lawa Bo Luang [khauʔ] **ʔaphaih**, Lawa Umphai [hlaʔ] **rapas** broom-grass.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **pəʔ** to sweep; by secondary derivation ~ Thin **pṛnə** broom. (SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFFER 1965 428; BLOOD 1966 48a, b; SMITH 1972 497; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 124.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***pa[]pat'**: Malagasy **fafa** to sweep, clean, Ngaju Dayak **papas** broom, to sweep (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115, ***pat'pat'**); (ii) ***qaput'**: Cham (ha)**puh** broom, Malay **hapus** to efface, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, ***h-**; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) by metathesis ***t'a(N)puq** ~ ***t'apuS**: Malay **sapu** to wipe (off, on), &c.; (*-q) Acehnese **sampoh**, (*-q-[aə]n >) Röglai **hapua** broom; (*-S) Cebuano Bisayan **sapu(ha)** to wipe, Javanese **sapon** sweepings ~ **sapu** broom, to sweep (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149, ***t'apu**); (iv) perhaps (cf. BENEDICT 1975 403, which see) ***t₁a(N)pəS** (& ***piS?**): Malay **tampi** to winnow, Fijian **tavi-a** to sweep, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 131, ***ta(m)pi**; DAHL 1973 § 9.5, 14.9). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 7.)

1917 *rp[ɔ]s *tool, weapon.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **rawas** /rwəs/ *weapon*, Khmer **rəbɔh rapas** *thing, belonging (s), gear, tool*.

Or *-əs.

1918 *rpuus; *rpuəs; *rpuəʔ *second or fourth finger.*

A: (Mon) Mon **puh [toa]** *index finger*; ~ Old Mon **rumpus** /rəmpus/ [*tey*] *finger*, Modern Mon **kəpuh** *index finger*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar dialects [**kɔ:n**] **pɔ:ih**, **pə:ih** *fourth finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre [**ti**] **poa** *fourth finger*.
Connection uncertain Stieng **bɔh** *index finger*.

(*baas see 2032 *bah to flow out.)

1919 *knbis *freshwater shrimp.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəmpùh kəmbis**, Chrau **kəmvih**.
Chrau excludes *-b-.

1920 *c[b]as *light, clear.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **cbah cpās** *'clear, evident, shinging*, Stieng **cəbɛh** *clear, pure*, Kammu-Yuan **pàh** *to be light, to shine; (day) light*, Lawa Bo Luang **puah**, Lawa Umphai **phuas**, Mae Sariang **puaih** *light, bright*.

Connect 1873 *iʔaas to shine? Cf. also 7 *cʔaas &c. *clear, clean*.

1920a *c]nbaas *mouth of fish-trap.*

A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy **mphiah**, Bahnar **səmayh**.

‡1921 *l]baas *plain, expanse.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Muong **pai** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **bãi** *flat expanse*; ~ Literary Mon **labah** *plain*.

Proto-Austronesian *la(N)bat': Malay **lawas** *clear, vacant...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*bi[]s see 2038 *buh ...to boil.)

1921a *bəs *snake.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **pùəh bas'**, Sre **bəs**, Chrau **vih**, Biat **beh**, Bahnar **bih** (!), Jeh **bàyh**, Halang **bèh**, Central Nicobarese **pai^c**, **pai^j** (!), Nancowry **pác**.

Bahnar contaminated by **bih** *poison* ← Sanskrit **viṣa-**/Pali **visa-**.
(SHAFFER 1965 40; BLOOD 1966 43; SMITH 1972 494.)

(***bu(u)s** see 2038 ***buh** to bubble, boil; *[t₂]**bee[s]** see 123 *[t₂]**be[e]?** Job's tears.)

1922 *mus; *muus to clear for cultivation.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **mu:ih** (or **B?**), Sre **mus**, Chrau **mu:ih**, Biat **mu:ih** to clear [forest].

B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **muyh**, Jeh, Halang **mu:yh** to clear [forest], Proto-Semai ***muus** to break ground in order to extract something (DIFFLOTH 1977). (SMITH 1972 496.)

(***muus** see also 2045 ***muh** nose; ***cmas** see 1894 ***k[m]cas** to sneeze.)

1923 *rmaas; *rmi[i]s rhinoceros.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **rəmi:əh ramās**, Stieng **rəma:h**, Bahnar **rəma:ih** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamaih**; → Cham **ramu:h** (→ Röglai **rəmu?**), Jarai **rəma:h**, North Röglai **lumāh**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **rəmis**, Biat **rmih** rhinoceros, (?) Chrau **rəmi:h** gaur. With South Bahnaric fronting cf. 1381 ***m-yaam**; 1651 ***[]maar**. (SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 211.)

(***yaas** see 1873 ***iʔaas** to shine.)

†1924 *ris; *riis liver.

A, B: (Mon, Palaungic, Aslian) Praok [**rəm**] **ri** heart, mind, Che' Wong **ros** (!), (B) Semai I **ri:s** liver; ~ Old Mon **gris** /**grəs**/ internal organs, Modern Mon **krəh** liver, heart (A), Semelai **gəris** liver.

Add as derivation 1937 ***cris** rib-cage? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63, 64 (b).)

Sora ə-'gare:-n, Kharia gə're liver, &c. (PINNOW 1959 181; Proto-Munda ***gəre**).

1925 *ris; *riis; *rəs; *rəs to live; alive, fresh, raw.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **rəh** green, (still) alive, Sre **ris** fresh, raw, (&/or C) Chrau **rih** to live, Biat **reh** to live; alive, raw.

B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?South Aslian) Proto-Semai ***rees** (DIFFLOTH 1977), (or A?) Semelai **ris** to live; ~ Bahnar **arih**, Gölar Bahnar **hərih** to live; ~ (*[s]**nriis** >) Bahnar **adrih**, Gölar Bahnar **hədrih** green, fresh, raw, Jeh **adrih** unripe, Halang **drih** green.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **rùəh ras'**, Stieng **reh**, (or A?) Nancowry **ʔəh** to live (< ***yəh**); ~ Khmer **sɾəh sras'** fresh, green.

D: (Central Aslian) Semai I **rə:s** to live.

(BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 333, 349; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 57 (b).)

1926 *ris; *riəs earthworm.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùh rs** [dɿy].

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **riər**.

Riang-Lang **_luar** is < **1666a *luər**.

1927 *ris; *riəs; *rəs; *rʔiəs (& *rʔis?) root.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Mon **rəh**, Nyah Kur **rih** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N81), Khmer **rùh rs**, Kuy **rəh**, Bru **rè:h** (or **B**), Vietnamese **rẽ**, Semelai **res**, (or **D?**) Sabum **ye:s**.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **riəh**, Sre **rias**, Biat **rəh** (probably, rather than **C**), Jeh **riayh**, Halang **riah**, Kammu-Yuan **riəs**, Palaung **riər**, Riang-Lang **_ries**, Praok **ria**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəh**, Lawa Umphai **res**, Mae Sariang **yəh**, Central Nicobarese **yiəh**.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rəh**.

D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Jehai **jəʔis**, Semai **rəʔis**, Proto-Semai ***rʔiəs** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Chrau **dəye:ih**.

D obscure. Cf. Palaung **viər**; Khasi **trai** (< ***d-ri??**). Connection uncertain Santali **rəhə'd**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 156 (Proto-Munda ***rəhəd**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 210; SMITH 1972 502.)

(*ris see also **2051 *ruh** to fall, be shed.)

‡1928 *ras; *raas; *riəs to rake, comb, scratch.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Khmer **rəəh rās'** to harrow, rake, Kuy **rəh**, Stieng **rəh** to harrow; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamɔih**, Lawa Umphai **raməs**, Mae Sariang **ʔamɔih** (fruit in combs =) banana.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic, South Aslian) (?) Lawa Bo Luang **raih**, Lawa Umphai **ras** to search, Semang **rāis** to scratch (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 52; but perhaps = Temoq **mərac**); ~ Kuy **kra:h** to comb, Jeh **kra:yh** to rake (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **khrad-khrad** scraping (ly); ~ Mon **krəh** to comb, to harrow, Khmer **krì:əh grās** to search through, Khasi **krad** [hen] to scratch; (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to rummage, perhaps by metathesis (***rgaas** >) Riang-Lang **_kas** to comb [hair when wet]; ~ (***craas** >) Bahnar **cra:ih** to scratch, to comb (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **sra:yh**, **kha:yh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Vietnamese **chải** to comb; ~ Biat **ncra:ih** harrow, rake.

C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **crùas**, **crías** to comb.

C contextually conditioned? Add perhaps Palaung **jar** to comb (MILNE 1931) (< ***rjaas** by metathesis < ***jraas?**); & as derivative **1938 *cra(a)s** to scrape (clean).

Cf. also (i) Mon **khrah** to scratch in the dust, ⇔ Burmese **khraç**; (ii) Riang-Lang **_cəraŋ** comb, perhaps contaminated by **-raŋ** tooth < **709 *sra[a]ŋ**; (iii) **1935 *kruus** to rake, scrape.

(Proto-Austronesian ***ka[r]at'**) Cebuano Bisayan **kalas** (to) rake, harrow.

(***ra(a)s**, ***rə(ə)s** see also 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed; ***rəs** see 160 ***rəʔ** dry; ***rus** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall..., 2052 ***ruh** ...virgin.)

1929 *ruus; *ruəs; *riis to grind down, sharpen.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:h rūs** to whet, sharpen, to plane down; ~ Biat **tro:ih** to plane (& **tru:ih** to file; by arbitrary variation?); (?) → Röglai **jəroh** to plane down with dah, → Sre **jəroh**.
 B: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_ruas** to whet, sharpen; ~ Mon **həròh darah** &c. spurs of cock, Riang-Lang **_cəruas** barb of arrow &c.
 C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **səntrì:s** spurs of cock.
 C secondary. Note Kammu-Yuan **kréh** to plain.

†1930 *r[]uəs elephant.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəwas**, Chrau **rəwe:ih**, Biat **rwəh**, Bahnar **royh**, Jeh, Halang **ruayh**.
 Chrau suggests ***rʔuəs**. But perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ruwas** or the like, cf. 1534 ***ru[wa]y**; then connected by metathesis (***swuər** >) Vietnamese [**con**] **voi**?
 (SHAFFER 1965 209; BLOOD 1966 92; SMITH 1972 511.)
 Sora **rʔa:-n**, compounding form **ra:-n**, Gutob **rʔo:** (PINNOW 1959 K 174).

1931 *ruəs; *rəs (& *ras?); *rəəs; *raas to choose.

- A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **rə:ih** to pick handfuls of; → Cham **rwah**, Jarai **ruah**, Röglai **roah** to choose (→ Sre!); Burmese **rwe:**, → Middle Mon **ruy [cah]**, Modern Mon **rùi**.
 B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_ras**, (or ***ras** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **rəih**, Lawa Umphai **rəs**, Mae Sariang **ɣəih** to choose.
 C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **rə:h rəs**, Bahnar **rəyh**.
 D: (Palaungic) Palaung **rar** (MILNE 1931).
 Cf. Mường **rôy** to gather [flowers] (CUISINIER 1951); Vietnamese **lựa** to choose.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 72; SMITH 1972 495.)

1932 *ruəs quick.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian) Khmer **rù:əh ruəs** quick (ly); ~ Semang **krəs** quickly (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Q 12); ~ Old Mon **pras /prəs/**, Modern Mon **prəh** to be quick.
 Connect Bahnar **hrəh** quick, swift (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (< ***ruəs ruəs**, with *-h by assimilation?); & cf. (i) Proto-Austronesian ***dəyat** to make haste, DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (> Cham **trə:h** quickly, → Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) [**kə**] **drah** very quick); (ii) Khmer **phləh phlas** quickly (TANDART 1935); Thin **ləʔ, ləh** quick.

(***ruəs** see also 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

1933 *[k]r[e]s *bear*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **krer**, Riang-Lang **ṽkres**, Praok **kri**, Lawa Bo Luang **khreih**, Lawa Umphai **kres**, Mae Sariang **khyeih**; → Sre **grih** *Melursus ursinus*.
 Sre ← undetermined (probably Bahnaric) source. But Palaungic *k- perhaps animal prefix; so cf. Mundari **buṛi**, Birhor **buria** *black bear*, PINNOW 1959 267; with **b-** conceivably contaminated by etymon of Kharia **bəŋci** *bear*, &c.
 (SHAFFER 1965 429.)

1934 *kraas *kind of squirrel*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **kra:h** *kind of tree-rat*, Chrau **kra:ih**, Bahnar **kraih** *kind of squirrel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !), Bru **kra:yh** *small kind of squirrel*; ~ Sre **kəras** *small grey squirrel* (→ Röglai **kərhia:**).
 Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan **səŋká:r** *giant squirrel*?
 (SHAFFER 1965 491; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 420.)

1935 *kruus *to rake, scrape*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau **kru:ih** *slidingly out*, Jeh **trù:yh**, **krù:yh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **krur** *to rake* (MILNE 1931), Khasi **khruḍ** *to scrape*; ~ (***knruus** >) Jeh **sidru:yh** *scraping-implement* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
 Connect 1928 *ras &c. *to rake...*? Note also Nancowry **kurís** *to scratch*, **kunrís** *rake*.

1936 *kruəs (& *kruus?); *kr[iə]s *gravel*.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Khmer **kru:əh** **kruəs** *gravel*, Kuy **kru:h** (< *-uus?) *pebbles, gravel*, Stieng **kro:əh** *gravel*, Vietnamese **sỏi p.**, *gravel*, Central Nicobarese **kəyurə** (!) *pebbles*.
 (B; contaminated by 1792 *[b]riəl *pebbles?*; Mon) Mon **kreh** *gravel*.
 With Central Nicobarese final cf. **-pəni:wə** < 1912 *p/n/uəs.

1937 *cris *rib-cage*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **cris** /**crəs**/ *womb*, Modern Mon **səh** *chest* (Literary Mon **sruih** *womb, chest, bosom*), Nyah Kur ***cruiy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N146; implies *-us!), Sakai **chəris** *rib, side* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 102).
 Originally *heart cavity*, ~ 1924 *ris (*heart,*) *liver*?

1938 *cras; *craas *to scrape (clean)*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **shrat** (with *s- by assimilation?) *to scale [fish] with knife &c.*; ~ Khmer **camrās** (GUESDON 1930), Sre **pəras** (→ Röglai **cəpəras**) *to scrape*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **sah s(r)ah** *to clean [rice] by pounding*, Khmer **cra:h** **crās** *to peel, whittle, scrape, scale, brush, sweep*, Nancowry (ʔi)sáh; ~ (***cnraas** >) Mon **kərah** *cleaned [rice]*, Praok **sigra** *to wash*.

~ 1928 ***ra(a)s** to rake, comb, scratch? Khmer **crèəh** clean, pure, clear (~ **cùmvrèəh** to clean) suggests *[c]**rah(-s)**; perhaps construct ***c-ra(a)s** to scrape, ***jraas** < ***jrah-s** to clean, with contamination

1939 *jras; *[j]ruus; *[j]ruəs digit.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdɔih**, Lawa Umphai **ʔrɔs**, Mae Sariang **ʔʔɔih**, Sakai **jâras** finger, toe (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 109 (a)); ~ (***jnras** >) Kuy **nthrèh** nail, Bru **ntrèh**, (~?) Chrau **kəndraih** middle finger or toe; ~ (***jrras** >) Sre ras [ti, jəŋ] finger, toe.

B: (South Aslian; ~?) Semelai **cəru:s** claw, nail.

C: (North & Central Aslian) ~ Jehai **cənrɔs**, Temiar **cənrɔ:s** claw, nail.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***juras**, **B**, **C** by metathesis?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 1.)

1940 *trus; *truus; *truəs male, virile.

A: (Khmer ...) ~ (***tprus** >) Khmer **proh prus** male; → Danaw **ṽp'roh**; (probably, rather than **B**) ~ Old Khmer **tamrus** male.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Nicobaric) Old Mon **trus** /**trus**/, Modern Mon **kraoh** male, Khmer **traoh tros** male, ungelded [animal], (JACOB 1968) *stalwart*, Kuy **trɔ:h** young and wild [cattle]; ~ Khmer **praoh pros** male, Central Nicobarese **paiyu:h** man, person, Nancowry **payúh**.

C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **prəh** ungelded.

Danaw ← Riang-Lang ***prɔs**? Connection dubious Sanskrit **puruṣa-**.

(***srɔs** see 160 ***rɔʔ** dry.)

***1941 *las (& *laas?); *laʔ lazy, idle.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) ~ Old Mon **linlas** /**lənɬɔs**/ to be idle, Modern Mon **kənùh** to be lazy, (~?) Praok **ne** (or **B**) idle, (*-aas?) Central Nicobarese **enla:h-[ŋəʃe]** lazy, Nancowry **lāhŋasi** very little; ~ Biat **rləh** idle.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, see 189 ***laʔ** **liiʔ** careless, slovenly.)

Proto-Austronesian (i, ad **A**) *(**S**)**al[aə]t'**: Cham (**a**)**lah**, Jarai **alah**, Röglai, North Röglai **alah**, Acehnese **m-alaih**, Malay **m-alas** lazy; → Bahnar **alah** (rather than Malay as DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, ***malət'**); (ii, ad **B**) perhaps ***ləlaq**: Javanese **lələh** slow, dragging, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *-**h**; Proto-West-Indonesian).

Cf. Sanskrit **alasa-** lazy, apparently → Sora **'adasa:-**. Connection dubious Sora **'rondur:-**.

1942 *[]las time, occasion.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Old Mon **las** occasion, Bahnar **lah** (!)time, once, Jeh **[ku] llayh** at once, Halang **[mə]leh** [one] time.

Perhaps ***rlas**; **rl-** is not attested in Lamphun inscriptions.

1943 *las; *laas intensive.

- A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer [cbah]-ləəh *lās'* very [clear] (?), Stieng ləh *all*.
 B: (Mon) Mon lèh lèh [not] *at all*.

(*las see also 2064 *lah *to leave*; 2066 *lah *finished*; *laas see also ib.; 191 *laʔ *to spread, extend*.)

1944 *la[i]s fathom.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre la:s, Chrau, Biat la:i; ~ Bahnar playh.
 Connect Stieng la:i; the same correspondence ad 1914 *kpa[i]s. But perhaps = 191
 *laas < *lah-s ...*to extend*.
 (SMITH 1972 508.)

***1945 *ləs; *l[a]s to weaken.**

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer lùəh *las'* *to reduce, to lose [consciousness]*, Sre ləs *deterioration [in illness], relapse*, West Bahnar [lo:c] lih *to die of [illness &c.]*
 (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 B: (Katuic; or *li(ə)s?) Kuy lèh *to die*.
 Connection uncertain BLOOD 1966 121 *n₁[]ah *to get worse*.
 Proto-Austronesian (i) *lələt': Javanese lələs *to lose consciousness*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (ii) *malət': Toba Batak malos *to wilt*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105; less Malay, ad 1941 *las).

1945a *ləs to beat, to fight.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung lər *to beat*, Praok la *to struggle, compete*; ~ Praok kla *to strike*; ~ (*krləs >) Kammu-Yuan krés *to beat horizontally with rod*; ~
 (*(k)pləs >) Riang-Lang plas *to struggle*.
 Connect perhaps Palaung luh *to hit, beat*; then *ləh-s ~ *luh.

(*ləs see also 2067 *loh *to unravel, unfold*; *ləs see 195 *lɔʔ *kind of jar or pot*; *lo[]s see 2067 *loh *to unravel...*; *luus, *luəs see 1084 *luət *to draw out*.)

1946 *klis to strip [plant].

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre klis, Biat kleh *to strip [leaves] off*; ~ (*krlis >) Halang ləleh *to cut off thorns*, by metathesis Biat rkleh *to remove seeds*.
 Connect A187 *[]keh? Cf. also Chrau rəh *to strip kernels from maize cob*, Proto-Mnong *reh *to harvest* (BLOOD 1966 249).

***1947 *klais lightning.**

- A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng kla:h *lightning close at hand*; ~ (*knlais >) Sre kənas, Biat ŋla:i;h, Bahnar glayh, Kammu-Yuan cəntrà:s *lightning*.
 Vocalism rests on Munda.
 Sora 'kila:i-[gum-ən], 'kina:j-[gum-ən].

1948 *cl[ɔ]s to throw.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klɔh** to throw (at, away) (merging 2072 *c-luəh to abandon); ~ Khmer **crəlɔh** *cralas'* to throw, hurl.

Or *-əs.

1949 *[d₁l][a]s voice, speech.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **rəs** voice, cry, sound, (?) Praok **lua**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdɔih** loud; ~ Thin **hrlɔ** word, speech, language.

Cf. Praok **lo** voice, utterance, loud But connection dubious Khmu' **sroʔ** word; as 1964 *rʔah to say, speak.

(*mle[]s see 224 *mleʔ to hate; *rlas see 1942 *[]las time, occasion; *slaas see 231 *slaʔ fire, to burn.)

1950 *was; *waas; *wəs to wave, beckon.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **wah** [ti:] to beckon, Vietnamese **văy** to wave.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vì:əh** **vās** to gesticulate; ~ Chrau **ləwa:ih** to beckon, wave to.

C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **văy** = **văy**; ~ Biat **rweh** to beckon. Earlier *wa(a)y-s, ~ 1529 *wa(a)y ...to wave?

1951 *was; *waas; *wəs to measure.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vəəh** **vās** to measure [linear dimensions], Chrau **wayh** to weigh, measure (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **wəh** [toa] to count on [one's fingers], Sre **was** to measure [linear dimensions, volume], Bahnar **wa:ih** to measure, weigh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **wəy**h to weigh, measure, Biat **wəh** to measure. (BLOOD 1966 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 74.)

(*waas see also 2081 *wah (to make an) opening, (clear a) path; *kwis see 1864 *ksiw to whisper; *ŋwəs see 1885 *ŋ[]əs to wake (v.i.); *t₁[wə]s see 1899 *t₁uəs to proclaim; *[l]waas see 2083 *[l]wah wide; *suəs see 2088 *suəh empty.)

1952 *tsiəs to dismember.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **c(h)ies** to tear or pull to pieces with fingertips, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **ceh**, Lawa Umphai **ces** to tear (v.i.t.), Mường **thia** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **tĩa** to trim, prune, to shell [peas &c.], to beat or kill one by one.

Cf. 1982 *ci(ə)h to split.

1953 *[ts]uəs *dah, knife*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **yoas dah**, Chrau **ye:ih** *bush-knife with long curved handle*, Palaung **[bot] suər**, Riang-Lang **c(h)uas** *knife, dagger*.

Connect perhaps (***tnsuus** > ?) Chrau **[pih] kəno:ih** *curved knife*.

1954 *chəs (chəs) [*foot*] *to strike ground*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kəchəh** *trot* (< ***chəs chəs**); by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **təkchas** *to paw the ground*.

(***chuu[s]** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** *to rot*.)

1955 *thaas *salver, tray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **thah** *large metal dish*, Modern Mon **thah** *brass tray*, Old Khmer **thās**, Modern Khmer **tha:h** *metal tray*, Kuy **tha:h**, Stieng **tha:h**, Chrau, Biat **tha:ih** *large tray*; → Thai **thāat**.

(SCHMIDT 1905.)

(***ʔeh** see 1963 ***bVʔeh** *to abuse*.)

1956 *ʔah *flesh, meat*.

A: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **àh**, Central Nicobarese **ā:hə**, Nancowry **ʔāha**.

1957 *ʔəh *younger sibling*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **oh**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **əh**, Jeh, Halang **oh**.

Cf. 5 ***ʔ[ə]ʔ** *elder sibling*.

(SHAFFER 1965 504; BLOOD 1966 258; SMITH 1972 380.)

1958 *ʔuh; *ʔa[]h; (*ʔuh ʔuh > ?) *huh (& *huuh?); *huəh; *ha[]h *to blow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau **uh**, Biat **oh** *to blow [wind instrument]*, Semelai **[ʔah]ʔəh** *to blow, shoot with blowpipe*, Mah Meri **ʔəh** *to blow*; ~ Bahnar **səʔuh** *to breathe out*; ~ Proto-Semai ***tʔuh** *to shoot with blowpipe* (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Temoq **bərʔəh** *to blow*.

B: (South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semelai **ʔah[ʔəh]** *to blow, to shoot with blowpipe*, Central Nicobarese **ā:h** *life*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ho:ih-[ā:hə]**, Nancowry **hús** *air* (< ***huuh?**; beside **ho:ʃ-hətə** [*wind*] *to blow*; contaminated by 877 ***huuc** *to whistle?*); ~ Praok **phu**, Lawa Umphai **phoh** [*wind*] *to blow*; ~ Khasi **pyrhut** *breezy, windy*.

D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **phuah** [*wind*] *to blow*, Nancowry **huās** *to pant*, Bru **rahuah** *to breathe shallowly*.

E: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ha:h-[haiŋe]** *to sigh* (& **hā:ʃ** *wind*), Nancowry **hās** *wind*.

Onomatopoeic Palaung **huh** to *gulp in [air]*, ~ **kənhuh** to *sigh*, is rather < 2087
 ***suh** to *make sibilant sound*. Note Vietnamese **thở** to *breathe*; Kuy **ɲɿh** to *breathe*,
 Bru **taŋu̯h** to *breathe*.

1959 ***ʔuuh** to *ululate*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **u** [*dogs*] to *howl*, Khasi **ud** to *groan*,
complain, [*insect*] to *whine*; ~ Biat **mʔuh** [*bull*] to *bellow*, Kammu-Yuan **pəʔu̯h**
moaning sound.

Connect perhaps (i) A186a ***rnʔəh** to *lament*; (ii) Khmer **pru̯h bru̯h**, Stieng **bluh** to
bark (< ***mrʔuh** by metathesis < ***rmʔuh**? then to be separate Kuy **kroh**,
 Vietnamese **sũa**, < ***kru(ə)h**; Central Rölöm, Bunör **grəh**, B260, ← Indonesian
 ***də[ɣr]ut**: Cham **krəh**, &c., Acehnese **droih**).

1960 ***cʔeh**; (***cʔeh-s** >) ***cʔees** to *stink*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chʔeh ch'eh** (*to*) *stink*; ~ Mon **həeh ja'eh** to
stink; ~ Khmer **cəmʔeh**, Stieng **ciʔih** *feral smell, stink of urine* &c.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng **e:h, i:h** to *smell (v.t.)*; ~ Khmer **cəmʔaeh cam'əs**
feral smell, stink of urine (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.).

Cf. Khasi [**iw-tung iw**]-*sit smell of urine*; & 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to *rot*, with which Kammu-
 Yuan **úas, ʔwúas** to *stink*, may rather be connected.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; cf. PINNOW 1959 K 193a.)

(***cʔah** see 7 ***cʔaʔ** *clear, clean*.)

1961 ***[c][m]ʔah** *nasal mucus*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Riang-Lang **sʔa** *excreted nasal mucus*, Semang **hēmah**
mucous discharge from nose (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98;
 contaminated by **hāmoh** < 1655 ***s/n/muər**?).

(***cʔuh** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to *rot*.)

*1962 ***[t₁]ʔah**; (***t[ʔ]ah-s** >) ***t[ʔ]aas** *forehead*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ ***[t₁]rʔah** >) Kammu-Yuan **kətáh**, Palaung **kədah**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ ***tn[ʔ]aas** >) Khmer **thja:h thnās**, Stieng **taŋaʔh**.

Connection dubious Semang **ɔwəs** (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 224;
 as 1699 ***rʔal** &c.

Proto-Austronesian ***d₁aqiS**: Malay **dahi**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41, ***[dd]ahaj**; DYEN
 1965; DAHL 1973 § 14.5). See BENEDICT 1975 284, *face*...

1963 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bVʔeh** > ***ʔeh**, Pre-Palaungic ***ʔeh** to *abuse*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **beh** [**lèak**], Biat [**tə:m**] **beh**, Palaung **eh**.

1964 *rʔah to say, speak.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Stieng **lah** to speak, say..., Sre, Biat **lah**, Palaung **dah**, Riang-Lang **ṽda**, (~?) Praok **a**, Lawa **ʔah**, Mae Sariang also **ʔauh** to say; ~ Riang-Lang **rəma** to speak, talk, to call; by secondary derivation ~ Bateg Deq, Bateg Nong **kədəh** to say.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **sa**, **sah** to say that... . But connection dubious Bahnar **pəma**: speech; to say, speak; as **1949** *[d₁l][a]s voice, speech.

(BLOOD 1966 304; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 360 (b).)

(*rlʔəh see 1700 *rʔəlh each, every.)

1965 *lʔəh; (*lʔəh-s >) *lʔəəs to make, do.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng, Sre, Biat **ləh** to do, Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **ləh** to allow to, Kammu-Yuan **əh** to make, do; ~ (*lmʔəh >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔboh**, Lawa Umphai **woh** to build.

B: (Palaungic; *lʔəəs lʔəəs > *ur-ur >?) Palaung **rur** to do, make, work, build. Connection uncertain Praok **yu**, Lawa **yuh** to make, do.

(BLOOD 1966 403.)

1966 *sʔuh; *sʔuuh to sweat.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **sʔoh s'uḥ** sultry, stifling; ~ (*smʔuh >) Bahnar **bəuh** (to) sweat; → North Röglai **[ta]baʔuh**; ~ (*srʔuh >) Kuy **sʔoh** overheated, Chrau **səʔuh** sweaty [hands], West Bahnar **həuh** sweating violently (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **həuh** sweat, Acehnese **röʔoh** (to) sweat; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **[om] rəmuḥ** sweat (MILNE 1931).

B: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **[om] rəmuḥ** sweat (MILNE 1931). Connect Jeh **kasuʔ**, Halang **kəsuʔ**? cf. SMITH 1972 324.

1967 *k[i]i[h]; *kiə[h] kind of deer or goat.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **kaeh kəḥ** kind of deer or mountain goat horns of which are used in medicine, Lawa Bo Luang **kaiḥ**, Lawa Umphai **ces** kind of deer (Rangsit mountain goat); → North Röglai **keh** ibex, mouse deer.

B: (Khasi, Katuic) Khasi **khiat** moss-deer, musk-deer, Bru **kəḥ** mountain goat, Pacoh **kəḥ** mountain goat.

Or *-s? if so, A *kais. Cf. Thai **kèʔ** sheep.

1968 *[]kah to unfasten.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat **[tə:m] khah** (!) to take apart, Bahnar **kah** to separate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **kăh**, Palaung, Lawa **kah**, Praok **ka** to untie; ~ Biat **ŋkhah** to separate, push aside, Praok **ga** to be loosened, displaced, to displace, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔangah**, Lawa Umphai **ŋgah** to be separated.

Cf. Vietnamese **cởi**, **cởi** to untie, unfasten.

1969 *kəh to cut (down).

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy **koh** (!) *to lop*, Stieng **kəh** *to cut, lop*, Sre **koh** *to cut (down, up)*, Biat **kəh** *to cut (up, off)*, Bahnar **kəh** *to cut*, Jeh **koh** *to chop*, Halang **koh** *to chop, cut*, Kammu-Yuan **kóh** *to cut*, Palaung **koh** *to cut (down, off)*, Semai **koh** *to cut*, Nancowry **ʔukóh** *to murder*; → Cham, Acehnese **kəh**, Röglai, North Röglai **koh**; ~ Kuy (ŋ)**kah** *to chop [wood]*; ~ Khasi **dkhot** *part, piece, member*.

Connect Palaung **ŋoh** *to lop, cut branches off*. Cf. 958 *ka(a)t.

(SHAFFER 1965 55; SMITH 1972 381; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

(*cnk[i]h see 18 *cnk[i]ʔ waist.)

1970 *ckəh dry.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəh skah** &c. *to be dry*, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəkəy̯ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V248; implies *-s), Stieng **khə:h, kə:h** *dry, dried up* (& **khə:**; → Khmer **khah khah**, → Stieng **kha:h** *dry, dried up?*), Biat **kəh** *(dry) land*, (— **da:k**) *landing-place*, Sre **kəh** *sloping*; ~ Middle Mon **jamkah** *dry*.

Sre by attraction etymon of Biat **kər** *slope*? Connection obscure Bahnar **khə:**, **khəh** *dry* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Vietnamese **khô**; Cham **khauw**. Cf. 2086 *s[ɔ]h &c.; 160 *rɔʔ &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1971 *jkuh; *jkuəh white, clean.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəh** *to be white*, Khmer **skùh sguh** *pure white*, Sre **kuh** *pale grey*.

B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gəh** *clean, white* (→ Jeh **goh** *clean*); ~ Bahnar dialects **cəguah** *clean, white* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*j**bkuəh** >) Sre **səkoh**, Chrau **səkəh** *to clean, sift [rice]*, Bahnar dialects **pəguah** *to clean* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Proto-Semai ***bkooh** *shiny greyish- white* (DIFFLOTH 1977) Cf. 25 *skɔʔ *grey-haired*.

(Cf. SMITH 1972 385.)

***1972 *[d]kah; *lkas to break.**

A: (Mon, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*[d]**nkah** >) Mon **həkah dakah** &c. *to break (v.i), burst, split, crack*, ~ (*[d]**bkah** >) Mon **həkah** *to break (v.t.)*, (or Indonesian →) Central Sakai **bəkah** *to crack*.

B: (Kuy, Khasi) Kuy **ŋkah** *brittle*, Bru **luŋkayh** *fragile*; Khasi **dkhat** *to break off, snap*.

A cf. 2074 ***klah**. Connection dubious Sre **dərkaʔ**, Röglai **jərkaʔ** *to break in two* unless Sre ← Röglai ← Mon-Khmer, (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 375.)

(~) Proto-Austronesian ***bə(N)kaq**: Javanese **běngkah** *to split*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; DYEN 1953 § 113). Note also Malay **chěkah** *to split open by pressure*.

1973 *dk[a]h to remember.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **kah** to remember, to miss, feel nostalgic about, Chrau **kah**, Biat **kah** [gwt] to remember, Central Nicobarese **əka:h** to know, understand, Nancowry **káh**, **ʔakáh**; ~ Khmer **tùəŋkùh** (!) **daŋgih** to think sadly about, Sre **tənkah** to remember, recall.

Khmer vocalism obscure.

(SHAFFER 1965 45.)

1974 *gah side, edge, direction.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **gah** side, border, edge, Bahnar **gah** direction, towards; (probably) → Cham **kà:h**, Jarai **ga:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **gah**; ~ (***.ngah** >) Kuy **ŋàh** rim, edge, Bahnar dialects **ŋah** edge or mouth of hole &c. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **ngả** direction, way.

1975 *gah; (*gah-s > ?) *gaas outside.

A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dialects **agah** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ↔ North Röglai **aga**; ~ ↔ Röglai **təgah**; Jarai **pʰga:h**, Jarai dialect **ga:h**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ga:h**; ~ **aga:h**; ~ Bahnar **ʔŋayh**.

Connect obscure Old Mon **rumnās** /**rəmŋas**/, Modern Mon **pəŋèh**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

1976 *guh; *guus to swell.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **guh** to open, to swell (MILNE 1931), Praok **go** [gluŋ] to swell.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kùh** to swell up, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V250), Palaung **guh** to open, to swell (MILNE 1931).

Cf. further Palaung **gu** to swell with damp.

1977 *guh; *guuh; (?) *guəh to glow, burn.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **pgoh** /**pguuh**/, Modern Mon **həkèh** to blow (originally ...into flame?).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **guh** to blaze; ~ (***pguuh** >) Riang-Lang **_ku** to blow (out).

C: (South Bahnaric; ?) Sre **goh** bright, light (→ Röglai).

Add following? Cf. also 1575 ***gəər** to catch fire.

1977a *guuh red.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **guh** reddish, russet, Bahnar dialects **goh**, **go:** red (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

= preceding?

1978 *g[uə]h to knock, beat, hit.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kùəh goh** to kick or kick away, beat [gong, mat], knock [e.g. at door], Kuy **khà:h** to knock, tap on, Chrau **gəh** to knock, hit, Biat **gəh** to knock at [door], beat [gong]; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ŋgah**, Lawa Umphai **ŋgoh**, Mae Sariang **ŋguh** to hit, beat, (~?) Vietnamese **gõ** to knock on, tap, rap.

1979 *d₁ngah crossroads.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin **[ŋər] tǎŋga**, Vietnamese **ngã** [ba &c.].

(*rg(u)əh, *rguuh see 29 *rguu? to shake.)

†1980 *sgeh to acquire, possess.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **-sghi /sgeh/** to be rich, Literary Mon **sgeh** to prosper, to be endowed with, Sre **geh** to have, possess, Biat **geh** to have, possess, to acquire, Chrau **geh** to have, be, to be able.

(BLOOD 1966 246.)

Sora **bo'ge-** to become rich, probably = **bu'ge-** to become stout (& Santali **boge** good, &c., PINNOW 1959 229?).

(Proto-Austronesian ***t'ugiq**) Javanese **sugih** rich, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 67; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). If Mon-Khmer → Indonesian, borrowing route obscure.

(*ŋ[ɔ]h see 30 *ŋ[ɔ]ʔ to fear.)

1981 *t.ŋ[ɔ]h cranium.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **təŋoh** brain, West Bahnar **təŋəh** skull (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*sŋih see 37 *sŋiʔ house.)

1982 *cih; *ciəh to split (v.t.).

A: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **saih** to cut up, divide up.

B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **səh** to split [wood] into splinters (& to tear; ← Riang-Lang **ˀciəs** < 1952 ***tsiəs**, which compare?), Mường (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209), Vietnamese **chẻ** to split [wood] (& Vietnamese **xẻ** to split up, cut (up), saw up; contaminated by **xé** to tear < 1689 ***chiərʔʔ**); ~ Kuy **ceh** to hatch (v.t.), Bahnar **ceh** to hatch.

Cf. 291 ***caak** &c.

1983 *ceh; *ceʔ kind of jar.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **ceh** small jar, Old Khmer **ceh** jar, Bru **ceh** jar; → Jarai **chəh** jar, Röglai **ceh** squat type of jar, North Röglai **ceh** jug; → Bahnar **ceh** jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ché** jar.

‡1984 ***cuḥ**; ***cuəḥ** to *kindle, blow into flame*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar **səḥ** (with vocalism as in 527 ***cuuṅ**), Jeh, Halang **cuḥ** to *light, kindle*; ~ Sre **sənuḥ** *bellows*; ~ Khasi **pyrsut** to *blow; bellows*, ?Nancowry **jōḥ** *chafe, burn*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **səḥ** to *light, kindle*.

(SMITH 1972 373.)

Proto-Austronesian ***k'uqk'up** to *light, kindle*: Acehnese **coh**, Cham, Jarai, North Röglai **cuḥ**, Malay **chuchoh**, Tagalog **suso** (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Khasi at least not ← Indonesian!

1985 ***cuḥ** to *bend down, to go down*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Khmer **cuḥ**, Modern Khmer **coh** to *go down, to submit, obey*, Stieng **cuḥ** *tame, broken in*, Khasi [**ar**]**sut** *down, downwards*, (~; or with **c-** by levelling on der.) Kammu-Yuan **cúḥ** to *bend down, look down*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəncúḥ** to *bend down*.

To go down by attraction 1887 ***cis** &c.?

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

1986 ***[c][u]h**; ***[c][u]ʔ** to *wake*.

A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Biat **chōḥ** to *arise, come into being* (?; if cognate, ***c-**), (~?) Praok **so** to *rouse*; ~ Palaung **rəsūḥ** to *wake* (v.i.).

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **kyrsiew** to *wake* (v.t.).

1987 ***[ʔ]cəḥ** to *peck, to strike with adze, hoe, &c.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer **cəḥ coh** [e.g. woodpecker] to *make hole in [tree]*, Kuy **cəḥ** to *undergo vaccination, to plant*, Stieng **cəḥ** [bird, snake, fish] to *bite, peck at*, Biat **cəḥ** to *chop up, mince*, Bahnar **cəḥ** to *break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe*, Kammu-Yuan **sóḥ** to *cut [firewood]*, chop, hoe, Pangan [**ya**]-**chah** to *chop at* (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296); → Cham **cəḥ** to *dig with hoe*, Jarai **cəḥ** to *break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe*, Röglai **coh** to *dig with hoe, to split firewood*, North Röglai **coh** to *peck*, Acehnese **cəḥ** to *peck, [snake] to strike*; ~ Sre **jəcoh** to *chop up, mince*, Chrau **təcəḥ** to *chop up*, Bahnar **cəcəḥ** to *chop, to flatten with dah*; → Cham **tacəḥ**, Jarai **t'cəḥ**, Röglai **jəcoh**, North Röglai **ticoh** to *chop up, mince*.

= 1989 ***[t]c[ɔ]h** to *kick*, which compare? Cf. also following & 1993 ***juuh** &c.

(***kcah** see 1892 ***kcas** charcoal.)

1988 ***[k]cuḥ** to *pierce*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Sre (→ Röglai) **cuḥ**, Biat **coh** to *pierce holes in*, Palaung **cəḥ** to *chisel*, Besis **chōḥ** to *pierce, penetrate* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296).

Cf. preceding & 1993 *juuh &c. *to peck*...

1989 *[t]c[ɔ]h to kick.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Sre **coh**, Chrau **cɔh**, Palaung **coh**, **cɔh** (MILNE 1931), Semang **tějāh** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 23 (a)); → Cham **cɔh**, Rōglai **coh**.

Cf. A179 *[k]cəs. = 1987 *[ʔ]cɔh *to peck*...? If so, the same semantics in Mon **bək**.

***1990 *[p]cah to break.**

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **cah** *to break in pieces*, Biat **cah** *(to get) broken*, Bahnar **cah** *broken* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **bəcah**, Chrau **pəcah** *(to get) broken*, Bahnar **pəcah** *to break* (v.i.t.); (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar dialects **kəcah** *splinters, sherds* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 285.)

Proto-Austronesian *pək'aq: Cham **pacah** *to break*, &c., Malay **pěchah** *broken*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 116, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62); ~ *k'aqk'aq: Javanese **chachah** *chopped fine*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86, *k'ak'ah; add Cebuano Bisayan **sàsa** *to crack and flatten bamboo*). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian?

(*pca[]h see 1895 *pcaas *sour*.)

1991 *jah to scatter.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Mon **cəh** *to be diffused, wafted, (prah —) scattered*, Khmer **cəəh jah** *to throw [water] from container*, Kuy **chà:h** *to throw [liquid]* with secondary lengthening, Palaung **jah** *to spread [seed] out*; → Thai **chá** *to rinse, wash, purify*.

***1992 *juh distant.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **juh**.

Proto-Austronesian *d'a(S)uq: Malay **jauh**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; with *da'əh, DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, = *Za(S)uq, DYEN 1951, DAHL 1973 § 16.4; contra, SHORTO 1975 94).

1993 *juuh; *juəh to peck, dart and strike.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ju:h** *to stab*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Bahnar **jɔh**, Jeh, Halang **joh** *to peck, [snake] to strike*; ~ (? , *jrjuəh by metathesis >) Biat **jrɔh** *to dig with a spade*.

Cf. 1987 *[ʔ]cɔh (also for semantics); 1988 *[k]cuh *to pierce*.

(SMITH 1972 384.)

1994 *juuh; *jəh; *juu? to stay, linger.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **juh** to stay; ~ Riang-Lang **təkcū** to perch, rest.

B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **jəh** to rest, stay (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **njəh** to stay, take refuge.

C: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Kuy with secondary lengthening **chà:u** to stop, Bru **càw** (!), Sre **jou** to visit.

Cf. Old Mon **jūl** /**jul**/ to cease from activity, Modern Mon **cū** to rest.

†1995 *[r]njuh; *[r]njuuh; *[r]nj(u)əh to shake.

A, B: (Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kəpəcūh kañjuh** to shake (v.t.) (TANDART 1935), Kuy (A) **(kh)chūh** to shake (out), West Bahnar **rəyuh** to shake (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **(b) giũ** to shake [dust, water] off; → Cham **yuh** to tremble, to shake (v.t.), Jarai **rəyuh** to shake violently, Rōglai **ayuh** to shake.

C: (Mon) Mon **kəyòh layah** to shake off.

Cf. 1898 ***jas** to shiver. Connect Nancowry **kumcéh** to shake, Bru **?ayèh**.

(~) Sora **ju:-** to shake (v.i.t.). Cf. Kharia **jur-**, &c., PINNOW 1959 138.

(***nah** see 60 ***ja?** person.)

1996 *t₁ih large.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Chrau **tih** wide, spacious, Biat **teh**, Stieng, Bahnar **tih**, Jeh, Halang **tih**, South Nicobarese **[om]tē** large.

(SMITH 1972 337; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 205 (a).)

(***t₁ih**, ***t₁iəh** see (also) 64 ***t₁i?** earth, ground.)

1997 *t₁eh to hit, strike, beat, kick.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **teh** to kick backwards, Kuy **teh** to strike [e.g. flint on steel], Sre (→ Rōglai) **teh** to hit with downward movement, Bahnar **teh** to hit with small stick, to beat flat, beat out, Kammu-Yuan **tés** to strike fire, Lawa Bo Luang **təih** to kick; ~ Sre **tərneh**, Bahnar **təneh**, Kammu-Yuan **tərnès** tinder-box.

Separate Riang-Lang **ti** to strike, hit, beat, ← Shan **tí** to strike lightly ← Burmese **tī**.

1998 *t₁ah; (*t₁ah-s >) *t₁aas; *t₁a? level.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **[təp] tah** to be level, West Bahnar **tah** **[ta:ŋ]** flat, level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang (***təkta** by secondary expansion >) **tak ta** scraper for threshing-floor.

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **tah**, Modern Mon **tah** to level.

C: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **da: t̃ā** stone slab, Central Nicobarese **tə:** flat, level, Nancowry **té** level; ~ Khasi **pynthā** plain.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 18.)

‡1999 *t₁ɔh *breast, mamma*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *tohh* /tɔh/, Modern Mon *tɔh*, Old Khmer *toh*, Modern Khmer *dɔh*, Kuy, Stieng *tɔh*, Sre *toh breast*, Chrau [da:ʔ] *tɔh milk*, Biat, Bahnar *tɔh*, Jeh, Halang *tuh*, Praok *tu*, Lawa Umphai *taus*, Mae Sariang *tauh* (!), Semelai *tuh*, Central Nicobarese *toəh breast*, Nancowry *tuáh*; ~ Stieng *kətoh*, Chrau *gətoh breast*. Waic suggests a variant *t₁uus; by expressive deformation? Cf. 2005 *kt₁əh *chest*. (SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFER 1965 19; BLOOD 1966 264; SMITH 1972 372; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 387 (a).)

Santali *toa*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 263).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *t'u(S)t'uS: Cham *tathow*, &c., Malay *susu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158-9, *t'ut'u; SHORTO 1975 97, contra DAHL 1973 § 16.1). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 35.)

2000 *toh *to remove*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer *dɔh toh to take [clothes] off, to free, release* (→ Stieng *dɔh to untie, untether, free, redeem*), Kuy *tah to take [clothes] off*, Sre *toh to recover [property]*, Biat *toh to remove [honey from nest]*, Bahnar *tɔh to take out, remove*.

2000a *t₁uh *to regenerate* (?), *re-cultivated land*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khmer) Khmer *doh tuh to grow, sprout, bud* (?), Kammu-Yuan *túh fallow in year after cultivation*; ~ (*t₁npuh >) Sre *mpuh field cultivated for two years*, Biat [neh] *mpoh cultivated [land]*, Bahnar [mir] *təpuh* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (East Bahnar; West Bahnar *puh*) *[field] cultivated for three years*.

2001 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh *to beat esp. with implement*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Literary Mon *toh, tuh to raze, level, smooth, beat down* (by attraction 1998 *t₁ah-s), Bahnar *toh to hit (violently), beat* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin *təh to hit with stick*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *toh* (or A?), Riang-Lang *tu*, Lawa Bo Luang *tauh*, Lawa Umphai *toh to pound*.

2002 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh; *t₁uəh; *t₁əh *bean*.

A, B: (South Bahnaric) Biat *toh* (A), *tuh*, Stieng *tu?* (!; BLOOD 1966 *to:h*), Chrau *tu:h* (B).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang *toh* (C), Bahnar *təh* (D).

Cf. Vietnamese *đậu, đỗ*.

(BLOOD 1966 30; SMITH 1972 355.)

2003 *tuh; *tuəh; *təh to pour out.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Biat **toh** to pour [paddy] out, Sre, Bahnar **tuh** to pour out, Mường **tố** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **đổ** id., to spill; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ndauh**, Lawa Umphai **ndoh**, Mae Sarian **ndoh**, **nduh** to fall, let fall, put in.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tuəh** to draw, transfer, sprinkle [liquid].

C: (South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Sre **təh** to put [cooked rice] into individual bags (DOURNES 1950), Biat **təh** to decant, (?) Lanoh Jengjeng **təh**, Temiar **tə:h** rain. If Lawa is cognate, *t₁-.

2004 *t₁uu[h]; *t₁uəh; *t₁uu? to rub, clean by rubbing.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **taoh tuh**, **toh** to rub, scrub, scour, Khmer **doh tus!** to rub, scrub, polish; → Cham **ḍauḥ**; Thai **t^hūu**.

B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntəh** to rub.

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **tu:** to wash [face]; ~ Biat **rtu:** to wash [face]; ~ (*t₂pt₁uu? >?) Riang-Lang **səktu?** to launder; ~ (*[t₂]nt₁uu? >) Praok **sidaə** to launder.

Thai appears to confirm *-h. Perhaps construct *t₁uu? to wash; *t₁uuḥ &c. to rub, with contamination. Note also A158 *ktuul ...to whet. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 34.)

2005 *kt₁əh chest, thorax.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat [**ta:ŋ**] **təh**, (merging *breast* < 1999 *t₁əh, which compare.) Praok **tu:**; ~ (*knt₁əh >) Sre **ntəh**, Bahnar **kətəh**, Central Sakai **'ntöh**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 380 (b).)

2006 *[c]t[ɔ]h to spit.

A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **sdəh stoḥ**, Bateg Deq **gətəf**, Temiar **gətəh**, (~) Semelai **tahtəh**.

Cf. 2090 *ksəh; contamination is likely.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 390.)

2007 *trtuh to shake.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rətuḥ** to shake (v.t.) (& **rətəs**, → Röglai, to shake up and down, by arbitrary deformation?), Chrau **rətuḥ** to shake (out), scatter, Biat **rtoḥ** to shake down, Bahnar **tətuḥ** to shake.

***2008 *bt₁uh; *bt₁uəh; *bt₁[i]h; *bt₁iəh to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **phtùḥ phduḥ** to crackle, to burst, explode; → Thai **pat^hú?** to explode; Jarai **tuh** to explode; ~ Mon **hətəh batoh**, **batuih** to suppurate, fester, to burst, break out.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **təh** *spark, to give off sparks; (in compounds) eruptive infection*, Sre **toh** *eruption*, Chrau **təh** *pimple*; ~ Chrau **ntəh** *to crackle, explode*; ~ Sre **bərtəh**, Biat **rtəh** *to explode*.

(**C**; or ***-əh?**; Kuy) ~ Kuy **ntəh** *parched rice*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung **təh** [*lightning*] *to strike, [gun] to go off*.

Connect variously Khmer **khtəh khduh** *pus*; 2015a ***pduh** &c.; 74 ***[b]tuu?** *to burst, pustulate*; (***bti?** > ?) Khasi **bthei** *to explode, to burst*; & cf. following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; BLOOD 1966 261.)

Sora **'patui-** *to burst*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***b[a][ɣ]ətiq**: Malay **bərteh** *parched rice*, &c., perhaps Cebuano Bisayan **bagtì** *bone-dry, parched with heat* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 28, ***bə[t]ih**; Proto-Western-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***[b]ətuʔ**: Acehese **b/ör/ötoih**, Malay **m/əl/ētus** *to burst, explode*, Javanese **m/1/ětus**, **m/1/ětus** *to spring apart*, (or Mon-Khmer → ?) Cham **patuh**, Röglai **bətu** *to explode*, North Röglai **patuh** *to crackle, explode* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

2009 ***rt₁ah**; (***rt₁ah-s** >) ***rt₁as**; ***rt₁aas** *to explode*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Biat **rtah** *to burst* (& **tah** [**tər**] *(to) thunder*, by phrasal assonance); ~ (***rnt₁ah** >) Mon **hətah** *to burst, explode*, (with secondary lengthening; or **C?**) Kuy **nthà:h** [**pəp**] [*lightning*] *to strike*; ~ Mon [**həkè**] **kətah**, Khmer **rùəntəəh** (& **?əntəəh**) *lightningbolt*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəltəh**, (by back-formation?) **pətáh** *to burst, split open*; ~ Khasi **pyrthat** *thunder*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **tu** *to flash*, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang [**ta?**] **təuh**, Lawa Umphai **təs** [**ta?**], Mae Sariang **toih** [**ta?**] *lightning*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **tayh** [*lightning*] *to strike*, Bru **təyh** *thunderbolt*.

Cf. preceding. Sakai (i.e. Semelai) **kərentəh** *thunder*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119, is rather connected to 1622 ***gtər**.

(***dih** see 76 ***di?** *to hit, come in contact with*.)

2010 ***dah** (& ***da?**) *to hit, to meet*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Late Old Mon **dah** /**dah**/ *to be contiguous with*, Modern Mon **təh** *to hit (mark), meet with, be correct, to fit*, Khmer **təəh dah** *to slap*, Kuy **thà:h** *to slap, to beat [drum] with hands*, Bru **tà:h** (so ***-aah?** or secondary lengthening?), Stieng **dah** *to hit, attack*, (***da?** > ?) Central Nicobarese **tə:-**, **də:-[hətə]** *to touch*, Nancowry **tə?**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ndah**, Lawa Umphai **nduah** *to slap, hit*, Praok **de** *to strike, beat*; ~ Khmer **prətəəh** *to encounter, meet by chance*.

Cf. 76 ***di?** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

(***dəh** see 78 ***dəə?** *to stop... .*; ***[d][ɔ]h** see 79 ***[d][ɔ]?** *this, here*.)

2011 *rdeh *cart*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **rətèh radeh**, Kuy **rthèh**, Stieng, Kontum Bahnar **rədeh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **ratè:h**, **ritè:h**, Jarai **r^ade:h**, North Rōglai **radeh**; Thai **rat^hé**; ~ Sre (→ Rōglai) **rəndeh**, Chrau **ndeh**; → Biat **rundeh**.

Sre, & Cham &c., exclude *-d-.

(BLOOD 1966 248.)

2012 *[s][d]i[h] *low, below*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic). Stieng **dèh**, **dhèh** *under (neath); low*, Biat **dèh**, Kammu-Yuan **tis** *low*; ~ Thin **(h)nde** *low*, Praok **dè** *to be low, (at) the bottom*.

Connect Chrau **ateh** *below*. Note also Nancowry **mi?ihsi** *low*, **mi?ihla** *shallow*, referred **?ih** *near*; **ha?èhhasi** *to lower*, **la?èssi** *beneath*, and further **kalóh** *beneath*. For Bahnar **kədəh** *short*, ... see 202 *Gliəh.

2013 *dèh *to be born, to give birth*.

A: (& *to move*, contaminated by 2062 *le^h *to go down, out*; Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng, Biat **dèh** *v.i.t.*, Sre **dèh** *to give birth to, lay [egg], put down*, Chrau **dèh** *to give birth*, Sakai **dê** *to lay down* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (b)); apparently → Mường **tê** *to be born* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **đẻ** *to be born*, **đẻ** *to put down*; ~ (*[l]ndeh >) Sre **dèh** *to move (v.i.)*, Bahnar **rəneh** *to be born*; (probably) ~ Biat **ndeh [ntok]** *to move, displace*.

Sora **de:-** *to become* is not connected, cf. PINNOW 1959 333.

(BLOOD 1966 245.)

2013a *đu^h; *đuə^h *to stumble*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy **thù^h** *to trip over*, Bru **kutòh!**; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkəndo** *to stumble*.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmuic; ~ *kđuə^h by secondary derivation ~) Chrau **dəjəh** *to stub toe*, (?) Kammu-Yuan **cəklúah** *slipping up*.

Kuy appears to exclude *kđ- in root. But separate? or *gđ-.

2014 *t₂dih; *t₂dəh; *t₂dī? *near*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Sre (DOURNES 1950), Biat **dih** *outside* (?), Kammu-Yuan **les**, Khmu' **leh**, Kensiu **tədeh** *near*.

B: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **də:h** *near*; ~ (*t₂pđəh >) Mendriq **pədəh**; ~ Stieng **ndə:h**, (~?) Lanoh **pələndəh**.

C: (Palaungic; ~ *t₂ndī? >) Praok **də** *near, to be about, to be about to, to pertain to*, Lawa Bo Luang **sandai?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sandi?** *near*.

Note also Nancowry **?ih**, **?èh**, **tin?èh**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 19.)

2015 *[**ɲ**ɲ[**d**]ah; *[**ɲ**ɲ[**d**]aah; *[**ɲ**ɲ[**d**]aʔ *one of two sides.*

A, B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **dah** *one of a pair (A)*, Sre, Biat **ḍah**, Jeh **nah** *side* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), *one of two sides*, (**B**) Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese *nửa* *half*; ~ (**A/B**) Bahnar **məʔnah** *part, some...others...*

C: (Katuic) Kuy **na:** *side, direction.*

(BLOOD 1966 289.)

2015a *pḍuh; *pḍuəh; (*pḍiəh-s > ?) *pḍiəs *to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.*

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ḍoh** *to explode*, **ḍuh** *pus, to suppurate*, Vietnamese **nổ** *to explode*, Nancowry **ʔuróh** *to hatch eggs*; → Jarai **ḍuh** *to explode*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəltòh** *to explode*; ~ Palaung **pəḍoh** *parched rice.*

B: (Kuy) Kuy **ḍah** *to burst, explode*; ~ **bdah** *parched rice.*

C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **ḍeh** [*sparks*] *to fly*, West Bahnar **ḍeh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **teh**, Lawa Umphai **thias** *to give off sparks.*

Connect **2008** *bt₁uh &c.

2016 *[**s**]ḍuh *to leap, jump.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **stùh** **sduh** *to leap up, spring forward* (with chest register by levelling on derivation); ~ **səmtùh**, **səntùh** *bound, leap*; ~ Sre **səḍoh** *to jump*; ~ Biat **rdoh** *to spring, rush upon, to swoop.*

Sre establishes *-ḍ-. Note Bru **badayh** < *-as *to leap, jump.*

(***nih** see 91 ***niʔ** *this.*)

2017 *neh *finished, over.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **neh** *to be finished; past auxiliary*, Rōngao **neh** (& **ney**) *formerly, recently* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***nəh** see 92 ***nəʔ** *this.*)

2018 *jnah *victorious.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon **jnah** /**jnah**/, Modern Mon **hnèh**, Old Khmer **jnah**, Modern Khmer **chnèəh**, Kuy **nàh** *to be victorious (over)*; → Cham **canṛh**; ~ Literary Mon **jamnah** *victor*, Khmer **cùmnèəh** *victory.*

2019 *t[**rn**]əh *other.*

A: (Mon, Katuic) Middle Mon **tanah**, **tanoh** /**tənh**/, Modern Mon **kənh**, Kuy **nah**, Bru **kanah**.

Katuic probably confirms *-rn-.

2020 *t₁n₁əh *mouth.*

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **nəh**, Kammu-Yuan **tənh**.

(***[b]nah** see 96 ***[b]na?** *you*.)

2021 *piih to wash [clothes].

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **phih** (!; BLOOD 1966 **peh**), Sre, Chrau **pi:h**, Biat, Bahnar **pih**.
connected **2026 *puh to wash**.
(SHAFER 1965 97; BLOOD 1966 49.)

***2022 *pah; *puh; *puəh to slap, hit.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) (Sre **pah** to *clap, slap, punch* perhaps ← Röglai, below; as Khmer **pah** to *hit* ← Cham) Chrau **pah** to *hit*, Praok **pa** to *strike*, Lawa Bo Luang **poh**, (!) Lawa Umphai **phoh**, Mae Sariang **p(h)oh** (by attraction **2026 *puh to wash**) to *hit, beat, launder*; ~ Vietnamese **vả** to *slap*.
B: (Khmer, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **boh puh** to *hit with stick*, Lebir, Kerbat **puh** to *strike* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 496 (c)), Nancowry **ʔufóh** to *stir, beat drum*.
C: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Khmer **bəh poh**, Kuy **pah** to *hammer, drive in*, Palaung **pəh** to *slap*.
Back vocalism secondary.
Proto-Austronesian ***p[ɣ]pəq**: Malay **pěpah** to *strike, beat*, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 75, Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***pəppəh**. Tagalic reflects variants ***paqpaq**, ***piqpiq**; see PRELIMINARY STUDIES...). Cham, North Röglai **pah** to *slap*, Jarai **pah** to *slap, to beat drum*, Röglai **pah** to *slap, clap, punch* are < ***pəqpəq** or ← Mon-Khmer; separate Acehnese **ömpaih** to *beat*, < *-t'.

(***pah** see also 100 ***pa?** *shoulder*.)

2023 *p[ɔ]h (to) flower.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **poh** (to) *flower*, Riang-Lang **ṽpɔ** *bud; to open, flower*, Proto-Semai ***pɣ(ɣ)h** to *blossom* (DIFFLOTH 1977).
= **2029 *puh** &c. to *open*? Then rather ***pə(ə)h**. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 189.)

2024 *pooh to use a bow.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **poh** /**poh**/, Modern Mon **puh** to *shoot with pellet-bow*, Khmer **bəh poh** to *gin [cotton]*, Praok **[ak] po** *bow*; ~ Mon **nuh pnoh** *pellet-bow*, Khmer **phnəh** *bow for beating cotton*, Vietnamese **nỏ** *crossbow*.
= following? Pangan **puh** to *shoot with blowpipe* is < **2028 *puh**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

2025 *p[oo]h to throw (away).

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **bəh poḥ** to throw, (— **baol** &c.) throw away, abandon (→ Kuy **bah** throw away, abandon), Lawa Bo Luang **pəuh**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peuh** to throw away, Vietnamese **bỏ** to put, cast, to leave, abandon.

= preceding?

***2026 *puh to wash.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **puh** to wash [clothes, hair]; ~ Biat **rpoh** to wash [face].

Connect **2021 *piih** to wash [clothes].

Proto-Austronesian ***puqpuq**: Kelabit **pupuq** to wash clothes, Bikol **puqpuq** to wash anus, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 310; Proto-Hesperonesian).

***2027 *puh; *puuh reed, split bamboo.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***mpuh** >) Mon (**kəpəh lapuih** kinds of reed used for matting; ~ Khmer **bəboh**, **pəboh papos!** *Aira arundinacea*, used for matting; → Cham **papə:** *Saccharum arundinaceum*; ~ Khmer **prəboh prapos!** reed, by metathesis Sre **proh** rush; → Röglai **bərboh** rush.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **pu:h** split bamboo used in fields.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

Proto-Austronesian ***palu[]puq**: Malay **pəlupoh**, Javanese **plupuh** split bamboo for flooring, (?) Tagalog **palupoq** rack (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer → Indonesian Cf. BENEDICT 1975 325-6, leaf; but connected Proto-Austronesian with ***p/al/aqpaq** frond, midrib (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112-13; DYEN 1965) not certain.

***2028 *puh; (*puh-s >) *puus to blow.**

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **puh**, Central Rölöm **pəh** to blow, Biat **pəh** to operate [bellows], pump, Pangan **puh** to shoot with blowpipe (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a)); ~ Sre **gəpuh** [leaf in wind] to tremble, [flag &c.] to blow in wind.

B: (North Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Bahnar **puyh** north-east monsoon, dry season, Jehai **pəhos** to blow, (?) Semai II **pəs** wind.

By dissimilation < ***phu(h-s)** < ***bhuh(-s)**, cf. Jehai, Austronesian? Cf. **616 *lpuŋ** &c.; **1023 *puut** &c.

(BLOOD 1966 29.)

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***[qS]ə(N)but'**: Cham **pù:h** to blow up [fire], Malay (**h**)**ěmbus** to blow furnace..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, ***həmbut'**). See BENEDICT 1975 236-7.

2029 *puh; *puuh; *puəh; *pəh; (*pəh-s >) *pəəs to open.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung **puh** (A), (B) Praok **paw**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauh**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **poh**.

C: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **pəh** to open, uncover (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Rōngao **poh**), Central Nicobarese **ofoəh**-[hələ &c.] to open, Nancowry **fuáh** open, **ʔufuáh** to open; → North Röglai **puəh**.

D: (?) → Cham **pəh**, Röglai **pəh** to open.

E: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar **pəyh** to open, uncover.

= **2023 *p[ɔ]h** (to) flower? Cf. also **2036 *ḡ[ə]h** &c.; **346 *pək** &c.

(***[kr]puh** see **103 *krpiʔ** buffalo.)

2030 *lpiəh; by metathesis *pliəh to separate, pick.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pəh** to be displaced, Khmer **beh pəh** to pick, pluck, Kuy **pəh** to break off piece [of edible], East Bahnar **pəh**, West Bahnar **pəʔ** to pick, pluck, to cut and gather, to strip, peel, scale (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **pəh**, Praok **pə**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəih**, Vietnamese **bẻ** to pick, pluck; (Vietnamese or Khmer) → Chrau **beh** to pick or break off; ~ Middle Mon **lapah [ket]** to pick up, Modern Mon **həpəh** to pick up, **kəpəh** to pick up, (**kə** —) to be broken off.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng **pləh** to pick [fruit], to change [garment], to take the place of [person], Bahnar **pləh** to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off; ~ (***pnliəh** > ?) Kuy **mpleh** to pick, pull stalks off; ~ Mon **pələh** to pull, pluck, pull apart, cut into bits, Khmer **prələh** to pick carefully, (TANDART 1935) pull to pieces; by back-formation ~ Mon **ləh** to pick up, Bahnar **ləh** to pick, pluck; [weapon, trap] to go off (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?)Nancowry **léh** (to be) separate, to break or cut off.

Note variously Jeh **piayh** (< ***[l]piəs**) to break off; Biat **pə:ih** (< ***[l]pəəs**) to pick up; Lawa Bo Luang **pah** to be broken off; Bahnar **pləh** to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; Jölong); **gləh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) to come out of place, be dislocated.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(***lpah** see **2063 *p-lah** to cut up, divide, split.)

2030a *lp[ɔ]h waves in water.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pəh** [yaʔ]; ~ Old Mon **lam̐poḥ** /ləmpəḥ/ [**caloḥ**], Modern Mon **kəpəh**.

‡2031 *[s]rpah to insult.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **sərpah** to impugn the paternity of, insult (→ Röglai), Central Rölöm **pah** to put a curse on, Bahnar dialects **səpah** &c. to insult grossly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [**si**] **vả** to insult.

(BLOOD 1966 322.)

Proto-Austronesian *t'uNpaq: Malay *sumpah* oath, imprecation, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158; DYEN 1953 § 62; Proto-Hesperonesian). Mon-Khmer not obviously ← Indonesian given morphological & semantic divergence.

*2032 *bah; *baas to flow out.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon [hah] *bah* to overflow (or B); ~ Bahnar *bəbah* to flow into.

B: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer *pì:əh bās* spreading right through, Kuy *phìah* ready to overflow; ~ Vietnamese *vãi* to spill, to be spilled, to strew.

Proto-Austronesian *baSaq: Malay *bah* flood, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *ba^cah; DYEN 1953 § 54). See BENEDICT 1975 349.

2033 *b[ɔ]h mindful, to hold in mind.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon *pòh bah* to remember, call to mind (& Middle Mon *bah sanā* to bear in mind by popular etymology ← Sanskrit/Pali *vāsanā* recollection), Chrau *vəh* [vənh] wise, Khasi [buh]bot to be mindful (with b- by phrasal alliteration).

*2034 *buh; *buuh; *buəh ash, powdery dust.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Stieng *buh* ash; ~ (*brb- >) Mon *həpəh babuih* dust, powder, spoil, (or B) Jölong *bəbu:ih* dust (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; apparently contaminated by other dialects *bruyh*); ~ Stieng *nbuh* ash, Sre *kəmbuh* powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *vu:h* dust, ash, Sre *bu:h*, Biat *buh* ash.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *pəh* ash.

Connect Semang *sibó* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 23), Sakai *sābor* dust (i.e. Semai; ib. S₂₆); but connection dubious Khmer *pheh pheh* ashes, cited at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 18; as Khasi *dpei* hearth, ashes. Cf. 359 *[]bu(u)k dust; 1483a *buuy? &c. dust; 2044 *t₁[l]booh flour, dust.

(SHAFFER 1965 134.)

(~) Proto-Austronesian *qabu: Malay *abu* ashes, dust, powder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, *^cabu^c; DAHL 1973 § 8.3, 12.2, contra DYEN 1953 § 112; cf. SHORTO 1975 90 n. 25); → Besis *abo'* ashes (i.e. Mah Meri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 160. For *qabuk see 359 *[]bu(u)k. See BENEDICT 1975 221-2.

2035 *buuh to split.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer *pùh buh* to split wood, Stieng *buh* to split wood; finished part of task, Biat *buh* part, half, lamina, Vietnamese *bổ* to split [wood], cut [fruit] open (!; contaminated by 2029 *puh to open?), Nancowry *tapúh* to split; ~ Stieng *mbuh* split wood; finished part of task.

(**beh* see 1963 *bV[?]eh to abuse.)

2036 *ḡ[ə]h; *ḡah to open.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung [baŋ] **boh** (!) *doorway*, Mường **bở** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **mở** to open.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **bah** *ajar*.

Palaung vocalism contextual? Cf. 2029 *puh &c.

2037 *ḡəh salt.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **phà:h**, Chrau **vəh**, Biat **bəh**, Sre, Jeh, Halang **boh**, Bahnar **ḡəh**; → Cham **bōh**.

Cf. 1770 *[m]ḡil.

(BLOOD 1966 259; SMITH 1972 379.)

†‡2038 *ḡuh; *ḡuuh; (*ḡu(u)h-s >) *ḡus; *ḡuus; *ḡi[]s to bubble, boil.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **pùh buh** to boil, Bahnar **buh** *welling up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B); (∼) → Iban **amboh** /**ambuh**/ *scum, slime*; ∼ Khmer **pəpùh** *foam, scum*, Central Sakai **buboh** *foam, froth*; ∼ (*brḡuh >) Mon **həbəh baḡuih** &c. *foam, froth* (or : last); → Cham **parapə:h** *froth*; ∼ Khmer **rùmpùh** *boiling-point*, Stieng **rəmuḡ** to boil (v.i.); ∼ Kuy **mpoh** *foam, bubbles*, Stieng **səmbuh**, (or B; ∼?) Bahnar **kəmuḡ** *froth*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Katuic) ∼ Biat **mbuh** *froth*, Vietnamese **mủ** *pus*, Kuy **phùh** to boil over.

C: (Mon; rather than A) Mon **bəh** to boil (v.t.).

D: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **bur**, Riang-Lang **ḡus** *foam, foam*, Temiar **bus** *bubbles* (DIFFLOTH 1976); (probably) ∼ Sakai **rəbus** to boil (i.e. Temiar, Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 334); → Malay **rəbus**, Acehnese **röboih**.

E: (Palaungic) Palaung **bir** to boil [rice].

Connected further Central Nicobarese **fəih** *bubble* (< *p-); Praok **bay** *foam, froth* (< *bnḡii??); 372 *[c]ḡuk *froth*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

Sora **əbu'bu:n** *foam*.

∼ (Proto-Austronesian *[t']əbu) Bikol **sabó**, **sobo** *foam, foam*, Pangasinan **sabó** *foam*, Ilocano **sibo** *bubble*. Note also Malay **bueh** *froth* (< *bu[]iq, or ← Mon-Khmer?; with Nicobaric, & Mon-Khmer vowel variation, suggesting Proto-Austroasiatic *buih or the like); Sanskrit **budbuda-**, **budbuḍa-** *bubble*, **buḍabuḍa-** *bubblingly* (TURNER 1962-66 9278). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 17.)

†‡2039 *ḡuh; *ḡəh to pour, sprinkle.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon **bəh** to sprinkle; ∼ Temiar **muḡ** to bathe; ∼ Che' Wong, Semai **mamuh** to bathe; ∼ Middle Mon **laḡoh** /**ləḡuḡ**/, Modern Mon **həbəh** to pour or sprinkle water over.

B: (Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi *bet* to scatter, sow, sprinkle, Pangan [ya]-bö' to pour (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 204); ~ Nancowry kapúahpi to pour out (< *ḡuəh?); ~ Semaq Beri mahme:h to bathe.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 81.)

Kharia bi'b to pour out water (PINNOW 1959 319).

Proto-Austronesian *buqbuq: Acehnese boh to place, put, Malay bubuh to put, set, affix, &c., Cebuano Bisayan búbù to pour out into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31, *bubuh Hinzufigen + *bubu[h] Giessen; SHORTO 1975 97). The same semantics in 986 *cuut &c.

2040 *[k]ḡ[ə]h to love, like.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre ḡəboh to like; ~ Praok mo to love, like.

Or *-oh. Note Nancowry ʔuáḡ to admire.

2041 *[k]ḡuh to burn, grill.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy buh to burn, Sre buh to grill, Chrau vuh, Jeh, Halang buh to roast, Bahnar ḡuh to singe, grill.

Earlier *[k]bʔuh, causative formation? Then connected perhaps (i) Nyah Kur lʔuh cooked [rice], Bahnar hʔuh to reheat roast and mix with freshly cooked rice...

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (→) Cham uh to cook in ashes; (ii) A193 *[d]uh hot; (iii)

1872 *[]ʔus &c. fire, firewood.

(SMITH 1972 341.)

2041a *jḡuəh (& *jḡuuh?); *jḡuu? beak.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Muong) Kuy cbah hooked tip of beak; ~ Khmer cəmpùh cambuh, (TANDART 1935) cùmpùh (< *-uuh?), Vietnamese mǝ beak.

B: (Mon; ~ *jḡuu? >) Mon həmao camhau &c. beak, bill, muzzle.

Connect Cham caḡuac, Röglai təbu:y, North Röglai tuḡuai?

2042 *tḡ[e]h to turn edge.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon tḡeḡh /tḡeh/ to turn, blunt [edge of weapon], Bahnar beh slightly jagged (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

2043 *tḡ[ə]h (& *tḡəəh?); *tḡuh to appear, be seen.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon tuḡbah /təḡbah/ (!) to appear (& Modern Mon həmah s(a)maḡ to resemble, contaminated by 149 *sməh equal, alike); ~

(*tḡ[ə]h >) Old Mon tuḡbah, Modern Mon həbah to show, (~, or by analogy, cf. South Bahnaric *tn- causative) Stieng (tə)mbə:h to inform, warn, confess, accuse (< *-əəh?), Biat mbəh to tell, inform.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ḡoh to see; ~ təḡoh to show.

Khmer cbah clear, evident... is < 1920 *c[b]as.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 18.)

†2044 *t₁[l]b^{oo}h *flour, dust*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *thaḃoh* /təḃoh/ *cake of rice-flour*, Modern Mon [kwaɪŋ] *həbuh rice-flour*, Palaung *kərboh airborne dust, to be dusty* (MILNE 1931); → Malay *lēbu dust*, probably → Javanese *lēbu dust*, → Sundanese *ləbuq ashes, dust* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləbu; NOTHOFFER 1975 43).

Cf. 2034 *buh &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

Santali *lobo?* *husk, bran, meal, flour*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 245; Proto-Munda *lobo[?]
& *lopo[?]).

2044a *mih *parent's elder sibling*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *mih parent's elder sibling*, Bahnar *mih parent's elder brother*.
(SMITH 1972 334.)

(*mih see also 127 *mi? *(to) rain*; *miih see 128 *mi[i]? *you (singular)*; *m[o]h see 136 *m[o]? *what*.)

†2045 *muh; *muuh; *muus *nose*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *moḥ* /muuh/, Modern Mon, Kuy *mùh*, Biat *moh*, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar *muh*, Jeh, Halang, Kammu-Yuan *mùh*, Khasi *'mut* (~ *khmut*), Kensiu, Semai *məh*, Semelai *muh*, Central Nicobarese *moəh*, *moəh*, Nancowry *muáh* (< *muəh); ~ Khmer *crəmoḥ cramuḥ nose*, Stieng *trəmuḥ nose, muzzle*.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muh* (MILNE 1931), Temiar *mə:h*, Semnam *mu:h nose*.

C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *mauh*, Lawa Umphai *maus*, Mường (WILSON 1966, BARKER 1966 205), Vietnamese *mũi nose*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 184, 427; BLOOD 1966 28; SMITH 1972 343; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98.)

Sora *m?u:-n*, compounding form *mu:-n*, Mundari *mu(hu)*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 387).

2046 *muh; *muəh; *mu? *to be*.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muuh*, Sakai *moh* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88).

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Archaic Khmer *mùəh moḥ that is*, Praok *mə*, Semang *moah to be* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang *_mo? to remain, stay*, Temiar *mə? there is* (BENJAMIN 1976B 178).

Connect Lawa *mah to be*; < weak form?

(*kmu(ə)h see 138 *kmu? *mouldy, rotten*.)

2047 **ermah* generous, kind.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *sərmah*, Chrau *səmah*, Bahnar *hamah* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai *cəma:h*, Röglai *sərmah*, North Röglai *caramah*.

Note Literary Mon *pamah* [*slah*] *to give up, yield*, ~ [*salah*] *pawah* &c. *to renounce, be generous* < Middle Mon *trawah* *to renounce*; conceivably ~ **cwah*, Bahnaric by secondary derivation ~ **cmah* < **cmwah*.

(**sməh* see 149 **smə*[]? *equal, alike*.)

2048 **yah*; **ya?* to damage; waste, residue.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Sre *yah* *waste product* (→ Röglai), Palaung *yah*, Riang-Lang *ya*, Praok *ye* *to destroy, ruin*, Bru *yiah* *to pull down, tear down*; ~ (*[c][r]yah >) Bahnar *hiah* *torn, spoiled, damaged* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[c]nyah >) Biat *njah* *residue*, Jeh *jah* *chaff* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) *kanah* *chips from chopping tree*; → Jarai *ʔjah* *residue*; ~ Vietnamese *nhả* *to let fall from mouth, emit from aperture*.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ **cya?* >?) Bahnar *ʔia?* *residue of sugar-cane*.

2049 **syuu[h]* damp, wet.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau *su:h*, Biat *chuh*; ~ Bahnar *həʔnyuh*, (Kontum; ~?) *həyuyh* (with *-s by assimilation?); ~ Chrau [*da:ʔ*] *yu:h* *dew*.

SMITH 1972 498 suggests North Bahnaric *-j-, probably regular in context.

2050 **reh* to raise up, to exalt.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon *reh* /*reh*/ *to do honour to*, Modern Mon *rèh* [*seh*] *to hold in respect or reverence*, Thin *rèh* *to lift up*.

Connect 2061 **[s]r[ɔ]h* *to rise, ascend*.

(**r[ɔ]h* see 2061 **[s]r[ɔ]h* *to rise, ascend*.)

†2051 *ruh; *ruuh; *ruəh; *rəh; *rah; *raah; *rih; (*-h-s >) *rus; *ruəs; *rəs; *rəəs; *raas (& *ras?); *ris; *ru?; *ruu?; *ruə?; *ra? to fall, be shed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rùh ruh** to fall down, fall off, Stieng **ruh** (& **aruh**) to come off handle, come loose, (or B?) Bahnar **ruh** to fall (down), Jeh **ruh** [rain] to fall, Halang **ruh** [water] to fall; ~ Middle Mon **croh** /**cruh**/ [rain] to fall on, Modern Mon **səh** to extinguish, Khmer **crùh** to fall, (~?) Stieng **jəruh** [flowers, fruit] to fall, Bahnar **cəruh** to fall on, flow on, pour on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B?), Vietnamese **rỏ** to drip, ooze; ~ (***cbru**h >) Old Mon **-curoh** to shed scatter, Modern Mon **kəroh** to pour out, let fall, Khmer **cùmrùh** to cause to fall, Kuy **sroh, rhoh** [clothes] to come down, to remove [clothes] (v.i. perhaps < ***cr-**); ~ Old Mon **sruh** to pour water on, (merging ***c-ruh**) Modern Mon **səh** to extinguish, (or B) Bahnar **sruh** to let fall, throw away; ~ Mon **prəh** to burst, leak, Sre **pruh** to spurt out, to squirt out, Chrau **pruh** [fruit, leaves] to fall, Bahnar **prəh** to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & West Bahnar **pruh** to squirt from mouth); → Cham **pruh** to squirt from mouth; ~ Stieng **bru**h to sprinkle water on, Sre **bru**h to spit, dribble; ~ (***.nr**uh >) Kuy **nthrùh** to fall, Biat **ndroh** shower (quantifier); ~ Biat **ŋkroh** to shake [contents of sack] down.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ (***sru**uh >) Chrau **suh** to sprinkle; ~ (***bru**uh >) **vrùh** to squirt, spit.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Palaungic) ~ Bahnar **crəh diarrhoea** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **prəh prəh** to sprinkle, Bahnar **prəh** outflow (quantifier) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **prəh** to sow, scatter, Kuy **phrà:h** to strew, sow, scatter, sprinkle, Chrau **vrəh** to scatter, sprinkle; ~ Kammu-Yuan **krəh** to flake off, peel off, (~? ***.nr-** >; or variant final) Praok **grua** to drop, fall away; ~ Sre **səkrəh** to shake down, (?) Praok **khrua** to shake off.

D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?Mon) Stieng **rə:h** to dismantle, demolish; ~ Jah Hut **cərah** to fall; ~ Middle Mon **prah**, Modern Mon **prəh** to fall, be shed (or C); ~ Stieng **brəh** to scatter, to sow broadcast, Khasi **bret** to throw away.

E, F: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rəh** to asperge, Sre **[mi:w] rah** mango showers, Biat **rah** to asperge, to strew, scatter, Vietnamese **rã** to be dispersed; ~ Mon **prah** to be scattered about, Kuy **prah [praŋ]** to be separated and scattered, Sre **prah [preŋ]** all over the place (DOURNES 1950), Biat **prah** to fall (down), Bahnar **prah** scattered, sparse (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **prà?** to sprinkle, spray; ~ Bahnar **təprah** to splash by secondary derivation; ~ Vietnamese **[đi] rửa** to have diarrhoea (F).

G: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai **reh** to pour; ~ Khmer **preh** **preh prih prih** onomatopoeic for fine rain, Sre **prih** to spurt out, Biat **prih** [boil] to burst.

H: (Bahnaric) Sre **ros** to strip grains [of hill paddy] by hand, Bahnar dialect **ru:h** [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ East Bahnar **pru:h** to squirt from mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

- I: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Che' Wong **rəwas** to fall; ~ Mon **pruh proh** to squirt from mouth or trunk, Proto-Nyah Kur ***pruuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V258), Palaung **pruər** fine ash; → Shan **phóε, phōε** to scatter in fine particles; ~ Khmer **prù:əh bruəs** to squirt from mouth, Biat **brə:ih [ra:ɔ]** to exorcize (by squirting water).
- J, K: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) **rə:s** to trim leaves and bark from [branch], Biat **rə:ih** to demolish (K); ~ Khmer **prə:h pras!** to sprinkle gently (TANDART 1935; **pras'** GUESDON 1930; J, lengthening secondary), (K) Kuy **prə:h** dishevelled, [bees] disturbed, Biat **prə:ih** unravelled; ~ (J; or M or G?) Biat **mbreh** to sow [paddy].
- L: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **ra:s** to spread out fanwise, rake apart (→ Röglai) (by attraction 1928 ***raas** to retreat), Palaung **rar** [leaves] to fall; ~ Chrau **jra:ih** to asperge; ~ Khmer **pra:h prās** to throw away, leave, separate, Riang-Lang **pras** to leave, to be apart, (probably) Praok **pra** to leave; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **rãi** to scatter (& Vietnamese **rảy** to sprinkle with water; < *-as?).
- M: (Khmer, North Aslian) Mendriq **res** to fall; ~ Khmer **prəh pris** fine [rain], to sprinkle lightly.
- N: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **[cra:i] pru:** to scatter, disperse (v.i.) (or O), Bahnar **pro?** to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- O: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **ru:** [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **[?mi:] pru:** to shower; ~ Khasi **khru** sound of falling or tumbling.
- P: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **rwə:** to scatter, Kammu-Yuan **rùə?-rùə?** [water] running out continuously; ~ Bahnar **prə?** to spurt out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Q: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ West Bahnar **pra?** to scatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **pra** to fall to pieces, scatter, separate.
- Add as derivative 2058 ***truh** to seep? Connected further 843 ***ruc** &c. to fall, drip; 837 ***ra(a)c** to sprinkle, scatter; & Vietnamese **[xê] ra** to separate, scatter. (SCHMIDT 1905 56, 66; SMITH 1972 354; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 19.)
- Sora (i) **ru-[ida:-]** to pour [water]; (ii) '**sira:-** to extinguish; (iii) Kharia **rə** to be scattered (PINNOW 1959 400; Proto-Munda ***rə?**).
- Proto-Austronesian (i) ***luɣuq:** Malay **luroh** to fall, be shed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98-9, *-h); (ii) ***d_{1/2}iɣuq:** Tagalog **lígog** bathing, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 166; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) ***d_{1/2}iɣut'**: Malay **dirus** to irrigate, water, Javanese **dus**, Hiligaynon Bisayan **digus** to bathe (Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, *d-); (iv; Mon-Khmer →?) Malay **těmpěras** scattered (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 116 to ***pəyət'** —rather ***pəyəqət'**, see DAHL 1973 § 17.6, 9— to squeeze out). Cf. also BENEDICT 1975 395, *sprinkle*.

2052 ***ruh**; ***ruuh**; ***rus** young girl, virgin.

- A, B: (Bahnaric) (Sre **aruh** virgin, young girl =?) Sre **[?ur:] ruh** young woman (BLOOD 1966) (A), Chrau **ru:h** sister (B); ~ (***rnr-** >?; A) Stieng **druh** nubile girl, animal on heat, **[ko:n du: u:r]** **ndruh** nubile girl, Chrau **[u:r]** **druh** young woman, Biat **[bu:]**

droh *young girl*, (A/B) Bahnar **adruh**, Gölar Bahnar **hədruh** *girl, young woman still childless*, (~?) Jeh **drudruh** *unmarried woman*, Halang **dədruh** *young, unmarried woman, fruitful*.

C: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **cəɾəs** *virgin, unmarried girl*.

Connection uncertain Praok **[bon]** **kri**, Lawa Bo Luang **[pi]-khrəih**, Lawa Umphai **[pa-, kuan]** **kreh**, Mae Sariang **[pa]-khyeih** (< *krih?).

(BLOOD 1966 25; SMITH 1972 352.)

†2053 ***ruuh** *to wash [clothes]*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Rōngao **rùh**, Vietnamese **rũ**.

Cf. 1841 ***r[]aawh** *to wash* (SMITH 1972 348.)

Sora **ro:-[ka:b-]**.

(***[k]ra[]h** see 164 ***kra[]?** *old, aged*.)

2054 ***[k]ruh** *kind of basket*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **krùh** **gruh**, Kuy **khruh** (!) *kind of basket coated with resin* (→ Biat **gruh** *bucket?*), Sre **kruh** *small kind of carrying-basket*, Bahnar **kroh** *special large kind of carrying-basket*; → Jarai **krɔ:h**, Rōglai **kruh** *small kind of carrying-basket*.

(SMITH 1972 376.)

2055 ***cr[ii]h** *rust*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **creh** **creh**, Kuy (!) **thrẽh**, Stieng **cərẽh**, Vietnamese **rỉ**.

Khmer &c. vocalism post-dental?

(***jruh** see 172 ***jruu?** *deep*.)

2056 ***jruəh**; ***jr[ə]h**; ***jriəh** *clean*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **jrəh** *clean*, Bahnar **hʔrəh** *clean, pure* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **crəəh** *clean, pure*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **thri:h** *smooth, clean, licked clean*.

C secondary; Khmer vocalism post-dental?

2057 ***tr[e]h** *(to draw a) line*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **treh** *to draw a line* (↔ Rōglai), Bahnar **trih** *line, row* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

2057a ***[t]rrah** *kind of citrus*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **[pərak]** **kərah** **tarah** *kind of citrus*, Biat **[krɔ:c]** **rlah** *lemon, mandarin orange*.

2058 *truh to seep.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **troh** to seep, trickle, drip; ~ Mon **kəroh** [daik] filter.
 ~ 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed? Note there Vietnamese **rỏ** to drip, ooze.

2059 *prah; *pra? to make offerings.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar dialects **prah** to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak
 (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*p[n]rah >) Chrau **mvrah** offering-table.
 B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pra?** to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak.

2060 *brah divine being.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **vrah**, Modern Khmer **prèəh** god, sacred being or thing, Stieng **brah** spirit (diable, démon), Sre **brah** mythic hero (DOURNES 1950), Biat **brah** spirit (génie); → Thai **p^hrá?**.
 Connect ultimately Old Burmese **purhā**, Modern Burmese **bhurā**; Old Javanese **bhra** lord, Modern Javanese **bra** prince.

2061 *r[ə]h to rise, ascend.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **sah** to rise, to raise; Kammu-Yuan **rəh** to rise, wake, to grow, to go up, Riang-Lang **rɔ** to rise, to go up; ~ Kammu-Yuan **prəh** to raise, to wake (v.t.), (~?; by secondary derivation) Riang-Lang **phrɔ** to rise.
 Or *r- ~ *sr-? Separate Kuy, Bru **sah** to ascend (?). Connect 2050 *reh to rise up... .

2062 *leh to go down, go out.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar **lih** to abort (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **leh**, Praok **li** to go down, out, Riang-Lang **lɛ** to go out, away, Lawa Bo Luang **laih** to go down; ~ Sre **pleh** to make way, step back, aside, Biat **pleh** to move house, Palaung **pleh** to put down, to set free, to discharge [gun] (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **plɛ** to cuase to go out, drive out, to publish, show, to set free, Lawa Bo Luang **pləih**, Lawa Umphai **pleh** to show; ~ (*.nleh >) Biat **ŋkleh** to lower [blind], Kontum Bahnar **haŋləh** to put down [load], to reduce [price] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **klès** to hatch out; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **pyngklit** to go round, avoid.

Add as derivative 2073 *kleh to fall? Cf. 2013 *dəh to be born..., with mutual contamination; & 190 *le? to leave, depart; 2068 *loh to go out; 2064 *lah to leave; 2072 *luəh to abandon; 1514 *ləəy &c. to leave... .

(SHAFFER 1965 127.)

***2063 *lah** to cut up, divide, split.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **lèəh** (→ Biat **leh**) to cut up, (~?) Lawa Umphai **lah** to cut, slice; → Cham **lah** to open wide, (—lɛ) with legs apart; ~ Stieng **plah** to gut, cut up, skin, Bunör, Biat **plah** to split, by metathesis (*lpah >) Chrau, Halang **pah** to cut, chop, Bahnar, Jeh **pah** to split; ~ Kuy **klah** to split [e.g. nut] open; ~ Stieng **kənlah** half, (by attraction 2074 *klah to break,

which compare) Kammu-Yuan **tənlàh** to split, to break or burst suddenly; ~ Khmer **phlèəh** to divide up, cut up, Stieng **blah** to clear undergrowth, Chrau **vlah** to split, Sre, Bahnar **blah** to split, to divide up, Palaung **blah** to strip [skin] off, (MILNE 1931) to slice.

(BLOOD 1966 320; SMITH 1972 363.)

Proto-Austronesian ***bəlaq**: Malay **bělāh** to split lengthwise, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27, ***-h**; DAHL 1973 § 8.4). See BENEDICT 1975 391-2.

†2064 ***lah**; (***lah-s** >) ***las**; ***laas** to leave.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer **lèəh**; → Thai **lá?**; ~ Bahnar **plah** to separate; ~ Old Mon **blah** /**blah**/, Modern Mon **plèh** to escape, win free, Thin **[kham]blah** to pass, (or B; ~?) Khasi **palat** to exceed; ~ Mon **həlah** to be free, open, Khmer **srəlah** clear, free, Stieng **sərlah** clear, distinct.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Sre **klas** to change status, resign, discharge duty &c., to fail to obtain, (or A?) Kammu-Yuan **klāh** to exceed, [time] to pass; ~ Kuy **(c)lēh** to change, exchange; ~ Khmer **phlah phlās'** to replace, change (clothes), to be transferred, Biat **plēh** to change, Bahnar **plēh**, (so rather than A) Kammu-Yuan **plāh** to release, Bru **lāyh** [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off.

C: (Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ ***klaas** >) Bunör **klā:ih**, Central Rölöm **tlē:h** [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off, Biat **klā:ih** escaped, Bahnar **klayh** to escape, Khasi **khlad** to separate, part, to depart.

Cf. 2062 ***lēh** ...to go out; 1514 ***ləəy** &c. to leave... .

(BLOOD 1966 188, 339.)

Sora **sə'la-**, **'sa'la:-** to have leisure.

2065 ***lah** or.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **lah** /**lah**/, Old Khmer **lah**, **loh**, Stieng, Sre, Biat **lah**, Bahnar **dah**; ~ Old Khmer **klah** some, Modern Khmer **khlah... khlah... some... others...**; ~ (***[k]mlah** >) Praok **[ti] bla** some, some... others... (& Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mblah** part; or ~ 2063 ***lah** ...to divide...?).

2066 ***lah**; (***lah-s** >) ***las**; ***laas** finished.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **blah** /**blah**/ after [that], then (contaminated by 2080 ***bl[ɔ]h?**).

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **lēh** finished; ~ **klēh** to finish, use up, finish [doing].

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **klayh** to have finished [doing]; then.

(SMITH 1972 505; cf. ib. 340.)

(***lah** see also 191 ***la?** to spread, extend.)

*2067 *loh; *läh; (*-h-s >) *lo[]s; *lās to *unravel, unfold*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **lāh** to *come unwound*, Old Khmer **loh** to *free*, Modern Khmer **lūəh** to *redeem, ransom*, Jeh **lūh** to *untie* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Old Mon **pluh** /**pluh**/ to *attain Buddhahood*, Modern Mon **ploh** to *come unwound, to unwind*, Stieng **pləh** to *peel off, skin*, Sre **ploh** [bəs] [snake's] *slough*, Bahnar dialects **pləh**, **ploh** to *open, undo, undress* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **pləh** *vacant, free*, Praok **plo** to *rise in baking*, Vietnamese **trở** to *shoot forth, sprout*.
- B: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) → Cham **lɔh** to *undo, untie, take off*; ~ Khasi **plied** to *o., unfold* (or D?), Vietnamese **giở, trở** to *untie, unwrap, to change*.
- C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon **loh** /**luh**/ to *uncoil* (v.t.) (probably, rather than A; then *los), Central Nicobarese **lo:h** to *remove headgear*, **olo:h-[həŋə]** to *take off clothes*; ~ Kuy **plə:h** to *swell* (or A?), Bahnar dialect **plə:h** to *open, undo, undress* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Acehnese **pləih** to *unfasten, unroll, take off*; ~ (*rlo[]s >) Kuy **rə:h** to *slip away, get loose, escape*.
- D: (Khmer, ?Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ləuh**, Lawa Umphai **lās**, Mae Sariang **loih** to *answer* (probably; cf. semantically 2085 *səh); ~ Khmer **pralas** to *separate* (GUESDON 1930).

Vowel alternance unusual. = following? Connection dubious 1666 *[]luur &c. to *slip, come loose*.

Proto-Austronesian *Səluq: Acehnese **loh** *bald, leafless, stripped*, Karo Batak **me-luh** *falling [hair], easily shed*, Cebuano Bisayan **hulu** to *moult, to shed skin or shell* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

2068 *loh to *go out*.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **lā:h**, Bru **lāh**, Chrau **luh** (!; contaminated by 2071 *luh to *appear?*), Biat, Jeh, Halang **loh** to *go out*, Palaung **lāh** to *go, come*.
= preceding, perhaps by attraction 2062 *leh? Cf. A200 *[]rəh to *send out, drive out*; & note Stieng **luh** to *come, go, give, budge*; Bahnar **hləh** (under the entry 2072 *luəh) (to go) *beyond*.
(SMITH 1972 386.)

2069 *luh (& *luəh?) to *pierce*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Khasi **lot** (& **lod**; < variant?) to *go into a hole (in games)*, Central Sakai **loh** *perforated*, (~?) Semelai **ʔəluh** *sharp*; ~ Mon **kləh** to *penetrate, to be penetrated, to understand*, Khmer **khloh** **khluh**, Stieng **kluh** to *pierce bullock's nose*; ~ Old Mon **kirloh** /**kərluh**/ to *penetrate*; ~ Kuy **thluh** to *pierce, penetrate*; ~ Sre **bluh** *hole, perforation*, Biat **bloh** *having a hole in*; ~ Bahnar **bəloh** *hole, perforation; to make a hole in*; ~ (*sluh >) Kuy **lhoh** to *pass rope through nose of bullock*, Bahnar **hloh** *perforated, open*, Rieng-Lang **lo** to *pierce, penetrate*, Kensiu **həluh**, Temiar **səluh** to *shoot with blowpipe*; ~ (*srluh >) East Bahnar **səluh** to *bore through [knots of bamboo]* (GUILLEMINET

1959-63; & West Bahnar **rəluh?**), Khasi [**pei**] *syllut clean through*; (variant?) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **kərhləh** *to penetrate*.

= following &/or **2071 *luh** &c. *to appear (through)?* Add perhaps as derivative **2079 *t₁luuh** &c. *to come, arrive*. Cf. also (i; ***klu?** > ?) Sre **klo** *to hear, understand*; (ii) Sora **ro:-** *to pierce, penetrate...*, Kharia **ru?** *to open*, &c., PINNOW 1959 359 (Proto-Munda ***ro[?]**); (iii) 430 ***lu(u)k** *to have, make, a hole in*. But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***tərut'** *to penetrate*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 135 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SMITH 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a).)

2070 *luh hole.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **_lu** *hole, pit*, Vietnamese **lỗ** *hole*.

= preceding?

2071 *luh; *luuh; *luəh; *lu? to appear (through).

A, B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **lo:h** (BLOOD 1966), Sre **lu:h** (BLOOD 1966) (B), Bunör **luh**, Central Rölöm **loh** (A); ~ (A/B) Bahnar **bluh** *to appear (through), to burst (in)*.

C: (Mon, ?Khmer) ~ Khmer **chloh chluh** *shining, polished, to shine* (or A, B); ~ Old Mon **-cinloh /cənləh/** *to appear*.

D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lộ** *to appear*; ~ Mường **trộ** *to appear* (BARKER 1966 24).

= **2069 *luh** *to pierce?* Connect perhaps (by secondary derivation ~ ***lnluh?**) Riang-Lang **_səkno** *to point to, point at*.

(BLOOD 1966 27.)

2072 *luəh to abandon.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **lùəh loh** *to omit*, Semang **luəh** *to throw away* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 106); ~ (***cluəh** >) Mon **kləh** *to abandon* (merging **1948 *cl[ɔ]s** *to throw*), Khmer **jhloh** *to leave behind, to go beyond* (GUESDON 1930), (or ad **2068 *loh** *to go out?*) Bahnar **hləh** *(to go) beyond*.

Cf. **2062 *leh** ...*to go out*; **2064 *lah** &c. *to leave*.

2072a *.ləh door, window.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat [**mpo:ŋ**] **ləh** *window*; ~ (or =?) Chrau [**ləpo:ŋ**] **mhləh** *window*, Jeh **ploh**, Halang **pə?loh** *door*.

2073 *kleh to fall.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Halang **klih** *to fall down*, Bahnar dialects **klih** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Bahnar **hələh** [*fruit, sky*] *to fall*; (ii) Chrau **təlih** *to fall, collapse*, Jeh **taklih** *to fall*, Riang-Lang **kle** *to fall*, (by secondary derivation) Bru **raplèh** [*fruit, leaves*] *to drop*.

Connect Temiar **kəlu?** [*fruit, leaves*] *to drop*; but not Sre **tələ(:)** *to push over*, ↔ Röglai **tələ(:)** *to push over*, Cham **talə?** *to expel*. ~ **2062 *leh** *to go down...*?

(SMITH 1972 350.)

2074 *klah to break.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **klah** to break [*stock of crossbow*], Biat **klah** [*branches &c.*] to break; ~ Palaung **kənlah** to break (v.i.).

Perhaps by metathesis (derivative of) 1972 *[d]kah; or ~ 2063 *lah to cut up, divide, split.

2074a *[k]lɔh clean, clear.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **klɔh** clearly, distinctly, Sre **kloh**, Biat **klɔh** clean, Chrau **khloh** pale, faded, Bahnar **klɔh** to fade (in washing), to become clean.

Or *tl-.

2075 *glah cooking-pot.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **khlēəh** (TANDART 1935), Sre, Chrau, Biat **glah**, Vietnamese *trǎ*.

Cf. 195 *lɔʔ &c. kind of jar or pot.

(BLOOD 1966 292.)

(*Gliəh see 202 *Gliʔ short.)

2076 *trleh woodpecker.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **tərleh**, Chrau **tələh**, Bahnar [sɛ:m] **tələh**; (by back-formation?) → Röglai **kleh**.

Connect perhaps by taboo deformation Cham *paplahi*; North Röglai **dadəh**; Khmer **trəseh traseh**.

2077 *tlah; *tlaʔ clear.

A: (Mon, Kuy, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon [jnok] **clah**, **tlah** /**klah**/ to be refulgent, Modern Mon **klah** to be clear, Bahnar **klah** [kla:ŋ] sparkling, dazzling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*trlah >) Kuy **lləh** clear(ly), Bahnar **tədáh** &c. clear, transparent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **thla**: clear, pure, Bahnar **klaʔ** [kla:ŋ] sparkling, dazzling.

Middle Mon **cl-** by scribal hypercorrection. Connection uncertain Khmer **chlah chlās'** variegated [colours], (TANDART 1935) to iridesce.

(*tnləh see 2019 *t[ɾn]əh other.)

2078 *t₁l[ɔ]h (& *t₁lɔɔh?) testicles.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **klɔh** testicles [of boar]; ~ (*t₁pl- >) Sre **ploh**, (variant?) Chrau [cap] **plɔ:h** testicles; (probably ~) Kammu-Yuan **təlóh** male [animal].

Cf. Riang-Lang **ˈtam ˈkla**. Rōglai **boʔ kluh** is < Proto-Austronesian ***buaq qət₂əluɣ**, probably contaminated by Sre.

2079 *t₁luuh; *t₁ləh *to come, arrive*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Bahnar **truh** *to arrive at, reach*, Jeh **trùh** *to come, arrive*, Halang **trùh**, Palaung **hluh** *to arrive*, Riang-Lang **ˈtru** *to come*, Sakai **děloh** *to go* (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49).

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường; ~ ***t₁pləh** >) Stieng **plə:h**, (or simplex >?) Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **trở** *to return*.

Palaung **hl-** by regressive assimilation; or contaminated by etymon of Kammu-Yuan **səlóh** *to walk, to go to see*, perhaps ~ **2068 *loh** *to go out*. ~ **2069 *luh** *to pierce?* Add perhaps (***t₁luh** >) Praok **kro** *to become*; & cf. Old Mon **tlūn** /**tluŋ**/, Modern Mon **klɔŋ** *to come*, North Bahnaric **tr-** contextual; Jarai **tru:h**, Rōglai, North Rōglai **truh** *to arrive, reach* may show attraction of Mon-Khmer, but are < Proto-Austronesian ***tərut** *to penetrate*.

(SMITH 1972 344.)

(***pliəh** see **2030 *lpiəh** *to separate, pick*.)

2080 *bl[ɔ]h *finished*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bloh** *marker of completed action*, Bahnar **bloh** *to succeed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **bloh** *already* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); → Cham **plò:h** *finished*.

Cf. **2066 *b-lah**. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 141.)

(***rlu[u]h** see **226 *rluu?** *to rest*.)

2080a *wiəh; *wah *to dip up*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ˌvɛ** *to scoop out [of pot]*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **uah** *to dip up*, Sre **wah** *to empty [fishpond &c.] with bucket* (DOURNES 1950), Biat **wah [mbuh]** *to skim*, Vietnamese **vã** *to throw [water] on one's face*; ~ Stieng **kua:h** *dipper*.

Add Bahnar **wah** *to fish with rod and line?*

(***weh** see **235 *wee?** *...to twist*.)

‡2081 *wah (originally noun?); (***wah-s** >) ***waas** *(to make an) opening, (clear a) path*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **hvaḥ**, Modern Khmer **vəəh** *to cut open*, Kuy with secondary lengthening **wà:h [diaʔ]** *to breach paddy-bund and admit [water]*, Sre **wah** *passage, narrow path*, Biat **wah [wa:ŋ]** *space*, Bahnar **wah** *breach, river-mouth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vah** *clearing*; ~ (***waas wah** by contraction > ***swah** >) Bahnar **tsəah** *to clear a path* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **wa:s** *to clear a path*, Lawa Umphai **wu:as** *to open*;
 ~ Stieng **kua:i'h** *to clear a path, remove [obstacles]*.

Proto-Austronesian ***ua[ɟ]uaq**: Tagalog **wawaq** *river-mouth*, &c., Cebuano Bisayan **wàwà** *wide opening, straits, to make a wide opening*, (or Mon-Khmer →?) Cham **vaḥ** *passage*, Rōglai **wa:** *narrow passage* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 164, ***vavah**).

2082 *cweh arrow-poison.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **chveh chveh** *creeper yielding arrow-poison*, Chrau **chweh**, Besis **cheh** *arrow-poison* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 164 (a)).

(***cwah** see 2047 ***crmah** *generous*... .)

***2083 *[l]wah; (*[l]wah-s >) *[l]waas wide.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **thwà:h** (with secondary lengthening), Kammu-Yuan **wàh**, Palaung **vah**, Praok **ve**, Lawa **wuah**; ~ Khmer **trəvèəh** *large, wide, long [mouth, slit]*.

B: (Palaungic, ?North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_vas**, **_was**, Sakai **lěwas** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 BLOOD 1966 404; or ← Malay, below).

With Khmer, Kuy initials cf. 924 ***l/m/əp**.

Acehnese **luaih**, Malay **luas** *broad, wide*, Cham **liwah**, Rōglai **luah** *space* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 100 refers Malay to **luvat** *to issue, emerge*, = ***luat'**, DYEN 1953 § 56).

2084 *[s]a[]h carrying-basket.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **sa:h**, Sre **sah**, Chrau **sah** (BLOOD 1966 **sa:h**), Biat **chah**; ~ East Bahnar **[brōŋ] səmah** *carrying-baskets used for bringing in rice harvest* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFFER 1965 511; BLOOD 1966 328.)

2085 *səh to untie.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **soḥ /səh/** *to answer [question]*, Middle Mon **sah**, Modern Mon **səh** also *to untie*, Central Sakai **sōh** *to untie*; ~ Khmer **səsəh sasoh** *to comb, to untangle*; ~ **rəsəh** *to become loose*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkhə** *to be loose, to loosen, untie*.

2086 *s[ɔ]h; *səh dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer **səh soḥ** *having a dry throat, limp*, (— - **kəkrəh**) *dried up* or **B?**), Stieng **səh** *dry*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **saʔah**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saʔəh** *dry, to dry*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau **səh**, Biat **chəh** *dry*.

Lawa obscure (but cf. 937 ***[b]saŋʔ**)? Connect Nancowry **hiáh** *(to) dry*, **hiás** *to dry*.

Cf. 1970 ***ckəh**; 160 ***rəʔ** &c.

2087 *suh to make sibilant sound.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Asian) Palaung **huh** to *gulp in [air]* (rather than < 1958 ***huh** to *blow*); ~ (***snsuh** >) Mon **kəsoh** to *make sibilant noise, hush, hiss, blow nose*, Central Sakai **h'ngchô**'s *hiss*; ~ Palaung **kənhuh** to *sigh*; (?) ~ → Iban **kesoh** to *give a single sharp puff*. Cf. Nancowry **hīh** to *blow nose*.

2088 *suəh; (***suəh suəh** > ?) ***suəs** empty.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **soh suh** (TANDART 1935), Sre **soh** empty, East Bahnar **səh** empty, *stripped* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **sanh** empty; → Cham **thəh**, Röglai **soh**, Jarai, Acehnese **səh**; ~ Jeh **sasoh** idle, (?) Halang **səsoh** only.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chə:ih** empty, *vacant*.

? Connect Nancowry **hiah** empty.

(SHAFER 1965 577.)

2089 *ʔseh horse.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **kʂeh** /kseh/, Modern Mon **cheh**, Old Khmer **seh**, Modern Khmer **seh**, Kuy (ʔa:) **səh**, Chrau **əseh**, Biat **chəh**, Sre, Jeh **aseh**, Bahnar **asəh**, Gölar Bahnar **həsəh**, Halang **kəseh**, Danaw **əe**; → Cham **athəh**, Jarai **asə:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **aseh**.

Mon, Halang **k-** perhaps reflect animal prefix. Connection obscure Central Rölöm **dəh**. (SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFER 1965 251; BLOOD 1966 253; SMITH 1972 358.)

(***ksih** see 246 ***ks[i]ʔ** string... .)

2090 *ksəh to spit.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **ksas** /ksəs/!, Modern Mon **chəh**, Kuy (k)**ch!**, Stieng **cəh**, Sre **choh**, Chrau, Biat **chəh**, Mường **chủ [xək]** (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207); ~ (***krsəh** >) Biat **rchəh**, Bahnar **kəsəh**, !Jeh **kacuh**, Halang **kəcuh**; → Cham **kacuh**, Röglai **kətiuʔ**, North Röglai **kacueʔ**; ~ Mon [daik] **kəsəh** (& Nyah Kur **ncəh**) *spittle*; ~ Stieng [dà:k] **krəsəh** *spittle*.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **kəcúh**, (~) Rieng-Lang **təkchu**. Onomatopoeic; Old Mon **-s**, Kuy, Jeh &c. **-c-** by expressive deformation, or contaminated by 1894 ***k[m]cas** to *sneeze*? Cf. also 2006 ***[c]t[ɔ]h** (contamination is likely).

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 374.)

(***tsəh** see 247 ***tsəʔ** lung; ***hah** see 251 ***haʔ** to open [mouth]; ***ha** [ɪh], ***hu(u)h**, ***huəh** see 1958 ***ʔuh** to blow; ***chuuh** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to rot; ***m[h][wə]h** see 264 ***m[h][wə]ʔ** ...night.)

Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons¹

A1 *bɲ[ɯə]ʔ *yesterday*.

A: Stieng [mɔ]bɲɲɯ:u, Chrau [nar] ndaw, Bunör n'nia:ə, Central Rölöm dɔ:.
Connect 6 *ʔ[ɯə]ʔ *this?* Cf. also Palaung hu former time, (— *din* that yonder)
yesterday.
(BLOOD 1966 205.)

A1a *k[u(u)]ʔ *cobra*.

A: Sre [bəs] ku large kind of snake with eyes like cat (DOURNES 1950), Biat [bɛh] ku:
cobra.

A2 *g[ɔɔ]ʔ *rhinoceros horn*.

A: Sre gou [rəmis], Biat gɔ:u.

A3 *j[n]ɲɔʔ *dark*.

A: Stieng jəɲɔ:u, Sre jəɲɔ, Chrau jəɲɔ:, Central Rölöm ɲaw, ɲɔ:, Bunör, Biat ɲɔ:.
(BLOOD 1966 189.)

(*tiəʔ see 182 *tiəs *blind*.)

A4 *[c]n[d]ə[ə]ʔ *thing*.

A: Chrau sənɬə:, Biat ndə:.

A5 [r]ya[]ʔ *to be named*.

A: ~ (*[r]ɲya[]ʔ >) Biat rɲa: *name*; ~ Sre pria *to name, to call (by a name)*; ~
Chrau tənɲya: *to name* (tən— *causative*).
Note Hre yineʔ, Sedang inay *name*, SMITH 1972 303; suggesting *-aaʔ.

A6 reʔ *to swim*.

A: Stieng re:i, Sre [a]re (& DOURNES 1950 re), Central Rölöm ray, Chrau (BLOOD
1966), Bunör, Biat re:.
(SHAFER 1965 525; BLOOD 1966 179.)

¹ Originally this appendix was titled “Stiengan Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.

A7 *[]r[uu]? *to be at leisure.*

A: Sre **ru**, Biat **ru**.

Perhaps ***rluu?**, by metathesis. **226** ***rluu?** *to rest* (so Kharia **le'ru?**).

A7a ***pnrɔ?** *to arrange.*

A: Sre **pənro** *to install with care*, Biat [**ndrap**] **ndrɔ:** *to arrange.*

Add Mon **pərɔ?** *to distribute, dispense*; Bahnar **pədrɔ:**, **mədrɔ:** *(to) trade* (&c. : SMITH 1972 564)?

A8 *[b]la? *wood chip.*

A: ~ (*[b]nla? >) Sre **pənha** (→ Röglai?); ~ Biat **rbla:**.

Cf. Jarai **tʰhla:**.

A9 ***blɔ?** *earring, ear-plug.*

A: Stieng **blɔu**; → Röglai **blo**; (***bnlɔ?** >) Sre **bəno**, Biat **mblo:** [**to:r**].

A9a *[]mlɔ? *stubble.*

A: Stieng **blɔ:u**, Biat **mlɔ:** [**ba:**] *stubble*, Chrau **mlɔ:** *straw*.

A10 *[s]wi[i]? *wide.*

A: Chrau **hwi:**, Biat **hui:**.

Connection uncertain West Bahnar **ho:i**, **hu:i**, East Bahnar **hu:i** *widely spaced* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

A11 ***jhuu?** *to set light to, burn.*

A: Stieng **chu:** (BLOOD 1966 **jhu:**), Sre **chu** (→ Röglai), Bunör **su:**, Central Rölöm **chu:**, **jhu:**, Biat **chu:**; (***jnhuu?** >; contaminated by **311** ***t₂uk?**) Stieng (rare) **ndhu:k** *smoke, mist*, Sre **jhu**, Chrau **ju?**, Biat **jhu:k** *smoke*.

Cf. (i) Jeh, Halang **ca:w**; perhaps, but improbably, with diphthongization as in **43** ***cuu?**, & compensatory lengthening following irregular loss of ***h**; (ii) Biat **chuj** [**uj**], by phrasal deformation (cf. **885** ***?uj** *fire*); (iii) **1546** ***chu(u)y** *to emit smoke or steam*.

Cham &c. **cu**h is < Proto-Austronesian ***k'uqk'uq** (under the entry **1984** ***cu(ə)h**). (BLOOD 1966 240.)

A12 ***?aak** *shoulder-blade.*

A: Sre (DOURNES 1950) **a:**, Biat [**nti:ŋ**] **a:k**.

Connect Kuy **mpa:?** *(tip of) shoulder?* Cf. also **265** ***?iək** *(part of) arm*.

A13 *ʔuuk *clay*.

- A: Sre **u:** *earth*, Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔu:k**, Chrau **u:ʔ**, Biat **[neh] u:k** *clay*.
(BLOOD 1966 243.)

A14 *ʔuək; *ʔək *much, many*.

- A: Sre **oaʔ** *much*;
B: Stieng **ɒ:k** *much, many*, Bunör **ək**, Central Rölöm **ək** *many* (& **ʔək**, ← Biat?), Biat **ək** *much*.
(BLOOD 1966 127.)

A14a *[c]nʔ[ə]k *hand of bananas*.

- A: Chrau **səʔaʔ**, Biat **nʔəʔ**.

A15 *lʔiik *cold*.

- A: Stieng **li:k**, Central Rölöm **ʔi:k** *cold*, Chrau **ləʔi:ʔ** *cool*, (~?) Bunör **nʔi:k** *cold*, Biat **nʔi:k** *cool, coolness*.
(BLOOD 1966 220.)

A16 *k[ɔ]k *knot in wood*.

- A: Chrau **ko:ʔ**, Biat **koʔ**.

A17 *j[ɔ]k *long in time*.

- A: Stieng **jɔ:k**, Sre **joʔ**, Chrau **jɔʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **jɔk** *long, a long time*, Biat **jɔʔ** ~ *a long time, (to be) late*.
(SHAFFER 1965 518; BLOOD 1966 267.)

(***tək** see 21 ***[d]ək** *time (quantifier)*.)

A18 *[k]tuk *place*.

- A: Stieng **tuk**, Central Rölöm **tuk**; ~ (***[k]ntuk** >) Bunör **ntuk**, Biat **ntok**, (or next?) Stieng **kətu:k**; ~ (***[k][r]tuk** >) Chrau **gətuʔ**.
(BLOOD 1966 168.)

A19 *tntək *to cover oneself*.

- A: Sre **ntə!**, Biat **ntək** (→ Chrau **ntɔʔ**) *to cover oneself with [blanket]*, Chrau **təŋtəʔ** (!) *to cover over*.
Sre -əʔ, Chrau -nt- are expected; with Sre cf. 367 ***ʔək**. Connect 1252 **t₁əp** &c.

A20 *[s]rtuk *lid*.

- A: Sre **rətu** (!), Chrau **sətuʔ**.
Sre -uʔ is expected. Connect (via Cham **hatuʔ** *lid*?) 1252 ***t₁up** ...*to cover*.

A21 *[d]ək; *tək *time (quantifier)*.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) **ɗuɐʔ**, Sre, Chrau **ɗəʔ**, Central Rölöm **ɗə:ʔ**, **ɗə:ʔ**;

B: Bunör **tə:ʔ** Biat **təʔ**.

(BLOOD 1966 421.)

A22 *[d]ɔk *to wear round small part of body*.

A: Stieng **ɗo:k** *to put on, put round neck*, Sre **ɗo:**, Bunör **ɗo:k**, Central Rölöm **ɗo:k** *to wear on finger or wrist*, Biat **ɗo:k** *to wear [ring]*, perhaps Chrau **ɗə:ʔ** *to put in*.

Cf. 80 ***ɗɔɔʔ** *to cover head*.

(BLOOD 1966 71.)

A23 *[]n[]ak *hearth*.

A: Stieng, Biat **nak**, Chrau **naʔ**.

Connection uncertain Khmer **phnùək** *ready-laid fire, pile of combustible materials*. For Sre **bənha** see 231 ***slaʔ**.

A24 *tɔn[ɔ]k *body hair, feathers*.

A: Stieng **pənɔ:k**, Sre **təno:**.

Cf. Chrau **sənɔ:ʔ**, ad 467 ***suək**.

A25 *[c]piik *kinds of small mammal*.

A: Stieng **pi:k** *group of small mammals of fox family*, Sre **pi** (!) *class of mammals including civet cats, flying squirrels, paradoxure, binturong, &c.*; ~ (*[c]mpiiik >) Chrau **səpi:ʔ** *weasel*, Biat **mpi:k** *class of mammals*

Cf. Khmer **səmpò:c** *civet cat*, conceivably ***jp-**, Khmer ~ ***jpuuk**, with -c by assimilation. But note also Khasi **ksih** *beaver, otter*, (**kynja** —) *marten*, perhaps < ***pciik** by metathesis, with animal prefix.

(SHAFER 1965 331.)

A26 *[b]ɔk *mud*.

A: Stieng **bɔ:k**, Sre **boʔ**, Chrau **vɔʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bɔk**, Biat **[ɗa:k]** **bɔk**.

Khmer **phùək** is rather ~ 482 ***lhək** *mud*.

(BLOOD 1966 266.)

A27 *yak *to accuse*.

A: Sre, Chrau **yaʔ**.

A27a *yuk *square fishing-net, clap-net*.

A: Sre, Biat **yuʔ** (→ Stieng **iuʔ**) *id.*, Chrau **yuʔ** *large conical net*; ↔ Cham, Rōglai **yuʔ**.

Cf. Jarai **ʔrɯʔ**, **ʔriʔ**.

A28 *yuuk mountain.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) **yo:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **yɔ:k**, Bunör, Biat **yo:k**.

Connect uncertain Sakai **chök**ⁿ (i.e. Semai), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 90; Cham **cəʔ**, &c., are < Proto-Aceh-Chamic ***cət** (cf. Acehnese **cət**) & not connected. (BLOOD 1966 21.)

A28a *r[ɔɔ]k to stretch out [legs &c.].

A: Sre **ro:**, Biat **rɔ:k**.

A28b *ruuk to pull up.

A: Sre **rou** to remove [e.g. stumps from field], Biat **ro:k** to pull up [plants].

Cf. 1058 ***ru(u)t** &c.

A29 *truuk sky.

A: Stieng **tru:k**, Sre **tru:**, Chrau **tro:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **trɔ:k**, Bunör, Biat **tro:k**.

(SHAFFER 1965 324; BLOOD 1966 19.)

A30 *kla[a]k the day after tomorrow.

A: Chrau **[nar] kla:ʔ**, Bunör **[na:r] kla:k**, Central Rölöm **[ta:ŋ] tla:k**, Biat **kla:k**.

(BLOOD 1966 301.)

A31 *sl[uu]k naked.

A: Bunör **ləho:k**, Biat **lho:k**; ~ (***srl[uu]k** >) Chrau **səro:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **[sak] ro:k**.

By metathesis 1707 ***kuulh**?

(BLOOD 1966 p. 37.)

A32 *wak to receive, welcome.

A: Stieng **uak** to receive [visitor], fetch home, Sre **waʔ** to receive [visitor] (→Röglai); ~ Biat **cuaʔ** to receive [visitor], fetch home.

(***wa[a]k** see following)

A33 *[k]wa[a]k armpit.

A: Stieng **[bu:k] kua:k**, Chrau **kwa:ʔ**; ~ (***kpwa[a]k** >?) Biat **[plɛ:] wa:k**.

Perhaps ***wa[a]k**, ***wa[a]k wa[a]k** > ***kwa[a]k**. Connect Sre **pənoaʔ**?

A34 *kəŋ shell of ear.

A: Sre **kəŋ** ear-lobe (DOURNES 1950), (**e[:]** —) ear-wax, Stieng **[ɛ:c] kəŋ**, Chrau **[ac] kəŋ** ear-wax.

A34a *kuəŋ chief.

A: Sre **kuəŋ** *chief (general term)*, Biat **kwəŋ** [ra:n ɓə:n] *major chief*.

A35 *[c]a[a]ŋ clear, limpid.

A: Sre **sa:ŋ**, Biat **cha:ŋ**.

Connection uncertain **523 *caŋ** to *glitter*; **535 *scaŋ** to *shine*. Stieng has **a:ŋ**, contaminated by **489 *cʔaŋ** to *shine, be light*.

A36 *[c]oŋ straight.

A: Stieng **soŋ**, Bunör **səŋ** *straight* (→ Chrau?), Sre **soŋ** *straight, right, true*, Biat **chəŋ** *straight, direct, fair*.

Cf. **530 *kcəŋ** *stretched...*

A36a *.ceəŋ to carry.

A: Stieng **ce:ŋ** to *carry slung over shoulder* (& **ce:ŋ** *sling of bag &c.*), Sre **ce:ŋ** to *take, bring*, Chrau **ce:ŋ** to *carry under arm*, Biat **ce:ŋ** to *carry slung across body, carry [child] on hip*.

A36b *.c[ɔ]ŋ [lightning] to strike.

A: Sre **coŋ** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **cə:ŋ**.

Perhaps ***pcəŋ** causative ~ **524 cəŋ** to *set light to*.

A36b *juŋ; *juuŋ noose, snare.

A: Sre **juŋ** *snare*;

B: Biat **nju:ŋ** to *snare using a decoy*.

A37 *[ɲ]əŋ; *[ɲ]əŋ beads, necklace.

A: Sre **ɲoŋ** (*necklace of*) *beads*.

B: Stieng **ɲo:ŋ**, Biat **ɲə:ŋ** *beads*.

If conceivably ***cn-**, cf. **B 49 *[c]na[a]ŋ**.

A37a *tuŋ kind of lizard.

A: Sre **[ŋoŋ] tuŋ** *kind of large lizard*, Biat **[kwai] toŋ** *kind of large lizard or monitor*.

Add perhaps (***t₁uəŋ** >) Palaung **təŋ** [bleət] *large kind of lizard*.

A37b *[s]teəŋ to elbow.

A: Biat **[gəh] tɛ:ŋ**; ~ Sre **səntɛ:ŋ**.

A38 *[d]əŋ equivalent quantity.

A: Stieng **də:ŋ** *like, equal*, Sre **dəŋ** *in accordance with, as much as* (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **dəŋ** *to, as much as*.

A39 *[ɲdəŋ] *pus*.

A: Stieng (n)ɲdɔːŋ, ɲdɔːŋ, ~ Sre ɲdəŋ, Biat ɲdɔŋ.

Connect perhaps (i; *smduŋ > ?) Kuy mɲoŋ, Kammu Yuan plúŋ; (ii; duəŋ > ?) Central Nicobarese tɔŋ.

A40 *k[r][dʲ]ii[ŋ] *to hide*.A: Sre k[r][dʲ]iiŋ v.i., Biat rdiŋ *to hide, obscure*.

Or *-ɲ?

A41 *ɲpuuŋ *door, window*.A: Stieng ləpɔːŋ, Sre mpouŋ *door, window*, Chrau ləpɔːŋ *door*, (— mhlɔh) *window*, [voːʔ] pɔːŋ *door[way]*, Biat mpoːŋ *door*, (— lɔh) *window*.Connect by metathesis Kammu Yuan pərləŋ *entrance, gate?* Cf. also 608a *pɔɔŋ *window*.A41a *kb[ɔ]ŋ *beak*.A: Stieng bɔːŋ; ~ Sre kəmbɔŋ *bill of hornbill &c.* (DOURNES 1950), Stieng kənbɔːŋ, Biat mbɔŋ *beak*.Separate Bahnar təbɔːŋ *muzzle, snout*, (Kontum Bahnar) *beak*.A42 *məŋ *stick*.

A: Bunör, Central Rölöm məŋ, Biat mɔŋ.

Connect perhaps Khmer mɔːŋ, thmaoŋ *large stick* (< *muuŋ with vocalism levelled on derivation?).

(BLOOD 1966 123.)

A43 *yaŋ *kind of jar*.A: Sre yaŋ *squat type of jar*, Bunör, Central Rölöm yaŋ *wine-jar*, Biat yaŋ *jar*.

(BLOOD 1966 377.)

A44 *[c]nraŋ *mad*.

A: Sre sənraŋ (→ Röglai), Biat ndraŋ.

A45 *sr[o]ŋ *to temper [metal]*.

A: Stieng səɔːŋ, Sre sroŋ (→ Röglai), Biat chrɔŋ.

A45a *liŋ *joint*.A: Stieng liːŋ *joint of body*, Biat luŋ *finger- joint, joint of bamboo &c.*A46 *kliŋ *kite (toy)*.

A: Stieng kliːŋ, Sre kliŋ.

Probable variant of 714 *laŋ &c. *large raptor*; for the toy Khmer has khlaeŋ, Bahnar klaːŋ. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

A47 *gl[ee]ŋ [*animal*] to carry in mouth.

A: Sre glɛŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat glɛ:ŋ.

A48 *gləŋ (*kind of*) pheasant.

A: Stieng glɔ:ŋ pheasant, Sre gləŋ *Polyplectron bicalcaratum germaini*, Chrau gləŋ *kind of bird with blue plumage*.

A48a *[s]u[]ŋ; *[s]əŋ *projecting hair*.

A: Stieng so:ŋ [mat] eyelash;

B: Sre [təno:] səŋ down; ~ Biat rchəŋ *erectile hair, [eye]lash, [porcupine] quills*.

A49 *khiə[ŋ] to chew the cud.

A: Sre khiəŋ (→ Röglai); ~ Biat nchiəŋ [ka:ŋ].

Cf. Khmer ʔiəŋ *cud*.

A50 *[b]hii[ŋ] (&*[b]hi[ŋ]?) *otter*.

A: Sre phiŋ (< variant?), Biat phi:ŋ.

Connect 260 *bhe??

A51 *gic; *giəc to break off.

A: Chrau giʔ to snap [branch &c.] by bending, Biat gic to break.

B: Chrau giət to break (off).

Add Khmer kəc gec to avoid, evade? Cf. also 804 *gac to pluck, harvest; 800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.

A52 *ŋac *active, well*.

A: Sre ŋac to be well, Biat ŋac lively, quick (& mai — ɔ:i mai bæ:ʔ how are you?).

A53 *[c]əc to diverge.

A: Sre seʔ to branch, to move aside (→ Röglai), Biat cheʔ to avoid.

By assimilation < 291 *c[ə]k to separate, split?

A53a *[s]ndac to go round.

A: Sre səndac to go round, to surround, Biat ndac to avoid, to turn round (v.t.).

A54 *puəc *flesh, meat*.

A: Sre poac, Biat puəc.

Add *pu(u)c > Stieng pu:ic lineage?

A55 *rac to pray, invoke.

A: Sre rac to pray to, invoke, Biat rac [thɔ:u, ɡɔm] to curse.

A56 *kləc to hook.

A: Chrau **khleʔ** (to pull with) *hook*; ~ (***knləc** >) Sre **kəneʔ**, Biat **ŋleʔ** *hook*.

A57 *w[i]c side.

A: Sre **weʔ**, Biat **[poŋ] weʔ**.

Or ***wəc**; but hardly = 865 ***wəc** *stomach*.

A58 *[s]ac to choose, select.

A: Stieng **se:c** to choose, pick out, sort out, pick up, Chrau **sac** to pick out, Sre **sac**, Biat **chac** to choose.

Connect by metathesis (or assimilation if rather ***cac**) 1889 ***cuus** &c.?

A59 *ʔaəŋ to carry on back.

A: Stieng, Sre, Biat **a:ŋ**, Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔa:ŋ**.
(BLOOD 1966 274.)

A60 *kəəŋ (& *kəŋ?) to want.

A: Sre **kəŋ** (< variant?; beside **koŋ**), Chrau **kə:ŋ**.

A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

A: Biat **giŋ**; ~ Sre **tərgiŋ**.

Connect 597 ***gnaiŋ** &c. *tusk, eye-tooth?* Note also Lawa Bo Luang **pian**, &c., *tooth*, under the entry 924 ***ləŋ**.

A62 *[b]uŋ; *[b]uəŋ courgettes.

A: Bunör **būŋ**.

B: Chrau **[pa:y] vu:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **bu:ŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 229.)

A63 *[]rmaəŋ wound.

A: Stieng **rəma:ŋ**, Biat **rma:ŋ** *wound*, Chrau **[rəwəʔ] rəma:ŋ** *mange*.

A64 *raəŋ old.

A: Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **ra:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **[u:]ra:ŋ** *old person*, Biat **ra:ŋ** *old*.

Cf. 918 ***knraəŋ** *elder, functionary*.

(BLOOD 1966 325.)

A65 *truŋ; *truəŋ; *truəy waistcloth.

A: ~ Sre **ntroŋ**.

B: Chrau **trə:ŋ** *waistcloth*, Stieng **trə:e:ŋ** (BLOOD 1966 **trə:ŋ**), Central Rölöm **trəəŋ** *waistcloth, to wear waistcloth*.

C: Bunör **trə:y** *waistcloth, to wear waistcloth*, Biat **trə:i** *man's waistcloth*.

(BLOOD 1966 67.)

A66 *pr[ii]ŋ *ashamed.*

A: Stieng **pre:ŋ**, **pre:ŋ** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau **pre:ŋ**, Bunör **pre:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **pru:ŋ** *ashamed, embarrassed*, Biat **pre:ŋ** *ashamed*.

Connect Khasi **raiñ** *shame, self-respect?*

(BLOOD 1966 37.)

A67 *liiŋ *sea.*

A: Sre **[da:] li:ŋ**, Chrau **[da:ʔ] le:ŋ**.

Connect 854 ***ləc** &c. *to be flooded...?*

A67a *ʔuut; *ʔuət *to embrace, put arms round.*

A: Chrau, Biat **u:t**.

B: Stieng **ʔuət**.

A68 *tʔi[]t; *tʔiət *little finger.*

A: Stieng **[ko:n] te:t**, Sre **et**.

B: Chrau **[kə:n] tiət** (— **ti:**) *little finger*, (— **jəŋ**) *little toe*, Biat **[lau] ɛ:t** *little finger*.

Earlier ***ʔi[] ʔi[]t** &c. ad 939 &c. ***ʔit** &c. *small in quantity?*

A69 *[s]rʔiət *bed-bug.*

A: Stieng **səriət**, Biat **rʔiət**.

A70 *kuət *to seize in talons.*

A: Stieng **kuət**, Sre **kuat** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **kwat**.

A71 *caat; *ciit *torn.*

A: Stieng **ca:t** *to get one's clothes torn*, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sə:t**, Biat **cha:t** *torn, worn*.

B: Sre **se:t** *torn, worn*.

Cf. 291 ***caak** &c. *to separate, split*, with similar fronting in Sre; & cross-references there.

A72 *[c]uut *wound, lesion.*

A: Sre **sout** *wound*, Chrau **so:t** *to ache*, Bunör **so:t**, Central Rölöm **sə:t** *wound, cut*, Biat **cho:t** *wound, sore*.

(BLOOD 1966 17.)

A73 *[k]cuut *to stumble, fall.*

A: Sre **cout** *to stumble, trip over*, Biat **co:t** *to fall over, fall down*.

A74 *jɔ̌t to trample.

A: Chrau, Bunör, Biat jɔ̌t, Central Rölöm jəat; ~ Sre pəɾjot to thresh by driving buffaloes over.

(BLOOD 1966 54.)

A75 *tiət agreeably flavoured.

A: Stieng, Central Rölöm tiət, Bunör cyat sweet, Biat ciat [bɔ̌h] salted; Chrau ntiət salty.

Connect perhaps Sora bə'seɪd-, bə'sud- (to season with) salt (c.f. bud-ən n., so to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 277c); then *t₂-

(BLOOD 1966 109.)

A76 *tət to arrive (at).

A: Stieng tət to arrive (at), reach, Chrau tət to arrive at; to, Biat tət to arrive; up to.

A77 *piit to dispute possession of.

A: Sre piit to covet, (tam —) quarrel over possession of, Chrau [tam]piit to compete, Biat [tɔ̌m] piit to quarrel over possession of.

A78 *[]put youngest of siblings.

A: Stieng put, Sre, Chrau put.

Hardly Sanskrit *putra-* son. Vocalism suggests voiced initial.

A79 *[b]ut lower part of back.

A: Stieng bu:t, Sre, Bunör but, Chrau vut, Central Rölöm but lower part of back, buttocks, Biat but waist.

Cf. Khmer kù:t buttocks, Kuy khù:t base of spine; constructed *g^wu(u)t? But note also (i) Mon put base of spine, with irregular vocalism; perhaps ← or contaminated by Sanskrit *puccha-* tail; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *pu[ə]t : Tagalog puwít buttocks, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 309; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(BLOOD 1966 153.)

A80 *knbuət mouth-organ.

A: Sre kəmboat (→ Röglai), Chrau kəmvuət.

Connect Khasi *put* to blow [wind instrument], under the entry 1023 *puut &c.?

A80a *tmiit; *tmiət to watch, observe.

A: ~ *tmiit >) Sre təmi:t to watch, keep an eye on, Biat me:t to spy on.

B: ~ Biat rmiat to spy on.

Cf. Khasi *khmih* to observe.

A80b *rəət [rain] to stop.

A: Chrau **rəət** *end of rain*; ~ Biat **bru:t** [rain] *to stop*.

Connection dubious 943 *ʔəət ...*finished*...; *[]rʔ- should yield Chrau 1-.

A81 *grət (kind of) vulture.

A: Biat **grət** *vulture*; → Cham **krəʔ**, Jar. [ci:m] **gruʔ**, Northern Röglai [cip] **grəʔ**, → Bahnar **grəʔ**; ~ Sre **gərət** *bald vulture*, *Otogyps calvus*; → Röglai **gərəʔ** *vulture*.

A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass.

A: Sre **sərlet** *to go past, exceed* (→ Röglai), Biat [tə:m] **rlət** *to pass in opposite directions*.

Or *-rr-, perhaps connect 1056 *riit &c. ...*to go round*...

A81b *[w]ət kind of bat.

A: Stieng **uət** *small kind of bat frequenting houses*, Biat **wət** *kind of bat*.

Or *ʔuət? Connection uncertain Semang **kāwed** *flying fox* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), &c.,
SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 76; which compare for similar forms in Andamanese.

A82 *[c]wiit narrow, confined.

A: Sre **wit**, Chrau **hwe:t**.

Connect 949 *cʔiit &c. *to confine*...? But perhaps *sw-.

A83 *cwaat to step.

A: Biat **cuat** *to step, pace*; ~ (*cnwaat >) Stieng **cəuat**, Biat **ɲuat** *step*.

Cf. 462 *swa[a]k *to walk*....

A83a *[s][ɔ]t (& *[s]ɔt?) to slight.

A: Sre **sot** *to slander*, Biat **chɔ:t** *disrespectful*; ~ Chrau **rəsɔ:t** *to scold*.

A84 *h[ɔ]t to eat away.

A: Chrau **hɔ:t** *termite-eaten*, Biat **hɔ:t** *to gnaw*.

A85 *ɲan certain(ly), really, very.

A: Stieng **ɲan** *certain(ly), truly, true*, Sre **ɲan** *true, certain*, Chrau **ɲan** *really, very, nothing but*, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ɲan** *very*, Biat **ɲan** *true, certain, very*.

(BLOOD 1966 366.)

A86 *[]tuun back of knife-blade.

A: Sre, Chrau **tu:n**.

A87 *[d]an (&*[d]aan?) to ask, beg.

A: Stieng **da:n** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 **dan**), Bunör, Central Rölöm **dan** to beg, Sre **dan** to ask for, Biat **dan** to ask, beg.
(BLOOD 1966 342.)

A88 *[d]un leprosy.

A: Sre, Biat **dun**.

A89 *rn[ɔɔ]n debt.

A: Bunör **rəɔɔ:n**, Central Rölöm **nəan**, Biat **rɔɔ:n**.
Perhaps ~ ***rɔɔn** > Mon **ròn** [təməʔ] to assign [money &c.] especially for charitable use.
(BLOOD_1966 66.)

A89a *[b]an; *[b]aan to meet, to overtake.

A: Sre **ban** to meet.
B: Stieng **ba:n** to follow, pursue, Biat **ba:n** equal, (təŋ —) to overtake.

A90 *[b]un pregnant.

A: Sre, Bunör, Biat **bun**, Chrau **vun**, Central Rölöm **bun**; Stieng **nbun**.
Connect 629 *[d]buŋ fetus?
(SHAFFER 1965 133; BLOOD 1966 152.)

A91 *.n[ɓ]ɔɔn village.

A: Sre **ɓon**, Bunör, Biat **ɓɔɔ:n**, Central Rölöm [ɓ]əan.
Ultimately ← Khmer **təmbəɔn** locality, under the entry 1763 *təbəl?
(BLOOD 1966 51.)

A92 *məɔn; *məɔn to mould.

A: Sre **mon** to make, to mould; → Röglai **mon** to make.
A,B: Stieng **mɔɔ:n** to copy, make a model of.
B: Bunör **mɔɔ:n**, Central Rölöm **məan** to mould, to whittle, Biat **mɔɔ:n** to model, knead.
Connect 1184 ***maan** to work clay?
(BLOOD 1966 63.)

A93 *k[n]muən rhinoceros beetle.

A: Stieng **kəmuɔɔ:n** large kind of beetle, Sre **kəmuən** rhinoceros beetle (DOURNES 1950).

A94 *ran earthworm.

A: Sre **ran**; ~ Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bran**, Chrau **vran**.
Cf. Vietnamese **run**, **giun**.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)

A95 ***raan** to approach, go to meet.

A: Stieng **ra:n** to approach, Sre [lot] **ra:n** to visit, go to meet, Biat **ra:n** to welcome; → Röglai [nau] **ra:n** to visit, go to meet.

A95a ***trəən** to move (v.t.).

A: Sre **tron** (DOURNES 1950; correct to **trö(ö)n**) to move [grazing beast], Biat **trə:n** [ntok] to move.

A96 *[k]lən to impinge on violently.

A: Sre **klən** to collide (with), crash into, Biat **klan** to fall on and crush.

Cf. (i) Sre, Röglai **jələn** to squash, crush; (ii) Bahnar **jəlv:m**, **cəlv:m** to crash into... (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

A96a *[k]lən; *[k]ləən to joke, amuse people.

A: Chrau **khlən** for fun; diversion.

B: Biat **rlu:n** to amuse oneself; fun, joker, **rlə:n** to play about.

Connect perhaps (i) Jeh **lla:n**, Halang **rəla:n** to play; (ii) Khmer **kəmplaen** funny, to joke (contaminated by 712 ***leŋ** to sport, play?).

A97 ***blən**; ***bli[i]n** egg-plant.

A: Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **blən**, Chrau **vlən**, Biat **blən**.

B: Stieng **ble:n** wild egg-plant.

(BLOOD 1966 113.)

A98 ***wan** to wear round neck, over shoulder.

A: Sre **wan** to wear round neck, Biat **wan** to wear slung across shoulder; ~ (*[]nwan >) Biat **ɲuan** to wear slung across shoulder.

= 1208 ***wan** coiled, to wind... (& ***wən?** to put, wear, round waist)?

A99 ***han** (& ***haan?**) to go.

A: Stieng **ha:n** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 **han**), Chrau, Bunör, Biat **han**.
(BLOOD 1966 349.)

A100 *[]rhiin thin in diameter.

A: Sre **rəhin** thin, small, Biat **rhin** thin, fine.

A101 *[l]ʔup; *[l]ʔuup; *[l]ʔuəp to ask, inquire.

A: Chrau **lup**.

B: Sre **lu:p**, Central Rölöm **lɔ:p** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **o:p**.

C: Stieng **uɔ:p**.

Perhaps *ʔ- ~ + []lʔ-.

A102 *kəp *to wait, lie in wait for.*

- A: Stieng **kəp** *to wait, lie in wait for*, Sre **kəp** *to lie in wait for*, (— **tənə**) *wait*, Chrau **kəp** *to wait*, Biat **kəp** *to wait*, (— **dəp**) *lie in wait for*.
 Conceivably = 1237 ***ckəp** *to cover* (, *catch by covering*).

A103 *kəp *to count.*

- A: Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kə:p**.
 (BLOOD 1966 398.)

A103a *k[ɔɔ]p *fever, sickness.*

- A: Sre **kə:p** *ill*, (in compounds) *disease, fever*, Biat **kə:p** *fever*.

A104 *tip; *tiip; *tiəp *facial hair.*

- A: Sre [təno:] **tip**.
 B: Biat **te:p**; ~ (***tpiip** >) Chrau [səno:ʔ] **pe:p** *moustache*.
 C: Stieng **tiəp** *facial hair*.

A105 *tiip; *təp *infectious.*

- A: Chrau **te:p**.
 B: Stieng [a]tə:p, Biat **tu:p**; ~ Sre **gətə:p** *infectious disease*.

A106 *tup *to fall.*

- A: Stieng **tup**, Biat **top** *to fall from a height*, Sre **tup** *to fall, trip over*.
 Cf. 1349 *[k]t₁uum &c. *to fall down*.

A107 *[d]nduup *hand's breadth.*

- A: Sre **ndoup** *hand's breadth*, Biat **ndo:p** [ti:] *back of hand*.

A107a *k[m]n[oo]p *hammer, anvil.*

- A: Stieng **kənɔ:p** [kənɔ:l] *smith's hammer*, Biat **no:p** (mɛ: —) *anvil*, (kɔ:n —) *hammer*.
 Connection dubious Khmer **trənðəp** *anvil*.

A107b *kraap *to hide, take shelter.*

- A: Stieng **kra:p** *to be bowed down, to hide*, Chrau **kra:p** *to take shelter*, Biat **kra:p** *to take shelter, to hide*.
 Connect 1273 ***rup** &c. *to cover*?

A108 *drap *large kind of jar.*

- A: Sre, Chrau **drap**.

A109 *gnləp *to pacify.*

- A: Chrau **gələp** *to pacify, cheer up*, Biat [tɔ:m o:p tɔ:m] **ŋləp** *to pacify*.

A110 *lʔəəm (& *lʔəm?) only.

A: Sre ləm (< variant?), Biat də:m.

A111 *k[uə]n kiim (& *kim?) butterfly.

A: Sre kuŋ kim (→ Röglai; < variant?), Chrau kum ki:m, Biat kom ki:m, by metathesis Stieng ku:mkɪ:n.

A112 *[]gəm to cook, boil.

A: Stieng go:m (BLOOD 1966 gəm), Chrau gəm to cook, boiling, Sre, Bunör gəm, Central Rölöm gam to cook, Biat gəm to boil.

Perhaps *pgəm, causative ~ (*gəm >) Mon kəm to be warm. Cf. also 513 *g(u)əŋ. (BLOOD 1966 117.)

A113 *gəəm to laugh, smile.

A: Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm gə:m to smile, laugh, Biat gə:m to laugh. (BLOOD 1966 392.)

A113a *jəm to block [road].

A: Sre jəm, Biat jəm; ~ (*[j]rjəm > by metathesis) Chrau jrəm to block [road], Stieng [a]jʔrə:m blocked road, fence round field.

A114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A: Sre, Chrau tam; weak form Chrau təm-, Stieng ta:, by secondary lengthening Biat tə:m.

Connect A 116 *təm to repay...; perhaps 1344 *t₁um &c. collection....

A115 *taam efficacious [medicine].

A: Stieng tà:m, Sre, Biat ta:m.

Stieng suggests *ʔt-.

A116 *təm to repay, make good.

A: Sre təm, Biat təm.

Connect A 114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A116a *ktiim to keep.

A: Sre tim to keep, preserve, Biat te:m to keep, preserv, to husband; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau nce:m to set aside.

A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary.

A: Stieng (rare) nɔ:m, Sre dām (!), Chrau nəm.

Sre by arbitrary differentiation dām underneath, < 1362a *[]ndəm? Conceivably ~ 1320 *bgəm to collect together.

A118 *[s]nɔ̌m *elephant's trunk*.

A: Biat nɔ̌m; ~ (*[s]pnɔ̌m >) Sre sɔ̌nom *trunk* (→ Rōglai), Chrau pɔ̌nɔ̌m *trunk, antennae*.

A119 *[b]iəm *bad*.

A: Chrau viəm, Biat biam.

A120 *[k][b]am *flood*.

A: Sre bam, Biat [da:k] bam; ~ Sre gəbam (DOURNES 1950).

A121 *ram; *raam *warm*.

A: Sre ram *warm, comfortable*, Biat ram [nu:ih] *happy*.

B: Stieng ra:m *warm*; ~ Stieng mra:m, (~?) Chrau kəhra:m *warm*.

Connect perhaps (i) Khmer rùm *ramya* *pleasant*, if contaminated by rather than ← Sanskrit *ramya*-; (ii; then *rmram >) Mon pəròm [pərèa] *to convalesce*.

A122 *rəm *to tremble, shake*.

A: Sre, Chrau rəm, Biat rəm; ~ Stieng pəndra:m.

A123 *ruum; *ruəm *to like, desire*.

A: Central Rölöm rɔ̌m *to desire; desireable*.

B: Stieng rɔ̌m *to desire; desireable* (BLOOD 1966), Chrau rɔ̌m *beautiful*. (BLOOD 1966 69.)

A123a *brəm *cord under tension*.

A: Sre brəm (che —) [*crossbow*] *string* (DOURNES 1950), (chi —) *frame [of clap-net]*, Biat brəm [nda:r] *fishing-line*.

A124 *gləm (& *gluəm?) *to wolf down*.

A: Stieng glɔ̌m [*dog*] *to snap up and swallow* (<variant?), Sre gləm *to crush with teeth and swallow* (DOURNES 1950), Biat [cha:] gləm *to devour*.

A125 *[p]r[l]iim *small bell, jingle*.

A: Sre bərlim (→ Rōglai), Biat rle:m.

Cf. Chrau nhle:ŋ *ankle bones*. But perhaps *-rr-.

A126 *pr[l]am (& *pr[l]aam?) *to roll [log &c.]*.

A: Stieng prəla:m (~ variant?), Chrau pəlam, Biat rlam.

Or *-rr-.

A127 *[]mləm *quantifier for things.*

A: Stieng, Bunör **mləm**, Sre **nəm**, Chrau **ləm**, Central Rölöm **mbləm** *quantifier for things*, Biat **mləm** *block, lump*.

(BLOOD 1966 122.)

A128 *huum *to remain; still, yet.*

A: Stieng **hu:m** *more, longer*, Sre **houm**, Chrau, Bunör **ho:m**, Central Rölöm **hō:m** *still*, Biat **ho:m** *still, to be left over*.

(BLOOD 1966 5.)

A129 *ʔuuy *morning.*

A: Stieng **u:i**, Chrau **o:y**, Bunör **ʔo:y**, Central Rölöm **ʔō:y**, Biat **o:i**.

(BLOOD 1966 12.)

A130 *t[n]ŋəy *maize.*

A: Sre, Chrau **təŋə:y**; → Cham **təŋə:y**, Röglai **təŋə:y**.

A131 *j[oo]y *to look for, search for.*

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre **jō:y**, Bunör **jō:y**, Central Rölöm **jōay**, Biat **jō:i**.

(BLOOD 1966 55.)

A132 *juuy *fringe.*

A: Biat **ju:i** *fringe, lace*; ~ Stieng **nju:i** *fringe*.

Cf. (i) Khmer **cì:əy** *hem, fringe, edge*; (ii) Palaung **kəsoy** *fringe* (MILNE 1931).

A133 *tuuy *to bend.*

A: Sre **touy** *bent into a hook*, Biat **to:i** *to bend (v.i.)*.

A134 *[b]uəy *to warn, forbid.*

A: Stieng **buəy** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **bway**, Central Rölöm **b[uə]y** *to warn*, Biat **buai**, **buəi** *to forbid*.

(BLOOD 1966 81.)

A135 *[k].[b]ay *gaur.*

A: Stieng **bei**, Sre **gəbay**, Biat **bai**; (probably →) Röglai **gəbay**, Northern Röglai **gabəi**.

Ultimately ← Khmer **krəbɿy** *buffalo*, < 103 ***krpi**?

A136 *gr[oo]y *to watch closely.*

A: Sre **gro:y** *to watch, be watchful*, Chrau **gro:y** *to discern, judge*.

(***truəy** see 65 ***truj** *waistcloth*.)

A137 **[m]nruuy* brewing-yeast.

A: Sre *mənruy*, Biat *ndru:i*.

A138 **kwaay* to scratch, dig.

A: Sre *koay* to scratch (→ Röglai *kəwe*), Chrau *khwa:y*, Biat *kwa:i* to scratch, dig.

1442 **kaay* to scratch contaminated by 867 **kwaac* id.? Cf. also 1541 **khaay* &c. to dig.

A139 **[s]aay* spouse, to marry.

A: Stieng *sai* spouse, to marry, Chrau *say* to marry, Bunör, Central Rölöm *say*, Biat *chai* husband.

(BLOOD 1966 329.)

A140 **huy* to be mistaken.

A: Sre *huy* to be mistaken about, Biat *hui* to be mistaken about; mistake.

A141 **ʔuur* woman, female.

A: Sre *u:r* woman, Chrau *u:r* female, Stieng (BLOOD 1966) [də:] *ʔu:r*, Bunör, Central Rölöm *ʔu:r*, Biat *u:r* female, wife; ~ Chrau *səʔu:r* wife.

(BLOOD 1966 244.)

A142 **[c]kaar* kind of bamboo.

A: Stieng *ka:r* common thornless bamboo; ~ (**[c]nkaar* >) Sre *səkar*, Central Rölöm *ka:r*, Bunör, Biat *ŋka:r* kind of bamboo.

(BLOOD 1966 312.)

A143 **gir* to fish with fish-basket.

A: Stieng *gə:r*, Sre, Bunör *gir*, Central Rölöm *gu:r*; ~ (**gnir* >) Sre (BLOOD 1966) *ḍir*, Bunör *nir*, Central Rölöm *nur* fish-trap.

(BLOOD 1966 136, 143.)

A144 **[ŋ]guur* noise.

A: Stieng *ŋo:r*, *ŋu:r*, Biat *ŋgo:r* noise, sound, Sre *ŋgur* rustling of leaves, sound of running water.

Connect 1584 **sgər* (kind of) drum? Cf. also 1588 **t₂ŋuor* &c. to make a moaning or sighing sound.

A144a **tar* female pudenda.

A: Stieng *tarh*; ~ Biat *ntar* vagina.

A145 *k[d]aar to fish with a line.

A: Stieng **da:r**, Chrau **ja:r**; ~ Stieng, Chrau **kənda:r**, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **nda:r** *fish-hook*; → Röglai **kədar** *fish-hook*; ~ (by metathesis ***dnaar** > ?) Sre **da:r** *to fish with a line* = Sre (BLOOD 1966), Köho Chil **da:r** *fish-hook*.

If rather ***kɔ̄**-, Sre **da:r** < ***kndaar**, **nda:r** by interdialectal borrowing.

A146 *[]n[uə]r log.

A: Chrau, Biat **nə:r**.

Connect perhaps Khmer **dol tul**, if for ****tur** < ***tur**; then ***tnuər**.

A147 *piir wall, partition.

A: Sre **pi:r** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **pe:r**, Central Rölöm **pə:r** *fence, wall*; ~ Stieng **pəni:r**, Sre **pəni:r** *bamboo partition*; ~ Bunör **mpi:r**, Central Rölöm (→ Chrau, BLOOD 1966?) **pi:r** *wall*, Biat **mpe:r** *fence, stockade* (& **mpi:r** *wall, partition*; ~ Bunör?). (BLOOD 1966 42, 218.)

A148 *p[o]r umbilical cord.

A: Sre **[kon] por** *foetus*, Biat **por** *navel, umbilical cord*.

A149 *buur (& *bur?) to stop up, block, channel.

A: Sre **bur** (!), Biat **bo:r** *to stop up, block*; ~ Sre **[da:] mbor** *lade, weir*, Biat **[bo:ŋ mbo:r [da:k]** *gutter*.

Sre < variant, or **bur** by levelling on derivation? (Cf. BLOOD 1966 62.)

A150 *kməər palate.

A: Stieng **kəmə:r** **[ui̯m]**, Biat **mə:r**.

A151 *bluur; *bluər stink-badger, Mydaus meliceps.

A: Sre **blur** *stink-badger* (DOURNES 1950), Biat **blo:r** *hedgehog*;

B: Stieng **bluər** *stink-badger*.

A152 *wiir fat, grease.

A: Stieng **(v)ui:r**, Biat **wi:r**.

Connect Mường **mợ** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **mỡ**?

A153 *[s]əər to unpack, unload.

A: Chrau **sə:r** *to take out, take up*, Biat **chə:r** *to unload*.

A154 *huur (& *hur?) to guess, solve.

A: Sre **hur!** *to guess* (→ Röglai), Biat **[ŋə:i] ho:r** *[to speak] cryptically*; Sre ~ **pənhur** (→ Röglai), Biat **nhor** *riddle*.

Sre < variant, or **hur** by levelling on derivation.

A155 *[**]****nhar**; *[**]****nhaar** (field) boundary.

A,B: Sre **nhar** field boundary.

A: Biat **nhar**,

B: Biat **nha:r** boundary, Stieng **nà:r** field division.

A155a ***k[ɔ]**l to hinder.

A: Sre **kol** to hamper, obstruct, clock, Biat **kɔ:l** to be hindered, prevented, to hinder.

A156 ***gəl** to change, exchange.

A: Stieng **gə:l** to change, exchange, barter, [**ta**]**gə:l**, Chrau **gəl** to exchange, barter, Sre [**tam**] **gəl** to change, transform, Biat (**tɔ:m**) **gəl** to change, exchange.

Connect dubious 1712 ***[b]kəl**[] to give, make over.

A157 *[**]****gəl** piece.

A: Sre **gəl** piece, part, Biat **gəl** piece [of cloth]; ~ Sre **tərgəl**, Biat **rgal** to cut into pieces.

A158 ***ktuul** to sharpen, whet.

A: Stieng **tu:l** to grind down, sharpen, Sre **tu:l** to sharpe on a stone, Chrau **co:l** to whet; ~ (***kntuul** >) Biat **nto:l** whet stone; to sharpen.

Cf. 2004 ***t₁uu[h]** &c. to rub....

A158a ***[d]**il distaste, boredom.

A: Sre **dil** not to feel like doing something (DOURNES 1950), Biat **dil** boredom.

A159 ***[b]**[**ɔ**]l; ***[b]**[**ɔɔ**]l tired, weary, disheartened.

A: Stieng **bəl**.

B: Sre **bo:l** (↔ Rōglai).

A160 ***[b]**uul to mend, patch.

A: Sre [**tam**] **boul**, Chrau [**tə**]**vo:l**; ~ (or =, by contraction?) Biat **mbo:l**.

A161 ***wil**; ***wiəl** spider.

A: Chrau, Biat **wuul**.

B: Stieng **uiəl** edible spider.

A162 ***wal** annoyingly persistent.

A: Sre **wal** importunate (DOURNES 1950), Biat **wal** to vociferate, threaten.

Cf. 1804 ***hul** ...to threaten.

A163 ***kwaal** to bore a hole.

Sre **kua:l**; ~ (***tnkwaal** causative by contraction > ***tkwaal** >) Chrau **cwa:l**.

A164 *[jh]ul; *[jh]uul *to push*.

A: Chrau **chul**.

B: Sre **choul**; ↔ Cham **chùl**, Röglai **choul**; ~ (causative →?) Northern Röglai **tichün**.

A165 *[d]h[əə]l *shallow*.

A: Stieng **thə:l** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **thə:l**.

Khmer has **rəhael** *very shallow* (< ***drhail**?); so perhaps connect 1747 ***kdail** &c. *low, shallow, short*, which compare.

But in view of *-l connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***tuqu[r]**: Acehnese **tho** *dry, withered*, Cham **thu:** *dry, dried up*, Toba Batak **tur** *dry land*, Malay **tohor** *shallow*, Iban **tor** /**tuur**/ *low [water]*, &c. (PROTO-WEST-INDONESIAN).

(BLOOD 1966 419.)

A166 ***brhaal** *(to) sweat*.

A: Stieng **braha:l** *n.v.*, Sre **bəha:l** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau **vəha:l**, Bunör **rəha:l**, Central Rölöm **ha:l** *to sweat*, Biat **rha:l** *sweat*.

Cf. Bahnar **hal** *to be panting with thirst* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 321.)

A166a ***kaw** *kind of hoe or adze*.

A: Sre **kaw** *short-handled adze or hoe*, Biat **kau** [ja:] *hoe*.

A167 *[d]ng[əw] *tree-stump*.

A: Sre **ngu**, **təngu** [chi], Biat **ngu:**.

Variant of 1719 ***d₂gəl** &c. *stump, trunk*?

A168 *[d]iiw; *[d]iəw *saliva*.

A: Chrau [da:] **ju:**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **di:w**, Biat [da:k] **di:u**.

B: Sre [da:] **diau**.

(BLOOD 1966 p.36.)

A169 *[]naw? *elder brother*.

A: Sre [oh] **naw** *kin (oh younger sibling)*, Biat **nə:u** *elder brother*.

Conceivably ***jn-**, quantifier formation ~ (***jaw?** >) Central Nicobarese **cau-** *elder sibling*.

A170 ***jnaw**; ***jnaaw** *thing, matter*.

A: (~ ***jnnaw** >) Sre **jənaw**, Biat **nau** *matter, story*.

B: Bunör **na:w**, Central Rölöm **nə:** *thing*.

(BLOOD 1966 195.)

A171 *yaw *grandparent*.

A: Stieng **iəu** *uncle*, Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **yaw**, Central Rölöm **yɔː** *grandparent*, probably Biat **yau** [**mor** &c.] *tiger, large felid* (→ Chrau **yaw** [**vrac**] *panther?*). (BLOOD 1966 198.)

A172 *kreew *ankus (elephant goad)*.

A: Sre **kreːw** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **kreːu**.

A173 *[s]rəwʔ *bush*.

A: ~ Stieng **səndruː**; ~ (*[s]rrəwʔ >) Sre **rələw** *scrub*, Biat **rlɔːu** [**briː**] *bush*.

A174 *plaw; ***plaaw** *callous, blister*.

A: Stieng **plɔːu** *blister from working with tools*.

B: Sre **plaːw** *callous* (DOURNES 1950).

A175 *k.waaw *whistle flute*.

A: Sre **kəwaːw** *six-hole flute*, Chrau **kəwaːw** *rice-stalk whistle*.

A176 *rhaw[ʔ]; ***rhaaw[]** *wild dog*.

A: Chrau **ləhoː** *wild dog, wolf*.

B: Sre [**so**] **rəhaːw** *wild dog*.

Connection uncertain Vietnamese **sói** *wolf*.

A177 *ʔiis *to spread out to dry*.

A: Sre **iːs** *to dry (v.t.)*, Stieng, Biat **ih**, Chrau **iːh**, Bunör **ʔih** *to spread out to dry* (→ Central Rölöm?).

(BLOOD 1966 45.)

A178 *ʔəəs *accustomed, usual*.

A: Stieng **əːh** *accustomed (to)*, Sre **əːs** [**as**] *usual*, Biat **əːih** *accustomed, usual custom*.

A179 *[k]cəs *to kick*.

A: Stieng **ceh** *to stub one's toe*, Biat **ceh** *to kick*; ~ Sre **gəcəs** *to kick* (DOURNES 1950; → Röglai **gəcos**).

Cf. 1989 ***[t]c[ɔ]h**.

A180 *jus [**pig**] *to root*.

A: Sre **jus** (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **juih**, Biat **juih**.

Connect Stieng **ieːh**.

A181 *tiis (&*tis?) to make a mistake.

A: Stieng **ti:h** to (make a) mistake; wrong, Sre **ti:s** (& **tis**; < variant?) to be mistaken, make a mistake, Chrau **ti:h** to miss [target], Bunör **teh**, Central Rölöm **ti:h** mistake, Biat **ti:h** mistake, fault; wrong.

(BLOOD 1966 46.)

A182 *tiəs; *tiəʔ blind.

A: Sre **tias** [mat], Central Rölöm **tiəh** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **cəh** [mat].

B: Stieng **tia**.

A183 *ləəs easy.

A: Central Rölöm **ləih**; ~ (*[l]nləəs >) Bunör **nəih**.

Cf. Stieng **sərləh**. Sre **ləy** (DOURNES 1950) is < 1515 *l[oo]y.

(BLOOD 1966 406.)

A184 *lɔəs iron.

A: Sre **lo:s**, **los**, Chrau, Biat **ləih**.

Cf. Theng **dro**, **təndro**, **cəntro**, Kammu Yuan **centroh**.

A185 *ʔəh to answer.

A: Chrau, Biat **əh**.

A186 *rnʔəh to lament.

A: Sre **rəndəh**, Biat **rdəh**, Chrau **rəndi:h** (contaminated by Vietnamese *rèn-rĩ?*) to whimper, groan.

Connect perhaps (i) 1959 *ʔuuh to ululate; (ii) Bahnar **uih uih** groaning sound ~ **təŋuih** to moan, groan (< *-əəs).

A187 *[]keh to strip [branch].

A: Stieng **keh** to strip leaves from branch (merging to scrape, scale < 1880 *kais) Sre **keh** to trim, strip leaves from; Stieng **rəkəh** id., Sre **rəkəh** to strip leaves or bark from branch with dah, trim joints of bamboo.

Or Stieng < *l(r)kis by metathesis < 1946 *klis, *k/r/lis, → Sre?

A188 *[]keh pleasant-tasting.

A: Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kah**; ~ Sre **bəkah** pleasant [taste, smell].

(BLOOD 1966 284.)

A189 *kah to wake up (v.i.).

A: Stieng, Sre **kah**, Biat **kah** [bic] to wake up, Chrau **kah** awake.

A190 *kuuh shingles, herpes.

A: Sre **ku:h**, Biat **kuh**.

A191 *tah to cut up.

A: Stieng, Sre **tah** to cut up [meat], Chrau, Biat **tah** to slit open, cut up.

If Hre **sah**, Sedang **sa** to cut up meat (SMITH 1972 371) are cognate, ***t₂ah**. Cf. also Central Nicobarese **taih**-[həŋə &c.] to cut with knife.

A192 *təh to split [wood].

A: Stieng **təh** to split [firewood], Sre **toh** to split (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **təh** to chop, cut [wood].

A193 *[ɗ]uh hot.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Biat **doh**, Sre, Chrau, Bunör **duh**, Central Rölöm **doh**.

Connect perhaps 2041 ***[k]duh** to burn, grill, which compare.

(BLOOD 1966 26.)

A194 *[p]npəh to leap over, throw leg across.

A: Chrau **mpəh** to leap over, Biat **mpəh** [**chəh**] to leap into the saddle, mount.

A195 *[b]a[a]h recovered, healed.

A: Stieng **bah** healed, recovered, over; to stop, disappear, Chrau **vah** recovered, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bah** to heal, be well, Biat **bah** healed, recovered.

Cf. Malay **bebas** free from, Cham **papà:h** purification ritual; so ← Indonesian?

(BLOOD 1966 278.)

A196 *yəh bad.

A: Sre **yəh**, Biat **iəh**.

A197 *riəh rattan.

A: Sre **riah**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **reh**, Central Rölöm **riəh**.

Perhaps by arbitrary differentiation (or if Sre is loanword =) 1927 ***riəs** root; cf.

semantically e.g. Malay **akar**. Note Khasi **thri**, Sakai **děre** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 38(a)); but Bahnar **hre:** & other forms are < 249 ***rsi?**.

(SHAFER 1965 558; BLOOD 1966 257.)

A198 *reh to cut.

A: Sre **reh** to cut open; ~ Biat **kreh** to cut [hair], shave, ~ Stieng **səreh**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sreh** to cut, Sre **sreh** id., to slash with dah, Chrau **chre:h** (!) to split, Biat **chreh** to cut, slash.

(BLOOD 1966 254)

A199 *rah young male.

A: Sre **rah** yearling [buffalo] (→ Röglai?), Biat [**ndam**] **rah** young male.

A200 ***[rəh]** *to send out, drive out.*

A: Stieng **rəh** *to drive [cattle], to drive out, eject*; ~ Köho Chil **prah** *to send out*; ~ Bunör **mprəh**, Biat **mprəh** [lə:i] *to send out*; ~ (***pnrəh** > ?) Sre **bətrəh** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **trəh**, **trəh** *to send out*.

Cr ***prəh**, Stieng by back-formation? Connection obscure **2068** ***loh** *to go out*. (BLOOD 1966 409.)

A201 ***rəh** *to lose, mislay.*

A: Sre **roh**, Biat **rəh**.

A202 ***[c]rah** *grasshopper.*

A: Sre **srah** *class of insects including grasshoppers and praying mantis*, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **krah** *grasshopper*. (BLOOD 1966 302.)

A202a ***truh** [*cocks*] *to fight.*

A: Sre [tam] **truh**, Biat [tə:m] **troh**.

Add Khasi **trud** *to scratch*?

A203 ***pr[i][h]** *tall.*

A: Chrau **prih** *tall*, Stieng **prəh**, Biat **preh** *tall, high*.

Or *-[i,ə]s.

(***prəh** see **200** ***[rəh]** *to send out*...)

A204 ***leh** *kidney.*

A: Sre [play] **leh** *kidney*, Biat **leh** *kidney, heart*; ↔ Röglai [boh] **leh** *kidney*; ~ ↔ Jarai [bə:h] **lēh** *kidney*.

Connect **229** ***srli?** (*spleen, kidney*)?

A205 ***lah** *to scold.*

A: Sre **lah** *to be offended with, scold*, Chrau **lah** *to scold*, (?) Biat **lah** *to lay claim to*.

A206 ***[s]əh** *to put on [clothes].*

A: Stieng **səh** (BLOOD 1966; AZÉMAR 1886 sə:k!), Sre **soh**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **səh**, Biat **chəh**.

(BLOOD 1966 263.)

A207 ***khih** (*to*) *poison.*

A: Stieng **kih** *n.v.*, Sre **khih** *n.*, Biat **kheh** *poisoned*, (**chi:** —) *poison*.

A208 *[k]huh; *[k]huuh *to boil (v.i.)*.

A: Sre **khuh**, Biat **khoh**; ~ (*[k]lhuh >) Chrau **khluh** *boiling*.

B: Sre **khu:h** (BLOOD 1966, variant), Bunör **khoh**, Central Rölöm **khuh**.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang **kəuh**, Lawa Umphai **kas**, Lawa Mae Sariang **koih** *to cook [rice]*.

(BLOOD 1966 31.)

Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons¹

B1 *[kə]ʔ *the day after tomorrow*.

A: (∼?) Palaung əkɯ; ∼ Praok sikaw.

Connection dubious Sakai kâl *tomorrow* (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178.

B2 *[g[ee]ʔ *pine tree*.

A: Palaung ge; ∼ Lawa Bo Luang ŋgəiʔ; Umphai ŋjiʔ, Mae Sariang ŋgiʔ.

Or *-əyʔ?

B3 *k.[c]eʔ *ashamed*.

A: Palaung kəse *to be ashamed*, Riāng Lang ʔkəseʔ *to be shy, coy, ashamed*.

B4 *t₁aʔ; *t₁ah *place*.

A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931, songs).

B: ∼ *[nt₁ah >) Praok da, Lawa Umphai ndoh *quantifier*.

Cf. 67 *t₁uuʔ *in, at*; & Kammu Yuan tà: *bathing- place, resting- place*.

B5 *t₁aaʔ *eight*.

A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931), Riāng Lang ʔtaʔ.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang sataiʔ, Umphai, Mae Sariang sateʔ, Praok siday (< [c](n)t₁iiʔ?).

B6 *t₁[ɔ]ʔ *to be few*.

A: Palaung tɔ (MILNE 1931), Praok tu.

B7 *[t₁uuʔ *edible leaf*.

A: Palaung tu *id.*, Praok taə *herb*, Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ [klauʔ], Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ [kioʔ] *white radish*; ∼ Riāng Lang ʔsətuʔ *edible leaf*.

¹ Originally this appendix was titled “Northern Mon-Khmer Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.

B8 **[c].d₁uu?* silk.

A: Riāng Lang *sətu?* *silk, silkworm*, Lawa Bo Luang *sato?*, Umphai *satho?* *silk*.
 Connection dubious M'ong *tho* (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese *th*, (Sino-Vietnamese)
ti, Cham *thav* *silk thread*.

B9 **k.dɔ?* plantain.

A: Palaung *kəɔ* (MILNE 1931), Riāng Lang *kəɔ?* (& *kəduak*; by arbitrary deformation?).
 Cf. 82 **kdɔ?* *plantain bud*.

B10 **n₁[ee]?* thing.

A: Palaung *nə* *thing*, Riāng Lang *ˀnə?* *what, anything, (?)* Praok *n-* *manner (in n-an thus, n-in in this way)*.

B11 **paa?* butterfly.

A: Palaung *[paŋ]* *pa* (MILNE 1931, songs), Riāng Lang *[ˀpuŋ]* *ˀpa?*.
 Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Dìoi *bɔŋ ba*, Mak *ɬum ba* (BENEDICT 1975 245).

B12 **t₁rbe?* upper garment.

A: Riāng Lang *tərbe?* *woman's upper garment*, Praok *sibe*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔape?*,
 Umphai *raphi?*, Mae Sarian *ɣapi?*, *lapi?* *upper garment*.

B13 **m[o?]* noisy, turbulent.

A: Palaung *mɔ* *to be noisy* (MILNE 1931), Praok *mɔ* *to be in turmoil*.

B14 **[g]m[i]?* male.

A: Palaung *[i]me* *male*, Praok *me* *husband*; ~ Riāng Lang *kərme?*, Praok *sime*,
 Lawa Bo Luang *ʔamai?*, Umphai *rami?*, Mae Sarian *ɣame?*, *lame?* *male*.
 Connect Khmer *mè* *penis* (TANDART 1935)?

B15 **d₁ma?* to borrow.

A: ~ (**d₁rma?* >) Lawa Bo Luang *ʔama?*, Umphai *rama?*, Mae Sarian *ɣama?* *to borrow*; ~ (**d₁pma?* >) Riāng Lang *təkma?* *debt*.

B16 **ya?* large kind of snake.

A: Palaung *[hiŋ]* *ya* *hamadryad* (MILNE 1931), Riāng Lang *[ˀhəŋ]* *ˀya?* *python*.

B17 **r[u]?* village.

A: Palaung *ru* *village*, Praok *ru* *clan*; ~ Riāng Lang *ˀpru?* *village*.
 Connect 182 **bruu?* *hill?*

B18 **[k]r[ii?]* to apply liquid &c.

A: Palaung *kri* *to apply [paint]*, Praok *kray* *to smear on*.

B19 *bre? *witch, wizard.*

A: Palaung **bre** (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang **_pre?**.

B20 *bra? *meal.*

A: Palaung **bra**, Praok **pre**.

B21 *[l]uu? *damaged, destroyed.*

A: Palaung **lu** *to be ruined, damaged, destroyed, to destroy*, Riang Lang **lu?**, Praok **laə** *to be destroyed*; → Shan **lù** Praok **plaə** *to destroy*.

B22 *[c][l]aa? *among, between.*

A: ~ (*[c][n][l]aa? >) Palaung **səna** *between, among*, Praok **sina**, Lawa Umphai **[to?] sa?na?** *among*; by secondary der. Riang Lang **_pərla?** *among*.

B23 *[j][] [l]aa? *slave, servant.*

A: Riang Lang **_cəla?**, Praok **sile**.

Connect 1522 *jləy *prisoner of war?*

B24 *grwaa? *door.*

A: Riang Lang **_kərwa?**, Praok **siwe**, Lawa Bo Luang **?awua?**, Umphai **rawua?**, Mae Sarian **yawua?**, **lawua?**,
Connection dubious Burmese **'awa** *opening*.

B25 *kiək *to appoint.*

A: Praok **ciak** **[ti də]**; ~ Palaung **kərkiə?** (**kər-** reciprocal) (MILNE 1931).

B26 *[c]a[a]k *sated.*

A: Riang Lang **ˉsak**, Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **sak**.

B27 *[c]uək *salt.*

A: Palaung **sə?**, Riang Lang **ˉsuak**.

Separate Kensiu **siya?**, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 15, ← (Acehnese **sira** <?)
Proto-Austronesian *t'ira(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153, *-a[h]).

B28 *t₁[u]k *to take by force.*

A: Palaung **tok** *to take* (MILNE 1931), Praok **tok** *to take or carry off [person] by force*.

B29 *[k][t₂][a]k *seed, kernel.*

A: Riang Lang **ˉcak**, Praok **[simɛ] sok**.

Or *-ək.

B30 *d₁a[a]k *uncultivated land.*

A: Riang Lang *tak* grass, grassland, Praok *tək* forest.

Add conceivably Chrau *daʔ* district, region, homophone of water < 274 **ḍaak* < **ḍiʔaak*; Vietnamese *nước* district, region then by borrowing calque.

B31 *ḍək *to stop, halt.*

A: Palaung *ḍəʔ* v.i., Riang Lang *ḍək* v.i.t.

Cf. Khmer *tùəc*. But connection dubious 78 **ḍəəʔ* &c.

B32 *[j].[n₁]a[a]k *sinew, vein.*

A: Palaung *sənaʔ* sinew, vein, artery, Praok *sinek*, Lawa Bo Luang *sanak* sinew.

B33 *pəək *to break, be broken.*

A: Riang Lang *pək*; ~ Palaung *kərpətuʔ* [green branch] to break (MILNE 1931).

Connect 352 **lpək* &c. to be broken...?

B34 *[]p[ɔ]k *quiver.*

A: Palaung *pəʔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *pək*.

Perhaps **lpək*, ~ 426 **lək*.

B35 *p[u]k *lame, crippled.*

A: Riang Lang *pək*; ~ (*[p]np[u]k >) Praok *bok* to be bent, crippled.

Cf. 458 **wək* bent round.

B36 *[t₁]rpuuk *bridge.*

A: Palaung *kərpək*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔapaʊk*, (Umphei *rapaʊʔ* ←?) Mae Sariang *ʔapaʊk*, *lapaʊk*.

B37 *[s]yuk; *[s]yuək *ear.*

A: Praok *yaok*.

B: Palaung *hyəʔ*, (probably) Lawa *suak*.

(SHAFFER 1965 347.)

B38 *jriək *fish-scales.*

A: Palaung *greəʔ*, *griəʔ* (MILNE 1931); ~ (**jmriək* >) Praok *sibriak*.

(**l*)[a[a]k see 66 **l*)[a[a]k to lie abed.)

B39 *[s][l]iək *hoarse.*

A: Palaung *hleəʔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *riək*.

Cf. Bahnar *hrək* [to cough] continually.

B40 *ʔiəŋ; *ʔiiŋ faeces.

A: Palaung iəŋ, Riang Lang ʔyaŋ *id.*, Praok ɛŋ *privy*, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai *ʔiaŋ *waste matter*.

B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang rəʔiŋ *privy*.

Connection obscure 794 ʔic &c.

B41 *ʔuŋ (& *ʔuəŋ?) [rain] to stop.

A: Palaung uŋ, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang ʔuŋ.

B42 *[]rʔa[a]ŋ rock.

A: Riang Lang rəʔaŋ *stone, rock*, Praok raŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laʔaŋ *rock*, perhaps Palaung rəʔaŋ *precipice*.

Connection uncertain Kammu Yuan klà:ŋ *stone, rock, cliff*.

(*rʔ[ə]ŋ see 48 *[d][ə]ŋ *previous (to)*.)

B43 *g[uə]ŋ larva.

A: Palaung [vaʔ] gəŋ *edible grub*, Praok kəŋ *worm*.

Connection uncertain Vietnamese *con quặng* *dragonfly larva*.

B44 *[t₂]ŋg[ɔ]ŋ pillow.

A: Riang Lang _səŋkoŋ, Praok [mɔŋ] gaŋ.

B45 *[ŋ]iə[ŋ] quantifier for long things.

A: Palaung ŋiəŋ, Praok ɲaŋ.

B46 *t₁iəŋ to drink.

A: Palaung teəŋ, Riang Lang ʔtieŋ.

By metathesis (*ŋiəŋ <) 806 *[]ŋiəc? (SHAFFER 1965 83, 318a.)

B47 *dīŋ; *diiŋ parent's elder sibling.

A: Riang Lang _deŋ (!) *uncle*.

B: Lawa Bo Luang tiŋ, Umphai thiŋ *parent's elder sibling same sex*.

B48 *[d][ə]ŋ previous (to).

A: Palaung (MILNE 1931) dəŋ *before, while*; ~ Riang Lang ʔnəŋ *before, formerly*.

Or *r(n)ʔ-? Palaung perhaps < *-uəŋ.

B49 *[c]na[a]ŋ beads, necklace.

A: Palaung hnaŋ *small glass beads* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔnaŋ *necklace*, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai hnaŋ *necklet*.

Cf. A37 *[p]ɔ(ɔ)ŋ (or *cna(ɔ)ŋ?).

B50 *[j][n₁əŋ] *to lean, recline.*

A: Praok nŋ; (or =? *[j]pn₁-) Riang Lang cəkneəŋ.
Or *d₂-. Connect 596 *[g]n₁iŋ &c. *to lean, incline?*

B51 *[]piəŋ *wing.*

A: Palaung piəŋ *wing* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang piəŋ (— sim) *wing*, (— ka?) *fin*.
Or *sp-, ~ 601 *sn₁iəŋ? Note also Khmer cəmʔe:ŋ (< *cmʔiiŋ?).

B52 *[k]rpuuŋ *to bury.*

A: Palaung kərpun, Praok sipaəŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ʔapaun, Umphai rapaun.

B53 *buuŋ *flying insect.*

A: Riang Lang buŋ [ʔbay] *flying ant*, Praok puŋ[pəŋ], Lawa Bo Luang mbuŋ[mbaŋ],
Umphai mboŋ[mbuaŋ] *butterfly*.

631 *ʔa[a]ŋ *butterfly* contaminated by 609 *puuŋ *butterfly*? But perhaps ← Tai, cf.
Dioi bəŋ ba, Mak ʔum ba *id.* (& Ahom, *silkworm*; BENEDICT 1975 245).

B54 *[n₁]ʔa[a]ŋ *to patch, mend.*

A: ~ Palaung kənbəŋ *patch, to patch* (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang ʔəkbaŋ *to patch*.
Or *d₁-; but connection dubious Vietnamese mənŋ *to darn* in view of tone.

B55 *[g]ma[a]ŋ *ghost.*

A: Praok mən; ~ Palaung kərmaŋ (MILNE 1931).

B56 *.riəŋ *straw.*

A: Palaung hrəəŋ, Riang Lang riəŋ.
Distinguish 693 *t₁riəŋ (&c.) *kind of reed*.

B57 *bra[a]ŋ *sour, acid, rancid.*

A: Palaung braŋ, Riang Lang praŋ.

B58 *br[uə]ŋ *to arrange, settle.*

A: Palaung brəŋ *to direct, arrange* (MILNE 1931), Praok prəŋ *to judge*.
Connect 659 *riəŋ *to form a row* (Old Mon *to arrange*)?

B59 *[l]a[a]ŋ *to swing, sway.*

A: Palaung [luŋ] laŋ *to swing* (MILNE 1931), Praok [puk plək luŋ] liəŋ *to sway*.
Cf. 728 *luuŋ.

B60 *[l][u]ŋ *to throw.*

A: Palaung luŋ *to throw [spear]*; ~ Riang Lang ʔpləŋ *to throw without effort, toss*.
Or *luəŋ? Cf. Vietnamese liệŋ; Central Rölöm lə:ŋ (BLOOD 1966)

B61 *[s]luəŋ; *[s]ləŋ *to wall*.A: Praok [tap] ləŋ *rampart*; ~ (*[s]rluəŋ >) Palaung rəŋ *wall, to wall*;B: ~ Riang Lang sərləŋ *wall*.Add perhaps to B Khmer sləŋ *to block, obstruct*. Connect 738 *gluəŋ *enclosure*?**B62** *[t₂]huŋ *light in weight*.

A: Praok chaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang thoŋ, Umphai, Mae Sariang chaŋ; ~ Riang Lang ʔəŋ.

B63 *ʔaac *in front, before*.A: Palaung at *before* (MILNE 1931 also aiʔ), Riang Lang ʔac *(to go) in front, (at) first*.**B64** *kn₂uc; *kn₂uuc *heel*.

A: Praok loc [caŋ].

B: ~ Palaung kərnuit [juŋ].

Connect Vietnamese gót?

B65 *[t₁]pəc *pointed*.A: Palaung pəʔ *point* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔpac *sharp-pointed*; ~ Danaw ʔtəŋ ʔp'yak, ʔtəŋ ʔp'yak *sharp-pointed*.Add Jeh pek *to pierce*, Halang pek *to pierce [nose, ear]*?**B66** *[l]aac; *[l]a[a]k *to lie abed*.A: Riang Lang ʔlac *to be lazy*, Praok lac [it] *[to sleep] late*.B: Praok lek [it] *[to be] fast [asleep]*.Cf. 424 *lək &c. *to sleep*; originally probably *laac ≠ *lək, with mutual contamination. Connect 1512 *laay ...*idle*?**B67** *[c]aiŋ *to meet*.A: Riang Lang ʔsaŋ *to meet (by chance), encounter*; ~ Palaung kərsəŋ *to meet* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔtərsaŋ *to meet; junction*.Connection dubious Mon can [cah] *to be contrary, opposed to*.**B68** *briiŋ; (?) *br[a]ŋ *(kind of) ant*.A: Palaung briŋ *ant*, Riang Lang ʔpriŋ *kind of ant of medium size*.B: by arbitrary deformation?) Palaung breŋ *termite*.B perhaps rather *gmrəŋ, ad 919 *gruuj, ...*termite*. Connect perhaps 729a *kli(i)[ŋ] *black ant*; but connection dubious Tai *phriŋ &c. *bee*, BENEDICT 1975 229; whence probably Theng brüŋ, prüŋ.**B69** *[t₂]kat; *[t₂]kaat *thorn*.

A: ~ Riang Lang ʔsərkət.

B: Praok kat (& Lava Umphai [ʔəʔ] kat *kind of bamboo?*).

B70 *gət *very*.

A: Palaung gət, Praok kət.

B71 *guut *to force in*.

A: Palaung gut *to ram in* (MILNE 1931); ~ (*[]nguut >) Praok [khuum] gut *to choke*.
Or *pguut causative ~ 968 *guut *to enter*?

B72 *yut; *yuət *to see, look at*.

A: Riang Lang yət *to look (at), see, watch*.
B: Palaung yuət *to see* (MILNE 1931, songs).

B73 *wiət *to repay*.

A: Palaung viət *to repay, give back*, Praok viat *to pay*.
Or *to return*, = 1090 *wiət (&c.) ...*to turn*?

B74 *wət *to shake*.

A: Palaung vət, Praok. [vuk] vet.

B75 *kan *mother's brother's wife*.

A: Palaung kən *mother's brother's wife, wife's mother* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔkən *parent's or wife's younger sister, mother-in-law*.
Distinguish 1126 *ka(a)n *woman, female*.

B76 *ŋən *to put arms round*.

A: Palaung ŋən *to hold firmly*, Riang Lang ʔŋan [ʔeʔ] *to embrace*, Praok [kya] ŋen *to protect*.

B77 *[g]n[c]aan *sickle*.

A: Palaung kəncan [rəvəʔ] *sickle*, Riang Lang ʔkəncan *sickle, scythe*.

B78 *b[əə]n *to pass, cross*.

A: Palaung bon *to pass, cross*, Riang Lang ʔpən *to exceed, pass, cross, to elapse*.
Vocalism obscure. Cf. Shan pùn *to exceed*.

B79 *riin *forbearing*.

A: Palaung rin *to be patient* (MILNE 1931, songs), Praok rin *to refrain [from]*.
Cf. Vietnamese nhịn *to abstain from, refrain from, suppress, fast*.

B80 *griən *to wind round*.

A: Palaung griən *to put [turban] on*, Riang Lang ʔkrien *to wind*.

B81 *[s]uun *yam*.

A: Palaung **hon** *cultivated yam* (with post-dental vocalism!), Lawa Bo Luang **hawŋ**, Umphai, Mae Sariang **haun**.

B82 *ʔɔp; *ʔɔm *poisonous*.

A: Praok **ɔp**, Lawa Umphai **ʔɔp**.

B: Riag Lang **ɔm** *to be poisonous, to be poisoned*.

B83 *t₁əp *fathom*.

A: Palaung **təp** (MILNE 1931), Riag Lang **ˈtap**, Praok **təp**.

Cf. Proto-Austronesian *dəpa(S), DEMPWOLFF 1938 39.

B84 *k[t₂]up; *k[t₂]uup *span from thumb to forefinger*.

A: Riag Lang **ˈcəp** *handful, taken from above*; ~ **kəncəp** *span ...*;

B: with post-dental vocalism!) Palaung **sop** *span ...*

B85 *ruup (& *r[ə,a]p?) *fishing-net*.

A: Riag Lang **_rup**, (variant >?) Praok **rup**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəup**, Umphai **reup**.

= 1275 *ruup &c. *to catch?* Cf. Kammu Yuan **rèp** *casting-net*.

(*ʔɔm see 82 *poisonous*.)

B86 *t₁aam *next in sequence*.

A: Palaung **tam** *younger [child] of two* (MILNE 1931), Riag Lang **ˈtam** *to be next (to), to be new*.

B87 *t₁əm (& *t₁əəm?) *to order, enjoin*.

A: Palaung **təm** *to send order to* (MILNE 1931, [tə:m]; or **tum**, < variant?), Praok **təm** *to command*, Lawa Bo Luang **tam**, Umphai **təm** *to order, command*.

B88 *t₁um *to have [done] on occasion*.

A: Palaung **tum** *ever*, Riag Lang **ˈtom** *to be wont to, to have habitually done*.

B89 *kt₁uəm *liver*.

A: Lawa Bo Luang **taum**, Umphai, Mae Sariang **tom**; ~ Palaung **kərtəm**, Riag Lang **kətuam**.

Originally perhaps *k- part-of-body prefix + *lt₁uəm < 1411 *t₁luəm by metathesis; Lawa by back-formation. (SHAFFER 1965 501.)

B90 *[k]rbum *enclosed cultivation*.

A: Palaung **kərbum**, Praok **sipum**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yaphum** *garden*, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔapum**, Umphai **raphum** *fence*.

*-b- in view of Praok vocalism.

B91 *m[iə]m *tea*.

A: Palaung **miəm**, Riang Lang **_mem**.

B92 *[s]m[əə]m *good, well-behaved*.

A: Palaung **hmum** *to be docile, good-tempered*, Praok **məm** *to be good*.

B93 *yuum; *yəm *to die*.

A: Praok, Lawa **yum**.

B: Palaung **yəm**, Riang Lang **_yam**; ~ (***pyəm** >) Palaung **piəm**, Riang Lang **̃piəm** *to kill*.

Add Sre **yəm** *to poison* (then → Röglai)? Cf. 1266a ***ya(a)p** *to die* ...

(SHAFER 1965 189.)

B94 *t₁huum; *t₁huəm *to be flooded, to flood*.

A: Palaung **thom** *to overflow, flood* (MILNE 1931).

B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **thuam** *to be flooded*.

***d₁h-** should yield NMK **h-**; ***t₁s-**, Lawa **c-**.

(***[]gəy?** see 2 ***[]g[ee]?** *pine tree*.)

B95 *juəy *waist*.

A: Palaung **juəy**, Praok **juay**.

Cf. (i) Lawa **jon**, Central Nicobarese **onju:əŋ**; (ii) Halang **tənoay**, perhaps : Jeh **ʔno:y** *flank*.

B96 *t₁uuy *to catch*.

A: Palaung **toy**, (merging 98 ***đuuy** *to take, bring*, which compare) Praok **tuay**.

B97 *[c].t₁uəy *pheasant*.

A: Palaung **sətuay** (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang **_səy ̃tuay** (by chiming expansion).

B98 *đuuy; *đuuy *to take, bring*.

A: Palaung **đuuy**.

B: Praok **tuay** *to take, take hold of, pick up, fetch* (merging 96 ***t₁uuy** *to catch*, which compare), Lawa Umphai **thui** *to take out*.

***d-** in view of Praok vocalism.

B99 *[]p[oo]y *shadow of living creature.*

A: Riang Lang Ꞥpoe *shadow of living creature*, Praok pꞤy (& vꞤy!) *shadow*; Lawa Bo Luang Ꞥapau, Umphai rapꞤi *shadow*.

Vocalism uncertain; conceivably *-uy (Lawa), *-uuy (Riang Lang), *-əy (Praok; with secondary lengthening); then *gp-, ~ 1447a *guuy? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. *spirit, soul*.

B100 *[y][əə]y *a little.*

A: Palaung yꞤy, Praok cꞤy; ↔ Shan yꞤy *to be finely divided*.

B101 *[g]raay *to speak, tell.*

A: Palaung gray *to speak, tell*, Praok kray (!) *to say, tell*; ↔ Shan khài *to narrate*.

B102 *[g][l]aay *squirrel.*

A: Riang Lang Ꞥklay, Lawa Bo Luang Ꞥdea, Umphai Ꞥlai.

Lawa *jl- by regressive assimilation? Connect perhaps Santali kuləi *hare*, &c., PINNOW 1959 L 146.

B103 *[t₁]rw[əy?] *to be concerned, troubled.*

A: Palaung kərve *to pity*, Praok sivi *to be worried*.

B104 *[][h]uy *to take out.*

A: Palaung hꞤy, Lawa Bo Luang hau *to take out*, perhaps Praok hoy *to unfasten, open, reveal*.

B105 *kiər *moon, month.*

A: Palaung kiər *month*, Riang Lang Ꞥkiər *moon, month*.

B106 *gur *to help.*

A: Riang Lang Ꞥkər, Praok [tꞤm] ku.

Cf. 1705 *kəl[] &c. *to support, help*.

B107 *[bc]uur; *[bc]uər *water-bottle.*

A: Praok chu.

B: Palaung [om] suər.

B108 *k[t₂]aar *span from thumb to middle finger.*

A: Palaung sar (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang kəncər.

B109 *[k]ruu[r] *granary*.

A: Palaung **kror** *paddy-storage basket*, Praok **kraw** *granary, storeroom*; Lawa Bo Luang **ŋgrau**, Umphai **krau** *granary*.

Or *t₁-; *-l.

B110 *siir; *siər *iron*.

A: Palaung **hir**, Riāng Lang **hir**.

B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **he** *ore*.

↔ Tibeto-Burman *s(y)i-r (BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 372; Dhimal, Garo, Dimasa Lushei); suspect on phonological grounds as loanword!

B111 *[s]iər *bee*.

A: Praok **hi:a**, Lawa **he**; ~ Palaung **phier**, Riāng Lang **phier**.

B112 *kul *ten*.

A: Palaung **kur**, Riāng Lang **kəl**, Praok **kaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **koa**, Umphai, Mae Sariang **kau**.

← Tibeto-Burman *(m-)kul *score*, BENEDICT 1972 83 no. 397? Connection dubious Kharia **ghəl**, &c., PINNOW 1959 249 (Proto-Munda *(-)gəl); as Mường **mư̄ol** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **mười**.

B113 *t₁iəl *to copulate*.

A: Riāng Lang **tiəl**, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **te**.

Cf. Sre **tir**, Biat **ta:m tar**.

B114 *t₁uəl; *t₁əl *to find*.

A: Palaung **tuər**.

B: Riāng Lang **tal**.

(*[k]ruul see 109 *[k]ruu[r] *granary*.)

B115 *[s]raa[l] *veranda*.

A: ~ (*[s]nraa[l] >) Praok **gra** [pɛ]; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khrar** *veranda*.

B116 *kpaas *to laugh*.

A: Homau **kəpa:r** (Palaung dialect; MILNE 1931), White Striped Riāng **kṣpa:s** (LUCE 1965), Praok **pa**, Lawa Bo Luang, **puah**, Umphai **puas**, Mae Sariang **poiḥ**, **nwah**.

B117 *ḡ[a]s to carry [heavy object].

A: Palaung **bər** to carry on tumpline, Riang Lang **ˈbəs** to carry on head, Praok **pu** to support, bear, Lawa Bo Luang **puh**, Umphai **phus**, Mae Sariang **puh** to carry on back; (*[b]nḡ[a]s >) Praok **bui** [gləm] burden.

Waic vocalism post-labial? Connect **121 *ḡəʔ** to carry on back. Praok **pu** to carry on back is < **100a *puʔ**.

B118 *ruus tortoise, turtle.

A: Riang Lang **_rus**, Lawa Bo Luang **rauḥ**, Umphai **raus**, Mae Sariang **yaḥ**.

Cf. Vietnamese **rùa**. Khmer **kra:h krās** tortoiseshell is probably ← Indonesian.

(SHAFFER 1965 434.)

B119 *prəs to flower.

A: Palaung **prər** to flower, expand, swell (by attraction **2067 *ləsʔ**), Lawa Bo Luang **phrəuḥ**, Umphai **prəs**, Mae Sariang **phyoiḥ** to flower.

(*t₁ah see **4 *t₁aʔ** place.)

B120 *t₁rt₁uh; *t₁rt₁uuh to meet.

A: Palaung **kərtoḥ** (MILNE 1931).

B: Palaung **kərtuḥ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔatauḥ**, Umphai **ratoh**.

B121 *n₁[]ah to get worse.

A: Riang Lang **na**, **na**, Praok **nə**.

Connection uncertain **1945 *ləs** &c. to weaken.

B122 *[m]ryah hundred.

A: Palaung **pəryah**, Riang Lang **_pərya**, Praok **siye**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayuaḥ**.

← Tibeto-Burman ***r-gya** (BENEDICT 1972 45 no. 164 & n. 148; Old Burmese **ryā**); by contraction ***muəy ryah** one hundred?

Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3

and Appendices A, B

Note: Bold numerals show that the word indexed is used in the gloss of a reconstruction, ordinary numerals that it glosses one or more of the items compared.

A

Abandon *see* leave; (abandoned) **1397**; able (to) 1179, 1183, 1286, 1472; abort 1081, 2062; about, concerning 1845, (about to) 1472, 2014; above 194, **727**, 1207, **1533**, 1718; absorb 1106, 1283; abstracted **519**, **1589**; abuse, insult **1804**, **1963**, **2031**; accompany 1389, **1463**; according to **1346**; accuse **A 27**; accustomed, used to 643, **1286**, **A 178**, **B 88**; ache **A 72**; acquire **1980**; add **351**, **1257a**, (add to) **1430a**; adhere 309, **1245**; adjoin **1245**, **1264**; adze **A 166a**; affine *see* in-law; affix **986**, 1242, 1245; afraid *see* fear; after, afterwards 1505, 1844, 2066; afternoon 264; afterwards *see* after; again 765, 1156, **1511**, 1794; agree **1388**; aim 696, 1361a, **1572**; air **1782**, 1958; alarmed **1057**; alcohol, liquor 796; alight *see* perch; alike **149**; all **198**, 798, 875, 943, 1338, 1344, **1418**, 1943, (at all) 1943; alone 86; already 1539, 2080; also, too 1310; amaranth 1850; amass 1178; among **B 22**; ancestor 151, **192**; angry 1728, **1808**; ankus **A 172**; announce **1845**; answer **A 185**; ant 873, **1382**, 1562a, **B 68**, (black ant) **729a**, (flying ant) **1646b**, **B 53**, (red ant) **1866**, (white ant, termite) **391a**, **919**, **1619**, **B 68**, (flying white ant) **1290**, 1646b; anthill 1738; anus **961**, 1007; anvil **A 107a**; anxious, worried **1694**, **B 109**; any 136; anything **B 10**; appear **2043**, **2071**; appoint **B 25**; approach 1896, **A 95**; arch **1626a**; areca 230, **1815**; arm **66**, **244**, **265**, 1673; armpit **269**, **A 33**; army 1258; around 765, 966, 1208, **1333**, 1669; arouse 1575; arrange **1269a**, 1605, **A 7a**, **B 58**; arrive (at), reach 968, 1153, 1246, **1740**, **2079**, **A 76**; arrow 215, **1308**; arum 1850; ascend, go up **332**, **479**, **1153**, **1207**, **1869**, **2061**; ash **2034**; ashamed **1800**, **A 66**, **B 3**; ask **912**, **A 101**, (ask for) 1140, **A 87**; askew 494, **753**, **1764**; assemble, gather **1310**, **1338**, 1344, **1389**; assembly house 670; associate **1241**, **1310**; asthma **1215**; astringent **294**, **989**; at **3**, **67**, 85, 1217, 1342; attach 1245; attend on **531**, 1794; augury *see* divine; aunt 48, 132, (maternal aunt) 882, **1494**, (aunt older than parent) 236, 1531a, 2044a, **B 47**; avoid 765, 766, 1501, 1529, 1669, **A 53**, **A 53a**; await **493a**, 1773; awl **860**; axe **526**, **1499**, (counterbalance of axe) 1613.

B

Babbling **1847**; baby **285**; bachelor **1526**, **1832**; back **667**, 1446a, **1627**, **1844**, (lower part of back) **A 79**, (back of hand) 1639, **A 107**; bad **58**, 140, 801, **A 119**, **A 196** (*see also* immoral); bag **787**, **1677**, (bag for cooked rice) **14**; bake **544**; (hot-air) balloon

1316; bamboo 249, 782, 903, (kinds of bamboo) 83, 201, 207, 671, 995, 1587, A 142, (split bamboo) 2027, (bamboo fibre) 1802, (bamboo-joint) 903, (bamboo shoots) 636, (bamboo rat) 1129, 1154a, 1481; banana 1070, 1523, B 9, (wild banana) 51; bank 681; banyan 241 (*see also* Ficus); barb 1929; bare 1079, 1803a; bargain 1821a; bark (of tree) 203a, 347, 466, 1568, (v.) 1709; barter *see* exchange; basket 791, (kinds of basket) 6a, 53, 1482, 1558, 1730, 2054, (openwork basket) 1842, (paddy-storage basket) B 109; bat 237, 421a, (kind of bat) A 81b; bathe 1287, 1403, 1417, 1426, 2039; be 639, 643, 1117, 2046; beads A 37, B 49; beak 1655, 2041a, A 41a; beam 518; bean 1489, 2002; bear (n.) 1380, 1817, 1933; beard *see* (facial) hair; beat 318, 322, 355, 439, 558, 1010a, 1014, 1092, 1251, 1340, 1945a, 1978, 1997, 2001, 2010, (beat down) 2001, (beat out, beat flat) 1340, 1997; beautiful 950, A 123; beckon 868, 1267, 1950; become 538; bed 166, (bed of stream) 1557; bee, kinds of bee 240, 1065, 1099, 1537, 1560, B 111; beetle 682, (rhinoceros beetle) A 93; before 1446a, 1505, 1554, 1667, 1703, B 48, B 63; beg A 87; begin, beginning 562, 1343; behind 1446a, 1505, 1844; belch 9, 1559; bell 903 (*cf.* jingle); bellows 1984; belly 358, 624, 735, 844, 865, 1743; below 1887, 2012 (*cf.* under); bend, bent 286, 458, 500, 596, 765, 892, 1038, 1090, 1208, 1444, 1669, 1722, 1794, A 133, (bent down) 1985, (bent head back) 288, (bent knees) 938, 1149 (*see also* bow); betel 230, 1860, (betel-box) 1289, (tray of betel-box) 1116; between 85, B 22; bewitch 1823; bile *see* gall; bin for paddy 627; bind *see* tie; bird 1324, (noisy kind of bird) 754, (kind of small bird) 1243a; bird-lime 1659; birth (give birth) 2013 bite 282, 957, 964, 1231; bitter 554, 989 black 140, 653, 654, 717, 1337; blade 215; blame 58; Blanket 1550; blind 433, 1734b, A 182; blink *see* wink; blister 90, 348, A 174; block, obstruct 1003, 1039, 1260, 1739, 1745, A 113a, A 149, A 155a; blood 1430; blossom 1604; blow 345, 616, 1023, 1428, 1638, 1809, 1958, 1977, 1984, 2028, (blow nose) 1680, 2087; blue 1360, 1559b; blunt 1785, 1803a, 2042; boar (wild boar) 19; board, plank 1620; boat, canoe 336, 747; body 20, 290; boil 513, 1345, 2038, A 112, A 208; bold, brave 387, 512; Bombax 755; bone 488, 553; border *see* edge; bore hole 622, 724, 1329, 2069, A 163; boredom A 158a; be born 2013; borrow 713, 768a, 1141, 1390, 1531, 1755, B 15; bottle-gourd 587, 748; bottom 1078, 1735; boundary 1794, A 155 (*see also* edge); bow (n.; *see also* crossbow) 32, 266, 2024, (pellet-bow) 2024, (v.) 1238, 1644, (bow down) 1444, (bow head) 287; bowl 426, 743, 1331; box 426, 1289; boy 711, 1339; brace oneself 1143; bracelet 498; bracken 237a; brain 475, 551, 1981; bran 277 (*cf.* chaff); branch 496, 514, 789, 1223, (v.) 327, A 53; brave *see* bold; break, broken 331, 352, 364, 800, 812, 972, 999, 1028, 1702, 1903a, 1972, 1990, 2074, B 33, (broken off) 2030, A 51; breast 114, 1999; breath, breathe 1299; brick 940; bridge 565, 1174, B 36, (bridge of nose) 1578; bridle 282; bright 444a, 1920, 1978; bring, convey 84a, 1148, 1154, B 98; brittle 366; broil 544, 1571; broken *see* break; brother *see* sibling, (elder brother) 882, A 169, (brother-in-law) 27, 130; brown 653; brushwood 1676; bubble 2038; bucket, pail 791; bud 1362, 1377, 2023; buffalo 95, 103, 408; bug 964, 1423, A 69; bulge 108, 1523a; bunch 625, 1310, 1338, 1344, 1763; bundle 525, 1344, 1763; burn 231, 805, 858a, 978a, 1004, 1977, 2041, A 11, (burnt food) 1688, (smelling of burning) 1302; burst 74, 2008, 2009, 2015a, 2051; bury 1237, 1252, B 52; bush 1676, A 173; butt 1728; butterfly 111, 421a, 609, 631, A 111, B 11, B 53; buttocks 1007, 1377, A 79; buy 1062, 1729, (buy on credit) 1141.

C

Cackle, cluck **1008**; cage **697, 725** calculate **351**; calf of leg **82, 523a, 1377, 1913**; call **279, 1107, 1540, 1709, 1845**, (call out) **392, 1845**; callous (n.) **A 174**; calyx **1469**; camp **306**, (camp out) **1357**; canoe *see* boat; cap **1261** (cf. hat); careless **189, 1094** (cf. negligent); *Careya arborea* **1485**; carry **84a, 1154, A 36a, B 117**, (carry in arms) **1181**, (carry in hand) **746, 1657**, (carry in mouth) **1376, A 47**, (carry on back) **100a, 121, 374, A 59**, (carry on head) **1742, 1781**, (carry on pole between two) **548**, (carry on shoulder) **1406, 1464**, (carry on yoke) **746**, (carry slung over shoulder) **1486, A 36a**, (carry under arm) **1236, A 36a**, (carrying-basket) **2084**; cart **2011**, (v.) **590**; carve **808, 824, 981, 1675**; Caryota **245**; cast metal **1213**; castrate **1843**; cat **1838**, (wild cat) **1594a**; cataract **1734b**; catch **78, 675, 1237, 1243, 1261, 1275, B 96**, (get stuck) **471**, (catch up (with), overtake) **1254, A 89a**; caterpillar **457, 541, 684**; catfish **22**; cattle *see* ox; caw **270**; cease, stop, end, leave off **812, 943, 1113, 1514, 1903a, A 80b, A 195, B 41**; centipede **1226**; certain, certainly **A 85**; chaff **1313, 2048**; change **1518, 1615, A 156**; channel **668, 1597, (v.) 719**; charcoal **33, 1892**; charge, attack **1728**; chase **899**, (chase away) **766**; chebula *see* myrobalan; cheek **382, 1374a, 1769**; chest **1937, 2005**; chestnut **246a**; chew **1373, 1378, A 61**, (mumble) **1375**, (chew the cud) **A 49**; chief **639, A 34a**; child **1127, 1339**; chin **382, 497, 1233, 1318**; (wood) chip **A 8**; chisel **465, 808, 824, 1988**; choke **338, 441, 1695, B 71**; choose, select **1889, 1931, A 58**; chop **291, 371, 981, 1969, 1987, 2063, A 192**, (chop down) **1702**; cicada **1674**; circle round **1625, 1794**; citrus **846**, (kind of citrus) **2057a**; civet cat **1594a, A 25**; clamp **1242, 1279**; clan **1708, B 17**, (clan territory) **581**; clap **318, 1251**; claw (of crustacean &c.; *see also* nail) **1236, (v.) 460, 1881**; clay **948, 1076, A 13**; clean **7, 950, 1024, 1971, 2056, 2074a**, (clean rice by pounding) **1938**, (by tossing) **1267, 1317**; clear **7, 750, 1920, 2064, 2074a, 2077, A 35**, (clear forest) **1922, 2063**, (clear a path) **1500, 2081**; clearing **1714, 2081**, (new clearing) **1385**; cleave *see* split; clench **1042, 1209, 1366**; cliff **784**; climb **1175, 1869**; clod *see* lump; close v. *see* shut; close together **1067**; cloud **277a, 311, 945, 1255, 1305, 1479, 1811**; cluck *see* cackle; clump **1035, 1338, 1763**; cluster **309**, (fruit in clusters) **297**; (live) coal **33**; cobra **992, A 1a, B 16**; cockroach **1252a**; coconut (coconut palm) **1852**, coconut-shell measure **1750**; coffin **633**; coil **765, 1164, 1208, 1529, 1794**; coin (small coin) **1489**; cold **954, 962, 976, 1073, 1539a, A 15, (n.) 1420**; collapse *see* fall away; collect (collect together) **1320** (*see also* assemble); collection **625, 1338, 1344**; collide **76, 292, A 96**; comb **958b, 984, 1097, 1564, 1928** (comb of cock *see* crest); come **378, 1821, 2079**; command *see* order; companion **24, 1389, 1762, 1836**; company **24, 362, 1389**, (in company with) **258, 1389**; complete **335, 1326** completely, entirely **798, 875, 1691**; condense **716**; confine **675, 949** (cf. imprison, pen); confined **A 82**; confused **1548, 1796**; congeal **1221**; consider **1132**; constrained **1224**; contain **573**; container **426, 903, 1289**; contend **921**; continuously **659**; contrary *see* opposite; convey *see* bring; cook **583, 1345, 1478, 1559a, A 112**, (cook in bamboo tube) **704**, (cook over fire) **1571**, (cooked) **1137**, (cooking-pot) **195, 624a, 2075**; copper **499**; copulate **310, B 113**; cord **143, 205a, 246, 302, 1605**; cormorant **278**; corner **272, 689, 1379**; corpse **20, 388, 835, 1218, 1266a, 1543**; cotton **1904, 1915**, (dressed cotton) **228**; coucal **941**; cough **271, 298, 338, 1215**; count **1271, 1877, A 103**, (count on fingers) **1951**; country **181, 394**; courgettes **A 62**; cousin **27, 48, 1187**; cover **80, 1039, 1237, 1252, 1261, 1273, 1289, 1592, 1745, A 20**, (cover oneself) **A 19**, (cover head) **80**; crab **1348**; crack **352, 484, 589, 1972**; cradle **701, 1780a**; cram in **395, 1067, 1197**; crane **1788**; crave, craving **786**,

975, 1682; crawl **1672**, (crawl like leech) 89 (*cf.* creep); creak **1064**; creep **1664** (*of* crawl); creeper **143**, **302**, 1605, **1827**, (kinds of creeper; *see also* Willoughbeia) **1085**, (creeper yielding arrow-poison) 2082; crest, comb **1624**; cricket **1068**, **1662**; crippled **1208a** (*see also* lame); crocodile **115**; crooked **235**, **286**, 458, 862, 892, 1208a, 1794; cross **739**, **1130**, **878**, (cross out) 1890; crossbow 32, **97**, 266, 2024; crossroads **1979**; crouch 1149; crow (n.) **270**, (v.) **12**, 1840; crowd, crowded 395, 949, **1105**, (in a crowd) 1846a; cruel 1071; crush(ed), pulverize(d) 422, **818**, **952**, **977**, 1279, 1746, 1909, (fall on and crush) A 96; cry 392, 1057, 1840, (cry out) 1622, 1845; cubit **1734**; cucumber 468a, **614**, **1710**; cud *see* chew; cudgel **328**; cup 426, **620**, 826, **1806**; Curcuina **1052**; cure *see* heal; curl, curly 286, 862, 1208, (curled up) 1653; current 1597; curse 392, 2031, A 55; curve, curved 458, 765, 966, **1090**, 1208, 1529, **1626a**, 1794; cut 291, 364, **800**, 804, 812, **866**, 957, **958**, **972**, 1026, 1028, **1500**, **1969**, A 192, A **198**, (cut down) **1707a**, **1969**, (cut into) 1250, (cut off *see* sever; cut short *see* interrupt) (cut through) **824a**, **839**, (cut up) **981**, **1594**, **1786**, **2063**, A **191**.

D

Dab on 1262; dah *see* matchet; dam 681, 1003, **1260**, (dam to catch fish) **1902**; damage, damaged 876, **2048**, B **21**; dangle **1473**, **1487**; dark **653**, **974**, **1225**, **1268**, 1328, **1337**, **1360**, **1647**, A **3**, (dark place) 1273; dash against **355**; daughter-in-law 43, **248a**, 1180, 1187, 1497; dawn 660, 1242a, 1873; day **31**, 180, **1630**; dazed 519, **761**, **900**, 1589; deaf 303, **1089**; dear, beloved **391**; debt 1755, A **89**, B 15; decay **171**, **876**, 1304, **1386**, 1875; deceitful **1198**; deceive(d) **1404**, **1798**; decline 190, 532, 1268, **1528**; decrease **876** (*see also* diminish); deep **172**, 763, (deep place in river) 733; (kinds of) deer **645**, **647**, **1150**, **1508**, (barking deer) **1780**, **1911**, (sambhur deer) **389**; deficient in quantity **816**; delicious 702; delirious 239; deliver *see* save; demarcate **496a**; demolish 2051; dense **1408**, **1608**; depart **190**, 2064; descend **1528**, **1606**, **1887**, **1985**, **2062**; deserted **36**, **1397**; destroy, destroyed **718**, **861a**, 876, **927**, 1386, 2048, B **21**; dew **94**, 311, **1136**, 1255, 1419, 1600, 2049; diarrhoea 843, 2051; dibble **1329**, 1457a, **1777**; die **987**, **1218**, **1266a**, 1945, B **93**; different 190, **263**; diffuse 1991; dig 300, 371, 418, **503**, **802a**, 1329, **1541**, **1565**, **1593**, A 138, (dig out, dig up) 718, **802a**; dim **1411a**; diminish, dwindle 1118, 1190 (*cf.* decrease); dip *see* scoop; dipper **414**, **1490**; direction **1483**, **1974**; dirt, dirty **140**, **340**, **382a**, **442**, 1076, 1399; disappear 1386, 1501; dish **1331**, (pedestal dish) **1170**; disheartened A **159**; dispute possession A **77**; dissolve **422**, **1512**; distant *see* far; distaste A **158a**; distil **1345**; distribute **1112**; ditch 72, 557, **637**, 1541 (*cf.* channel); dive **834**, 1403; divide *see* split; divine, take augury **1753**; dizzy, giddy 234, **239**, 765, 1090, 1529, 1796; do **550**, **1965**; dog **41**, **1449**, (wild dog) A **176**; door **2072a**, A **41**, B **24**, (doorway) 2036; dove **1256**, **1476**, (emerald dove) 1766; down 1606; drag **1872a**; drain off 986, 1606; draw (*see also* pull) (draw designs) **1890**, (draw line) 403, 1880, **2057**, (draw out, draw sword) 831, **1084**, (draw tight *see* tighten; draw water) 315, **367**, **546**, 570; dream **105**; dribble 2051; drift **1868**; drink **63**, 107, **268**, **780**, **806**, **1106**, **1283**, 1375, B **46**, (drinking-tube) 693; drip **314**, **406**, **814**, **843**, 852, **996**, 1600, 1606, 2051; drive A 200, (drive in, drive home) **322**, 607, (drive out) A **200**; drizzle 872, 1504, 1606, 1839; droop 1190, 1657; drown 360, 423, 721, 854, 1287, 1403; drowsy 1861; drum 558, **1584**; drunk, intoxicated **796**, **1765**; dry **160**, 487, **493**, **588**, **913**, 1000, **1561**, **1970**, **2086**, A 177, (dry season) **588**, 2028, (dry up, run dry)

980, 990, 1101, 1106a; duck **77**, 1216, 1266, (duck under v.) **1652**; dust **359**, 1399, **1483a, 2034, 2044**; dwarf **892**; dwell **283**; dye **428**, 1337; dysentery **960**.

E

Each **1700**; eagle **714**; ear **319**, 555, 1621, **B 37**, (shell of ear) **A 34**, (ear ornament) **A 9**, (ear of paddy) **212, 1577**; early **893a**, 1242a, 1724; earth **64**, **A 13**; earthworm **1926, A 94**; easy **386, 1515, A 183**; eat **8**, 107, **1295, 1327, 1373**, (eat away) **A 84**, (eat rice) **527**; echo **722**; eddy **765, 863, 1090, 1208, 1669, 1794**; edge, border, rim **504, 656, 1242, 1383, 1669, 1974**; eel **579**; efficacious (medicine) **A 115**; egg **751, 1253, 1348a**; egg-plant **587, 748, A 97**; egret **280**; eight **1431, B 5**; elbow **650, 891**, (v.) **A 37b** elder **918**; elephant **520, 1930**; embankment **619, 681**; embrace, put arms round **1372, A 67a, B 76**; emerge, go out **378, 852, 986a, 998, 1207, 2062, 2068** empty **790, 2088**, (v.) **267, 872, 2080a**; enclosure **738, 765, 767, 1794**; end, termination **798, 958a** (see also tip; cease); endure, suffer **883, 1151**; enduring **1131**; engrave, incise **403, 419, 824, 1675**; enmity **145**; enough, sufficient **1240, 1292a**; enter **853, 968, 1046, 1288**; equal **149, 655, 1394**; eruption **74, 2008**; escape **842, 1108, 2064**; eunuch **1474**; evening **264, 638, 1268, 1337**; ever **B 88**; every **1700**; evident, clear **1185, 1873, 2064**; exact(ly) **1326**; exceed **1200, 1854, 2064, A 81a, B 78**; excessively **1110**; exchange, barter **1612, 1822, A 156**; excrement, faeces **794, B 40**; expect **638, 1773**; explode **2008, 2009, 2015a**; express (juice) **971**; extend **191, 544a, 1402, 1538, 1629a, 1660**; extinguish, extinguished **973, 1053, 1077, 1266a, 1288, 2051**; eye **1045, 1453**; eyelash **A 48a**.

F

Face **1045**; faded **1416, 2074a**; faint **979, 1094, 1796**; fall **400, 669, 843, 996, 1081, 1504, 1579, 1606, 2051, 2073, A 73, A 106**, (fall down) **1281, 1349, 2051**, (fall in, fall into) **1081**, (fall into ruin, fall away, collapse) **422, 861a, 1414**, (fall off) **1081, 2051**, (fall prone) **1081, 1238**; false, untrue **214, 1122**; family, lineage **1708, 1799**; fan **345, 1037, 1090, 1267**; fan-palm **461**; far, distant **1454, 1992** (as far as see up to); fast v. **884**; fasten see tie, (fastened together) **309**; fat, grease **702, 928, 1879, A 152**, (fat, plump) **635, 928, 1111, 1169, 1196, 1465, 1490a, 1523a**; father **68, 112, 893, 1265** (father-in-law see parent-in-law); fathom **327, 1944, B 83**; fault, offence **836, 1082, A 181**; fear **30, 154, 203, 261, 552, 880** feathers of arrow **1291**; feed **395, 1327, 1361, 1378** (see also eat); feel **124, 1042, 1262, 1402**; feign **214**; female **113, 151, 653a, 1126, 1163, A 141**; fence **496a, 578, 738, 1258, 1581a, A 147, B 90**; fern **237a, 899a**; festering **1566**; fever **32a, 962, 1898, A 103a**; few **816, 939, B 6**; Ficus **170**, (*Ficus septica*) **221**; fiddle **176**; field **185, 300, 1521, 2029a**, (dry field) **1651**, (abandoned dry field) **167, 1676** (cf. clearing); fig **238, 241**; fight **145, 870, 906, 1274, 1614, 1728, 1945a**, (cocks) **A 202a**; fill **395, 407** (see also full); filter **694, 2058**; fin **265, 600, 709, 1597a, 1624, B 51**; find **B 114**; fine (particles) **243**; finger **1128, 1717, 1853, 1939**, (fourth finger, index finger) **1914**, (little finger) **A 68**; finish, finished **798, 875, 943, 1539, 2017, 2066, 2080** (see also over); fire **231, 885, 1723, 1872**, (catch fire) **1575**, (make fire) **1336**; firefly **729**; firewood **254, 491, 1872**; firm **209, 530, 1176**, (firmly) **1312**; first **1554, 1667, 1703, B 63**; fish **16**, (v., see net; fish with line) **1161, A 145**, (smelling of fish) **1227**, (fish-paste) **481**, (fish-trap) **178, 602, 628, 1060, 1275, 1371, 1902, A 143**, (mouth of fish-trap) **1920a**, (set fish-trap) **1371**, (fishing-line) **A 123a**; fit, convulsion **1093**; fitting, suitable, proper **174, 399, 1240, 1387, 1580, 1713**; five **1214, 1363**; fix **986**; flame **231**, (flame

up) **253**; flap 1249; flash **444a**, 2009; flat 1078, (flat surface) 611, **1639**; flea 1252a; flesh **1956**, **A 54**; flicker **444a**, **1411a**; float (n.) 752, (v.) 1516, **1642**, (float in air) 1783 (cf. drift); flood, flooded **854**, 1287, **A 120**, **B 94**; floor **1632**, (floor timber) **595**, **841**; flour 1909, **2044**; flow 710, **878**, **1597**, **1686**, (flow out) 267, **2032**; flower 276, **1469**, **1604**, **1819**, **2023**, (v.) 346, 986a, 1083, **2023**, **B 119**; flute **1087**, **A 175**; flutter 1249; fly (n.) **1534**, (horsefly) **1247**, (v.) **1633**, **1683**, (fly through air) **777**, **1783**; foam, froth **372**, 2038; foetus **629**, **A 148**; fold **1029**, 1257, (fold back) **1086a**; follow **991**, **1463**, **A 89a**; foot **538**, **611**, **1139**, (on foot) **312**; forbid **785**, **A 134**; force in **395**, **B 71**; forearm **1673**; forehead **599**, **691a**, **731**, **1699**, **1962**; forest **181**, **394**, **B 30**; forge **1610**; forget **861**, **1094**, **1641**, **1796**; fork 352, 789, 1223, **1242**; form **463**; formerly 1667, 1854, 2017, **B 48**; four **1166**; fowl **1552**; fox 528, 1594a; fragile *see* brittle; fragrant **1432**, 1441, 1563; framework **533**, **598**; francolin 847; frayed **1509**; fresh (green) **1925**, (fresh water) 1292; friend **27**, 102, **109**, **535a**, **1241**, **1762**, 1836; frighten **261**, (frightened) **857**, **1086**; fringe **A 132**; frog **393**, **956** from 3, 1342; frond of palm **789**, **1223**; front 1554, **1703**, **B 63**; froth *see* foam; frown 62, **896**; fruit **871**, **1524**; fry **338a**; full **335**, **907**, (full to overflowing) 1643; fungus **1903**; furrow **1599**.

G

Galanga 564; gall, bile, gall-bladder 554, **1048**; (wild) game **1382**; garden 1581a, **B 90**; gate of sliding poles 1665; gather *see* assemble, (gather up) **901**, **983**; gaur 577, **A 135**; generous **2047**; get 384, **1179**, (get up) 852, 1824 (cf. receive); ghost **388**, 835, **B 55**; gibbon **934**, **1784**; giddy *see* dizzy; gin cotton 2024; ginger **216**; gird 1061; girdle **1173**; give **1119**, 1148, **1434**, **1616**, **1712**; gizzard 1752a; glide **1664**, 1783, (glide through air) **169**; glisten **758**; glitter **523**, 750, 1873; glow-worm 729; gnash **845**, 106k; gnat **644**, 1496; gnaw **1125**, **A 84**; go 291, **415**, 1080, **1202**, **1821**, 2079, **A 99**, (go away) 81, 301, **998**, (go back, go backwards) **1109**, 1190, (go out *see* emerge; go round) **765**, **767**, **931**, **1056**, **1090**, **1333**, 1625, **1669**, **A 53a**, (go up *see* ascend); goat **126**, (mountain goat) **1967**; go-between 918; gold **1789**, 1873; good **193**, **443**, **832**, **1401**, **B 92**, (good-tempered) **B 92**; goose **1216**; gore 603, 1340; gourd **748**, 1525, 1756, **1835**, (bottle-gourd) **587**; grain, kernel 1276, 1574, **B 29**; granary **A 117**, **B 109**; grandchild 40, **43**; grandfather 68, 192; grandmother **49**, **151**; grandparent **A 171**; grasp, hold **510**, **1042**, **1134**, **1209**, 1243, **1275**, **1311**, **1312** (cf. grip); grass 749, **1034**, **1054**, **1269**, **B 30**, (thatching-grass) **106**, **155**, **749**; grasshopper **838a**, **1256a**, **A 202** grassland **B 30**; grate 799, 867; grave 835; gravel 1792, **1936**; graze, grazing **1797**; great-grandchild **40**; great-grandfather 51; great-grandmother 49; green **47**, **1559b**, **1585** (cf. fresh); grey **369a**, (grey hair, grey-haired) **25**, 164; grill 487, 1559a, **1812**, **2041**; grind **1056**, 1064; grip **1236**, **1239** (cf. grasp); groan 1588, 1959, **A 186**; groin **1749**; grope 432, 1042, 1262; ground **64**; group **362**, 1338, 1344, **1759**, 1762; grow 378, 651, **986a**, **1219**, **1220**, **1343**, 1402, 1649, 1878; growl **1429**; grub 457, **1551**, (edible grub) **204**, **B 43**; guava **1876**; guess **A 154**; guest **1498**; gullet 686; gulp in air **2087**; gum 1040, 1601, (gums) **924** (cf. resin); gush, spurt **710**, 719, 2051; gut v. **843a**; gutter 406.

H

Hail **1791**; hair **467**, (body hair) **1803**, **A 24**, (facial hair) 932, **A 104**; half 352, 1721, 2015, 2035; hall 670; hammer **332**, **333**, **607**, **1047**, 1340, **A 107a** (*see also* forge); hand **66**, **244**, (put hand in) **1833**, (hand's breadth) **A 107**, (hand of bananas) **A 14a**,

(hand over) 511, **1148**, 1712, **1822**, (hand to) 1264; handful **1366**; handle **516**, **547**, 1311, **1578**; hang (up) 374, **459**, **648**, (hang down) **1657**, (hang from) 1754; happy **482a**, A 121; hard **674**, (hard wood) **398**; harden in flame 1685; hare **1468**; harness 1240; harp 896a; harrow 300, 1928; harsh **657**, **801**; harvest *see* reap; hat **381**, **1159** (cf. cap); hatch 821, 2062; hate **224**; have, possess **639**, 1183, **1472**, **1980**, (have to) 1472; hawk 714; he 2, 6, **26**, 92, **252**, **1115** (cf. him); head **361**, 426, 614, **889**, 1260, **1443**, 1718; heal, healed, cure(d) 1108, 1501, A **195**; healthy, well **386**, 445, **482a**, A **52**; heap **350**, **369**, **1178**, 1741; hear **555**, **646**, **649**, **833**, **1586**; heart **1912**, 1924; hearth 231, **262**, **775**, A **23**; heartwood **398**; heat (v.) **1671**, 1812, (to radiate heat) **936**; heavy **52**, **1146**, **1347**; heel 1748, B **64**; help **571**, **1270**, **1390**, **1705**, B **106**; herd 1759, (v.) 1797; here 6, **79**, 91, 92, 1435a; hero 2060; hibiscus **1646**; hiccough **9**; hide, hidden **143a**, **1121**, **1168**, 1261, 1273, 1592, A **40**, A **107b**; high **537**, **690**, **763** hill, hillock, mountain **182**, 350, 626, **676**, **1369**, **1626**, **1738**, **1741**, **1775**, A **28**; him 60; hinder A **155a**; hire, lease **713**, 1531, **1726**; hiss 2087; hit, strike **76**, **174**, **318**, 322, **558**, **1010a**, **1014**, **1027**, 1092, 1251, **1340**, **1945a**, **1978**, **1997**, 2001, **2010**, **2022**, (lightning) A **36b**, (hit the mark) 293a, **1361a**, (hit with fist) **1617**, (hit with stick) 2001; hoarse B **39**; hobble (v.t.), hobbles **745**; hoe 215, 300, **371**, **418**, **1987**, A **166a**; hog-plum **1189**; hold *see* grasp, (hold in arms) **1372**, (hold out) 576a; hole **72**, **430**, **557**, **622**, **666**, **686**, **724**, **778**, **790**, **1396**, 2069, **2070**, (make hole) **1329** hollow 622, **666**, **724**, **790**; homosexual 1474; hood of cobra **394**; hook, hooked 286, **375**, 458, A **56**, (fish-hook) A **145**; hop **863a**; hope 1367a, 1773; horizontal 496; horn **21**, **699**, (rhinoceros horn) A **2**; hornbill **284**, **495**, **672**; hornet **485**, 873, 1560; horse **707**, **2089**; horsefly **1247** hot **70**, **803**, 858a, **897**, 936, **1000**, 1307, 1559a, **1671**, A **193**; house **37**, **152**, **509**; how many, how much 1650; howdah **769**; howl **196a**, 1959; hump **107a**, 108; hundred **792**, **1405**, B **122**; hungry **975**; hunt down **118**; husband *see* spouse; husk 1237, 1568, (v.) 320a; hut, shelter 278a, **1145a**, 1237, 1252, 1273, **1359**.

I

I 1, 2; idle, lazy **1512**, **1891**, **1941**, 2088, B 66; ill *see* sick; immerse(d) **721**, **834**, **1287**, **1321**; immoral **836** (cf. bad); immovable **209**; importunate A 162; imprison 296, 675; in **67**, **85**, **593**, 1217, 1342; incise *see* engrave; increase **1219**, **1503**, **1649**; indigestion 1695; indistinct **1752**; infectious A **105**; inflated 101; inform 896a, 2043; inhale 1104, 1106, **1294**; injure **411**; in-law **1180**; inlay **419**; insect **134**, 457, 541; insert, put in 292, 296, 395, **532a**, 982, 986, **1005**, 1245, (insert hand into hole) **438**; insult *see* abuse; intention **1905**; interlaced *see* intertwined; interrupt 972; intertwined, interlaced **324**, **1177**; intestines **441a**, **708**, 735, **776**, **844**, 1752a; invulnerable 512; iron A **184**, B **110**; island **23**; it 2, 46, 1115; itch **35**, **957**, **1848**, 1880; ivory **225**, **450**.

J

Jackfruit **1810**; jar (kinds of jar) **163**, **195**, **323**, 743, 826, **1983**, A **43**, A **108**; jaw **497**, **1318**, (jawbone) **1303**; jew's harp 557; jingle, small bell **1870**, A **125**; Job's tears **123**, 1447; join 1032, 1240, 1245, 1463, 1605, (joined edge to edge) 1245; joint **452a**, **543**, 1240, A 45a; joist 595, 1914; joke A **96a**; joyful **1553**; jump, leap **863a**, **988**, **1080**, **2016**.

K

Keep 1120, A 116a; kick 1910, 1989, 1997, A 179; kidney 229, A 204; kill 965 (see also die); kind 2047, (feel kindly towards) 1188; kite (bird) 714, (toy) A 46; knead 858, A 92; knee 486, 543a, 1706, (back of knee) 1147; kneel 938, 1644; knife 540, 864, 1908, 1953, (back of knife-blade) A 86; knock 1978; knot 959, 967, (knot in wood) A 16; know 592, 677, 896a, 904, 1286, 1341, 1973; koel 1863.

L

Lac 849; lack, lacking 943; ladder, stair 515, 565; ladle 159, 344, 456, 1490; lake 1858a; lame B 35; lament 902, 1622, A 186; lamp 660, 1831 (cf. lantern); land 64, 350, 1970, (going by 1.) 312; (paper) lantern 1316 (cf. lamp); large, big 164a, 569, 737, 1996; last, final 798; late 1462, A 17; laugh A 113, B 116; lay egg 2013; layer 1257; lazy see idle; lead (n.) 409, (v.i.) 1554, B 67, (v.t.) 304; leaf 230, (edible 1.) B 7; leak 843, 1600, 1606, 2051; lean (adj. see thin; v.) 532, 596, B 50, (lean on) 84, 1470, 1705, 1754, (lean over) 759; leap see jump, (leap over) A 194; learn 72a, 904, 1192; lease see hire; leave, abandon 190, 291, 320a, 1022, 1397, 1514, 2051, 2064, 2072, (leave alone) 1514 (leave off see cease); leech 1858, (land 1.) 1410; left-hand 233, 1795, 1814; leg 538, 1139; leisure (at 1.) A 7; lend 1390; lengthen 1402; leprosy A 88; level 655, 1394, 1998, 2001, (level, with hands) 815; lever 802a, 1157; lick 1075, 1286a, 1409; lid see cover; lie, tell lies 861, 1663a, (lie abed) B 66, (lie down) 305, 797, 1357, (lie face down) 1238, 1277, (lie on back) 1590; life 1958; lift 100a, 385, 425, 479, 1207, 1656, 2050 (cf. raise); light 489, 660, 1920, (illuminate) 1725, (set light to, kindle) 524, 549, 805, 1004, 1546, 1984, A 11, (not heavy) 881, 1731, 1801, B 62; lightning 431, 444a, 1893, 1947, 2009; like, resembling 149, 1332 (v. see love); lime 1636; linchpin 1477; line 1605, 2057; lip 1471, 1598, 1629, 1648; listen (to) 575, 604, 646, 942, 1586; litter 166, 548, 701; little, small in quantity 59, 816, 817, 939, 1016, 1118, B 100; live, be alive 651, 1299, 1925 (reside see dwell); lively A 52; liver 1411, 1912, 1924, B 89; lizard (Calotes lizard) 1446, (kind of lizard) 1767, A 37a; load 334, 395, 407; lodge for night 1357; loft 179, 683, 1533; log A 146; lonely, deserted 36, 979; long 537, 690, 740, 768, 1219, (in duration) 1856, A 17, (long thing) B 45, (long-haired) 1509, (longer) A 128; look (at) 129, 664, 1138, 1572, 1773, B 72, (look at from a distance) 1696, (look for with light) 1725, (look round) 640, (look up, look upwards) 288, 493a; loose 157, 859, 1549, 1690, 2085, (come loose, become loose) 1081, 1512, 1658, 1666, 2051; loosened 1968; lorikeet 1010; lose, lost 190, A 201, (lose one's way) 741, 766; lotus (blue lotus) 534; loud 1900; louse 39, (body louse) 920; love 391, 798a, 2040; low 1259, 1747, 1887, 2012; lower v. 1657, 2062; lump, clod 1736; lung 247.

M

Mad 1093, A 44; maggot 54, 840, 1551, 1666a; maize 122a, A 130; make 550, 1965; male 692, 893, 1776, 1859, 1940, B 14, (male animal) 502, 2078, (young male) 1355, A 199; man 692 (cf. male); manner 1332; many 737, 1211, 1219, 1344, 1545, A 14; Maranta dichotoma 1193; mark 1506; marry 652, A 139 marsh 602, 628, 1330, 1393, 1858a; massage 255; master 208; mat 1761; matchet, dah 184, 1953; matter, affair A 170; meal B 20; measure 1018, 1951; meat 647, 871, 1382a, 1480, 1956, A 54; medicine 1343; meet 1241, 1246, 1338, 1344, 2010, A 89a, B 67, B 120; melon 468a, 614 melt 422, 716, 1512; memorize 904; mend, patch 220, A 160, B 54; middle 85,

735, 1721, 1743; midnight 1721; millet 123, **1447, 1834** mindful **2033**; miracle 1206; miss 753, **861**, 1082, A 181; mist, fog 277a, 311, 1225, 1255, **1479**, 1546, 1839; mistake 741, **861, 1404, A 140, A 181**; misty 1268; mithan 95; mix **222**, 234; molar **1303, 1318**; mole 1129, 1481; mongoose 528; (kind of) monkey **242, 335a**; moon, month **1542, B 105**; moor, mooring-post **764**; more (than) 1219, **1314**, 1511, 1854, A 128; Morinda **61**; morning **1242a, A 129**; mortar **370, 1715, 1757**; mosquito 873, **947, 1496**; moss **1527a**; mother **113, 131, 132**, (mother-in-law) B 75; mould, shape **1213, A 92**; mouldy **15, 138, 368**; mound 350, **1738**, 1741; mount **334**; mountain *see* hill, (mountain goat) **1967**; mouse **93**; mouth 484, **605, 911, 1001**, 1375, 1378, 1629, 1648, **2020**, (have in mouth) **1375, 1376**, 1378; mouthful 1375; mouth-organ A **80**; move **2013, A 95a**, (move aside) 2062, (move away, move house) 1501, 2062, (move up and down) **1267**; much **737, 1310, 1415, A 14**, (as much as) 1650, A 38; mucus, snot 1655, **1961**; mud 442, **482, 1393, A 26**; muddy, turbid 277a, **1708a** multiply, proliferate **1545**; must *see* have to; musty 13, 138, 1304; myna 757; myrobalan (chebulic myrobalan) **1654**.

N

Nail, claw **642, 1422, 1874**; naked **1707, A 31**; name **147, A 5**; nape of neck **1135**; narrow 949, **1105, 1160, A 82**; nation, tribe **1708**, 1759, (tribal group) 1498; nausea, nauseated 951, **1301a, 1695**; navel **434, 582, A 148**; near **1015, 1152, 1272, 2014** nearly 1483; neck **17, 744, 1135**; necklace *see* beads; needle 929; negligent **1487** (*cf.* careless); nephew, niece **1187, 1497**; nerve **149a, 561, 1210**; nest **1421**; net 324, **B 85**, (clap-net) A **27a**, (scoop-net) 536; nettle 873; new **144, B 86**; news **705, 1845**; next 1554, **B 86**; niece *see* nephew; night **264, 638, 974, 1077, 1268, 1328, 1352, 1647**; nightjar **449, 455**; nine **1144, 1351**; nip **819, 1239** (*see also* pinch); noble **1829**; nod 52, **287, 1444, 1722**; noise 1584, 1900, A **144**, (make a noise) 1900, (make inarticulate noise) **161**, (make noise with lips) **810**; noisy **B 13**; nose 517, **2045**; not **1297**.

O

Obstruct *see* block; ochre (earth yielding red ochre) **1576**; offer, present 1148, 1531, (offer to superior) **1133**; offerings (make offerings) **2059**; oil **702, 805a, 928**; old **57, 164, 1386, 1395, 1667, 1787, 1891, A 64**, (old bachelor, old maid) **1851a**, (old man) 68; omen 1753; on **194, 727, 1207, 1217, 1718**; one **86, 1495**, (one pronoun, oneself) 90, **483** onion **1300**; only A **110**; open **276, 307, 346, 353, 484, 606, 2029, 2036, 2067, 2081**, (open eyes) **421**, (open mouth) **251, 484**, (force open) 1884; opening **605, 2081**; oppose **1888, 1896**; opposite, contrary **1896**; oppress 1224; or **2065**; order, command **1555, B 87**, (in order to) 1332, 1472, 1905; oriole **1849**; orphan **1440**; osprey 278; other **490, 1435, 2019**; otter **260, A 50**; outside 181, 394, **1975**; outstretched **327, 577a**; over, finished **250, A 196**; overflow 1287, 2032; overturn, turn upside down, capsize **423, 722, 1238, 1277, 1287, 1544**; owl **1816**; owner **208**; ox, cattle **119, 377, 396, 577**, (wild ox) 577.

P

Pacify **A109**; packed close 1279; paddle **159**; paddy *see* rice; pain, painful 44, 1566; paint 428, B 18; pair 1326, 1389, 1720, (one of a pair) 2015; palate A **150**; palm, sole **337, 447, 611, 1735**, (kinds of palm-tree) **461, 700, 1055**; pangolin **1732**; pant **480, 1104**; papaya **793**; paradoxure 528, A 25; parakeet **1010**; parch (rice) 338a (parched rice

see rice); parent-in-law **102**, 1679; part 352, 1969, 2035; partition *see* wall; pass 462, **739**, 1015, **1200**, **1854**, 2064, **A 81a**, **B 78**, (pass through) **703**, (pass under) **1652**; passage 703, 739, 2081; past 1200, **1854**; path *see* road; patient 883, **B 79**; paw the ground 1398, 1954; pea 1489; peacock **416**; peak **676**; pebble **1792**; peck 295, 418, 1442, **1987**, **1993**; peel **347**, 421, **464**, **466**, **1799**, 1938, 2030, 2067; peg locking spoke 1477; pelican **572**; pen, pound 675, 767, 1669; penetrate 853, 2069; penis **855**, **1520**, **1857**; pepper **851**; perch, alight **1158**, 1357, 1994, (n.: climbing perch) **915**; person **2**, **20**, **60**, 110, **139**, **183**, **1455**, 1940; persuade **248**, 1404; pester **820**; pestle **1508a**; pheasant 847, **A 48**, **B 97**; phlegm 476; pick, pluck **390**, **800**, **804**, **823**, 1020, **2030**, (pick handfuls of) 1931, (pick teeth) 808, (pick up) 983, 2030, **B 98**; piece 1969, **A 157**; pierce, stab, transfix **292**, 295, **532a**, **808**, **822**, **982**, **1250**, 1329, **1678**, **1988**, 1993, **2069**; pig 19, **417**, **1596**; pigeon **448**, **1284**, (green pigeon) **1766**, (imperial pigeon) **1319**; pile 1245, 1257, 1247a, 1741, (piled up) 1062; pillow 1705, 1744, **B 44**; pimple **1186**, 2008; pinch 949, **1020**, **1236**; pine **B 2**; pit **72**, **557**, 686; pity **798a**, **B 103**; place (n.) **1217**, **A 18**, **B 4**, (v.) **42**, **1120**. (take the place of *see* replace); placenta **468**; plain 1797, **1921**; plait **898**, 910; plane 799, 1929; plant (n.) **562**, **1343**, **1570**, (v.; cf. n.) **1457a**, **1733**, (plant used to treat wounds) 1591; plantain *see* banana, (plantain bud) **82**; platform **179**, **278a**; play **712**, **933**, (play wind instrument *see* blow); pleasant-tasting **A 188**; plentiful **1557**, **1643**, 1701; pliant *see* soft; plough **1599**, **1720**; pluck (feathers) 1084, (strings) **896a** (*see also* pick); plump *see* fat; point (out) **1830**; pointed **929**, **1413**, **B 65**; poison **1461**, **A 207**, (arrow-poison) **2082**, (vegetable poison) **28**, 1601, 1765, (poison fish) **1846**; poisonous 1765, **B 82**, (poisonous sap) **1601**; poke *see* prod; polished **758**; pond, pool **602**, **629**, 733, **1858a**; poor 1190, 1440; porcupine **142**, 528, **1883**; possess *see* have; post 538, **691**, **1050a**, (sacrifice post) **511**, (tethering-post) 764; pot (kinds of pot) **195**, **556**, 826, (work clay) **1184**, (water-pot) 748; potato (sweet potato) 1374, 1532; potsherd **774**; pounce 1398; pound (n. *see* pen; v.) **370**, **383**, 1340, **1909**, 2001; pour **480a**, 843, **986**, 1504, **1597**, 1606, 1686, **2039**, 2051, (pour out) **267**, **480a**, 710, 842, 1460, 1504, 1544, **2003**, 2051; powder 2034; prawn **1419a**, **1901**; pray **A 55**; pregnant 1649, **A 90**; prepare, prepared 1269a, **1282**; present *see* offer; press **1020**, **1021**, (press down, press down on) **971**, **1746**, (press together) 1279, (press lips together) 1375, 1376; pretence, pretend 214, 1198, 1798; prevent **785**, 1003; prey 118; price **1886**; prick 292, 295, **532a**, 982, **1897**; prickly pear 173; prisoner of war **1522**; privy **B 40**; proceed **1202**; proclaim **1899** prod, poke **292**, 1678; profit **1508a**; project, protrude **576**, **1663**; prong **281** prop, support, shore 596, **1263**, **1470**, **1705**, **1744**; protrude *see* project; provide 511; provoke 295; pudenda (female pudenda) **A 144a**; pull, draw **546**, **570**, 914, (pull apart, pull to bits) 823, 1028, 1952, 2030, (pull away) **914**, (pull hard on) **1058**, (pull off) **320a**, **1904a**, (pull out, pull up) **354**, 831, **1002**, **1058**, 1884, **1904a**, **A 28b** pulverize *see* crush; pumpkin 1525, **1637**, **1756**; pungent, hot **783**, 1307; pupil of eye 1453; pus 2015a, 2038, **A 39**; push **A 164**, (push in) **1665**; pustulate **74**, **2008**, **2015a**; put **42**, **317**, **1120**, (put away) 1282, (put down, lay down) **317**, **1898a**, 2013, 2062, (put in *see* insert; put in place) **306**, (put on *see* wear; pull round 357, 1208; python **1205**, **B 16**.

Q

Quail 847, **969**; quantity **1650**; quarrel, quarrelsome 870, **895**; question **1050**; quick **1602**, **1932**; quiet, silent **379**, **979**, **1323**, **1427**; quill of porcupine **1681**, A 48a; quiver 426, B 34.

R

Rack **179**, **533**, **683**; raft **1167**; rafter **10**; rain **127**, **141**, **180**, **539**, 930, 1419, 2003; rainbow **706**, 1626a; rainy season 1419; raise **100a**, 385, **425**, **2050**, 2061, (bring up) 664, **1361**, 1438, **1670**, (raise fist) 1656, (raise high) **1781** (cf. lift); rake 1564, 1881, **1928**, **1935**; rampart *see* wall; rancid **1698**, B **57**; rat **93**; rattan **249**, 302, **782**, **1827**, A **197**, (kind of rattan) **772**; rattle **341**; ravage 927; raw **1925**; ready **399**, **1282**; really A **85**; reap, harvest **390**, 800, **804**, **866**, **1058**; receive **573**, **1151**, 1261, (welcome) A **32** (cf. get); reciprocal A **114**; recognize **1716**; recover, repossess 2000, (recover from illness) **1493**, A **195**; red **688**, **788**, 1362, **1977a**; redeem 1531, 2067; reduce 1945; reed, rush **693**, **2027**, (*Maranta dichotoma* rush) **1193**; reflect 660; refrain, forbear B **79**; regret 1323; release 2000, 2064; rely on **1367a**; remain *see* stay; remember 1341, 1907, **1973**, 2033; remove **307**, 315, 766, **2000**, (remove from hole) **438**; repay 1112, A **116**, B **73**; repeat **1156**, 1794; replace, take the place of **545**; report **705**; residue, waste **2048**; resin, resinous **1458**, **1595** (cf. gum); respect 1387, 2050; rest 78, **226**, 1994; restless **1204**; retch **11**; return 765, 1090, 1156, 1669, 1794, **1821**, 2079; rhinoceros **1072**, **1923**, (rhinoceros horn) A **2**; rib **410**, 1914, (rib-cage) **1937**; rice **38**, **120**, **187**, (cooked rice) **610**, **617**, 1295, 1345, **1480**, 1634, (glutinous rice) 948, (husked rice) **257**, **1820**, (parched rice) 2008, 2015a, (rice-beer) 1345, (rice-gruel) 1634, (rice seedling) 133; rich 639, 1980; riddle A 154; ride **334**, 374; ridge **517**, **667**, **1578**, (roof-ridge) **1309**; right, correct 76, **293a**, **1713**, A 36, (right-hand) **135**, **1353**, (right way up) **1590**; rind 347, 466, 1568; ring **498**, **1145**, **1182**, 1208, 1794; rinse **165**, 719, (rinse mouth) 1645, **1837**; ripe **1362**, **1878**, (half-ripe) **695**; rise (sun) 378, 852; river **210**, **668**, (river-mouth) 2081; road, path **162**, **590**, **698**, **736**, **1123**, 1174; roar **177**; roast 487, **544**, 1571, 1812, 2041; rob **211**, 856 (cf. steal); rock (n.) B **42**, (v.) **1437**, 1444, 1473; roll **1201a**, 1208, 1772, A **126**, (roll thin) 815, (roll up) **1033**, 1086a, 1208, 1529, **1653**, 1669, 1772; roller **1751**; roof 496, (roof-ridge) **1309**, (roof timbers) 683; room, compartment **1359**; root **1927**, (root up) **315**, A **180**; rope *see* cord; rot 171, **1875** (*see also* decay; rotten); rotate **730**, 1013, **1056**; rotten **138**, **148**, **368**, **955**, **1304**, **1441**, 1563 (*see also* rot); rough **1071**; round (in shape) **1201a**, 1653, 1772, 1794 (*see also* around); row (n.) **659**, **665**, **1605**, 2057, (v.) **507**; rub **255**, **858**, 994, **1024**, **1036**, **1102**, **2004**, (rub between palms) 815, (rub on) 1042; rubbish 1399; rumble, reverberate **1358**, **1392**, 1622; run 81, **988**, 1057, **1080**, **1602**, **1612**, (run away) **81**, 1057; rust **2055**.

S

Sacred being 388, 2060; sacrifice post **511**; sad 979; saffron *see* Curcuma; saliva A **168**; salt **1770**, **2037**, B **27**, (salted, salty) A 75; same 149; sand 358, **874**, **1737**; sap **1601**; sapling **756**; sated **259**, **473**, **951**, **1424**, **1701**, B **26**; savage **657**; save, deliver **1108**, 1705; saw **944**, 958; say 161, 1457, 1900, **1964**, B 101; scab 1848; scabies **273a**; scale (v.) 1938, 2030, (scales of fish) **1244a**, B **38**; scar **219**; scare away 1544; scatter, scattered **837**, 872, **1059**, **1066**, **1460**, **1501**, **1504**, **1991**, 2039, 2051; *Schima wallichii* **175**; scissors 1500; scold 902, A 83a, A **205**; scoop, dip **315**, 380, 456, **634**, 867, **2080a**,

(scoop-net) 536; scour 469; scrape **802**, 958b, 1541, **1564**, **1880**, **1881**, **1935**, **1938**; scratch 371, 472, **802**, 802a, **867**, **958b**, **964**, **1442**, **1541**, **1880**, **1881**, **1928**, A **138**; scrub, heathland **1676**, A **173**; sea **210**, **67**; search **970**, 1928, A **131**; seat 1620; *see* **45**, **158**, **1696**, 2043, B **72**; seed **133**, **1276**, **1492**, **1574**, 1733, 1778, B **29**; seek out **807**, **1581**; seep *see* trickle; seize 827, **1243**, 1261, **1275**, (seize in talons) A **70**; select *see* choose; self **20**, 87, **483**; sell **813**, 1822; send 1712, (send out) A **200**; separate **291**, 1501, 1538, 1968, **2030**, 2051, 2064, (separate by force) **1884**; sessamum **34**; set *see* enter; settle dispute B **58**; seven **1758**; sever, severed **812**, **999**, **1028**, 1500; sew **894**, **1897**; shade **1225**; shadow **111**, 935a, 1225, 1268, **1447a**, **1647**, **1779**, B **99**; shady 1273; shake **29**, **161a**, **394**, **454**, **559**, **811**, 1898, **1995**, **2007**, A **122**, B **74**, (shake down) 2051, (shake off) 1081, 1623, 1995, (shake up and down) 1267; shallow **1747**, A **165**; shaman 1823; share out 352, 451; sharp **1100**, **1413**, 2069; sharpen, whet **925**, 1026, **1100**, **1929**, A **158**; shatter, dehisce (cereals) 2051; shave (down) **799**, **802**, 867, 1500, **1564**, 1880, **1881**; she 2, 26, 1115; sheath, sheathe 1098, 1289, **1400**; shed n. 670, 1237; shelduck 1266; shell 199, 1568; shellfish **199**; shelter (n. *see* hut; v.) **405**, **1592**, A **107b**; shield **1805**; shine **489**, **535**, **660**, **750**, 936, 1575, **1873**; (roof) shingle 440, (shingles, herpes) A **190**; ship **633**; shoot (n.) **629a**, 636, 711, 726, **756**, (v.) **905**, (shoot with blowpipe) 1023, 1958, 2028, 2069, (shoot with pellet-bow) 2024; short 202, 1016, 1160, **1747**; shoulder **100**, **218**, **445**, (shoulder-blade) 100, A **12**; shout 392; show 158, 214, 1696, 2043; shred 1026; shrimp **1419a**, **1919**; shrivel 1095; shut, close **522**, **1039**, 1237, 1261, **1289**, (shut eyes) **1228**, (shut mouth) **1228**, 1378; sibling (elder sibling) **5**, **117**, 1494, **1531a**, (younger sibling) **122**, **1306**, **1957**, (sibling's spouse) 48; sick, ill **44**, **55** (cf. sickness); sickle 866, B **77**; sickness **55**, 1566, A **103a** (cf. sick); side 352, 410, **446**, **504**, **1914**, **1974**, A **57**, (side of figure) **742**, ((on the) far side, further side) 1466, 1475, (one of two sides) **2015**; sieve **401**, **662**; sigh 1588, 1958, 2087; silent *see* quiet; silk B **8**; silver **1774**; simmer **1478**; sinew **249a**, **561**, **1210**, B **32**; sink **423**, 721, 834, **854**, 1287, 1330, 1384, **1403**; siphon **1607**; sister 48, (sister-in-law) 1494 (cf. sibling); sit **283**, **1427**, **1448**, **1818**, (sit on eggs) **1165**, **1356**, (sit still) **379**; six **1734a**, **1851**; size 1650; skate, ray **1760**; skewer **1005**, 1678 (cf. spit); skilful **1452**; skin 464, 466, **1370**, 1568, **1687**, **1825**, 1904a, 2063, 2067; skirt *see* waistcloth; skull 426, 1699, 1981; sky **180**, **776a**, **930**, A **29**; slander A **83a**; slant **494**, **532**, 1031; slap 1010a, **1251**, 2010, **2022**; slave **329**, B **23**; sleep **305**, **424**, **797**, 1444; slice 402, **839**, 981, 1591, 2063; slide in **1665**; slip 1076, **1081**, **1666**, (slip in, sneak in) 1412; slippery **1076**, 1081, **1646a**, **1668**; slit-drum **341**, 903; slope, sloping 532, 759, **1069**, 1970; slough 1024a, 2067; slovenly **189**; slow **1334**; small **59**, **817**, 939, **1016**, **1096**; smallpox 923; smear (on) 1024, **1076**, B **18**; smell **887**, 1104, **1563**, 1960, (bad smell; cf. stink) 148, (smelling of burning) 1302, (smell, smelling, of fish) **1227**, 1698; smile A **113**; smoke **1302**, 1546, **1828**, A **11**, (emit smoke) **1450**, **1546**; smooth 1076, 1081, **1668**, **1803a**; snail **71**, **199**, (water snail) **1867**; snake 54, **937**, 1205, 1846, **1921a**; snap (at) **373**, 1231, A **124**, (snap fingers) 1014; snare *see* trap; sneeze **1894**, 1900; sniff **1104**, **1296**; snore **1631**; soak **563**, **1321**, **1355a**, 1384, 1419; soap acacia **1609**, 1640; soar 1625; sob **273**, **480**; soft 47, **909**, **1044**, **1124**, **1335**, **1692**, (pliant) 711, (soft-hearted) 1515; soldier 906; sole *see* palm; solid 209, **819a**, 1003, **1248**; solitary *see* lonely; some 1650, 2065; someone 92a, 110; son (son-in-law) 43, **248a**, 1180, **1519** (*see* child); soon **893a**; sore 186a, A **72**; sorghum 122a; soul **111**, 935a, 1447a, **1543**, **1779**; sound (make a sound) **1900**, (make a loud sound) **1840** (cf. noise); soup 1480, 1634; sour **50**, 989, **1074**, **1895**, B **57**; sow

837, 1059, 1252, **1457a**, 1504, **1778**; spade 215; span **89**, **1301**, **B 84**, **B 108**; spark **2008**, **2015a**; sparrow **838**, 1243a; sparse 1538; speak **1425**, **1457**, **1704**, 1900, 1907, **1964**, **B 101**; spear, lance 227, **308**, **1157**, **1906**; speech **1949**; spend **1459**; spider **630**, **A 161**; spill 267, **435**, 480a, 669, 2032; spin **730**, (spinning-wheel) 1114, 1625; spindle 213, 1114; spine **667**, 1578; spirit **1367**, **1543**, 2060, (afflicted by spirits) **1364**, (evil spirit, malevolent sprit) 168, 388; spit (v.) **828**, **2006**, **2090**, (transfix; also n., cf. skewer) **822**, (hawk and spit) **476**; splash 837, 872; spleen 229, **232**; split, divide, cleave **291**, 331, **352**, **364**, **402**, **404**, **451**, **465**, **472**, **1982**, **2035**, **2063**, **A 192**, **A 198**, (split open) **821**; Spondias mangifera **1189**; spoon 159, 344, **456**; spotted **922**; spouse, husband 24, **652**, 893, **1519**, 1679, **1836**, 1859, **A 139**, (sibling's spouse) 48; spout **1488**; spread **191**, 421, 680, **926**, **1078**, **1285**, 1402, 1501, 1538, **1629a**, 1660, (spread legs) **687**, (spread mat) **1761**, (spread out to dry) 1991, **A 177**; sprinkle **837**, 872, **1059**, 1504, **2039**, 2051; sprout, grow **986a**, **1083**, 2067; spur of cock **641**, 1929; squat 938, 1149, 1357; squeeze 830, **1020**, **1021**, 1061, **1239**, 1242, 1746; squint 494, **759**, **1862**; squirrel **412**, **B 102**, (flying squirrel) 159km, (kind of squirrel) **1934**; squirt, syringe 837, 872, 2051; stab *see* pierce; stable, byre **697**, **725**; staff *see* stick; stagger **1013** stain, stained 1337; stair *see* ladder; stake 322, (marker stake) 1050a, (sharpened point, panji) **685**; stale 955, 1304; stalk, stem **506**, **516**, **543**, 562, (stalk v.) 1412; stammer **13**; stamp foot 1153a, **1398**; stand (up) **332**, **538**, **1502**, **1824**; star **888**; starling **757**; startled **1057**, 1206; stay, remain 78, **283**, **643**, 1131, **1818**, **1994**, 2046, **A 128**; steal **211**, **560**, **856** (cf. rob); steam v. **779**; steep adj. 681; step **349**, 1153a, **1315**, **A 83**, (step of stair) **342**, (step back, retreat) **842**; stew 513; stick, staff **328**, **A 42**, (stick v.; *see also* catch) **908**, **1040**, (stick in) **407**, **982**, 1005, 1250, (stick up) **514**; sticky **948**, **1040**, 1076, **1646a**, **1659**; stiff **508**, 530, 567, **574**, 917; still, yet **A 128**; sting **873**, (smart) 186a, 957, 1684; stink, stinking 15, 138, 1304, **1441**, 1563, **1960**; stink-badger **A 151**; stir 1090, 1529, **1569**, 1669, 1794; stockade **1258**; stomach **776**, **865**, 1752a (cf. belly); stone **146**, **429**, **B 42**; stop **78**, **958a**, **B 31**, (stop up) **296**, **1098**, 1739, 1745, **A 149** (*see also* cease); storm **1567**, **1839**; straddle 577a, 687; straight 530, 567, 696, **1583**, **A 36**, (run straight) **696**; strain (at) **914**; strangle 1061, 1197; straw **186**, 516, **A 9a**, **B 56**; stream 733, (stream-bed) **1556**; stretch, stretched **530**, **544a**, **567**, **574**, **813a**, (stretched out) 577a, (stretch out foot, hand) 432, 1402, **A 28a**; strike *see* hit; string (of beads &c.; *see also* cord) **1605**, (crossbow string) **781**, **A 123a**, (v.) **679a**; strip (leaves &c.) 800, **1946**, 2030, 2051, **A 187**, (strip off) **1024a**; striped 717, 922; stroke 1021, **1024**, 1036, 1262; strong 1111 (*see also* harsh); struggle 914, **1025**, **B 126**; stub toe 603, 2013a; stubble **A 9a**; stumble 2013a, **A 73**; stump **1719**, **A 167**; stupid, dull 900, **1723a**; sty **697**, **725**; suck (up) **63**, 114, **780**, **829**, **1106**, **1283**, **1294**, 1375, 1378, (stuck in mouth) **1041**, 1375; suffocated 441; sugar **1573**, (sugar-cane) **125**, **137**, **1826**, (sugar-palm) **1019**; suitable *see* fitting; sun **31**, 180, **1630**; sunshine 588; support *see* prop; suppurate 1600, 1606, 2008, 2015a; surround **621**, 765, 1090, **1272**, 1389, 1669, 1794, **A 53a**; swallow (n.) **760**, (v.) **86**, **1088**, **1201**, **A 124**; swamp, swampy 821a, **1300**, **1393** (cf. marsh); swarm *see* throng; sway, swaying **239**, **728**, **1722**, **B 59**; sweat **1230**, **1966**, **A 166**; sweep **1916**; sweet **978**, **1322**, **A 75**, (sweet potato) 1374, 1532; swell, swollen **101**, **108**, **348**, **635**, **1523a**, **1871**, **1976**, 2067, **B 119**; swelling **1738**; swerve **753**; swim **1456**, **1516**, **A 6**; swing 728, **1191**, **1437**, **1473**, **1780a**, **B 59**, (swing arms) 1529; swollen *see* swell; sword 465, **540**, **864**; syringe *see* squirt; syrup 1573.

T

Table 1170; taboo 1669; tadpole **427, 1203, 1793**; tail **73, 542, 585, 1017**; take **188, 384, 573, 1134, 1243, 1261, B 98**, (take by force) **B 28**, (take down) **1898a**, (take in fingers) **830, 1243**, (rice) **380**, (take off clothes) **825, 1081, 2000, 2067**, (take out) **1898a, A 153, B 98, B 104**; tale 1845; tall **A 203**; tamarind **1771**; tame 857, 1985; tangled **324, 917, 1548**; tap 1013, 1978, (tap repeatedly) **439**; tar **56**; tarnished 1416; taro **1850**; taste 1409; tasteless **217, 1107a, 1292**; taut *see* stretched; tax *see* tribute; tea **B 91**; teach, instruct **72a**; teal 1266; tear, torn 291, **404, 30, 465, 472, 1689, A 71**, (torn apart, torn to pieces) **356, 1952**; tears **1043**; tease 820; tell **B 101**; temper metal **A 45**; temples **321**; ten **993, B 112**; Terminalia chebula **1654**; terrace **619**; test, try **723**; testicles **2078**; that **66a, 91, 92, 1435a, 1466, 1475**, (that yonder) **65, 1466**; thatch **155, 440**; thatching-grass **106, 155, 749**; then 65, 2066; there 65, **66a, 91**; they **26, 92, 252**; thick **1111, 1408, 1768** (*see also* viscous); thigh **223**; thin **568, 1096, 1451, 1507, 1790, A 100**; thing **A 4, A 170, B 10**, (noun quantifier) **A 127**; thirst, thirsty **786, 1682**; this **6, 26, 79, 91, 92, 252, 1435a, 1475**; thorn **205, 275, B 69**; thou **128**, (fern.) **1436**; thread (n.) **246, 1510**, (v.) **679a, 1005, 1665**; threaten 1611, **1804, A 162**; three **98, 1437a**; thresh **1037**, (by trampling) **1162, 1195**; threshing-floor 678; throat **17, 744**; throng, swarm **1491**; throw **206, 156, 770, 776b, 1091, 1547, 1948, B 60**, (throw away) **256, 1022, 1948, 2051, 2072**, (throw horizontally) **1693**, (throw spear) **227, 777, 1693, 1783**, (throw up) **566**, (throw water) **1991**; thunder **679, 1358, 1392, 1567, 1582, 1622, 2009**; thunderbolt 2009; tick **1445**; tickle **281a, 316**; tie, fasten, bind **313, 325, 357, 745, 959, 967, 1030, 1032, 1061, 1232, 1264**, (tie &c. round) **357, 613, 621, 1635**, (tie &c. together) **525, 1240, 1245**, (tie up) **525, 764**; tier **1063**; tiger **197, 389, 1535, A 171**; tight, tighten **1061, 1240**; tilted **759**; time **1171, 1222, 1234**, (noun quantifier) **1090, 1199, 1942, A 21**, (be in time) **1254**; timid **857**; tinder **1336**; tinkling **1847**; tip, end **299, 529, 889, 1017**, (tip out) **1544**; tired **773, 1536, A 159**; to 67, 1217, **A 76**; toad **393**; toe **1128, 1853, 1939**; together 24, 1310, 1338, 1389, 1463; tomorrow 1234, (day after tomorrow) **A 30, B 1**; tongs 1236; tongue **320, 1075**; tool **1917**; too much 1557; toot **1006**; tooth **289, 709, 924**, (eye-tooth) **597**; top, summit **299, 529, 1533, 1718**, (on top, on top of) **194, 1533**; torch 1725, **1831**; torn *see* tear; tortoise **200, 1235, B 118** toss up **566**; total n. 1878; touch **124, 432, 1262, 1264, 2010**; towards **1483**; tower 179; town 501, 581; track *see* road, (tracks) **736, 1506, 1733a, 1745a**; trade **1527**; trample **1195, 1398, A 74**; transverse **496**; trap, snare 281, **330, A 36c**; travel 1513; tray **363, 1170, 1955**; tread **301, 1153a, 1195**; tree **254, 491, 1343, 1570**, (kind of hardwood tree) **591**, (kind of resinous tree) **594, 734**, (kind of spice-yielding tree) **935**, (kind of tree with astringent fruit) **1012**, (kinds of tree with bright red flowers) **615** (kinds of tree *see further* Bombax, Careya Caryota, Ficus, Morinda, Schinia, Sponctias, Terminalia, Zalacca); tree-rat 1934; tremble, shiver **397, 559, 811, 1278, 1623, 1898, A 122**; tribe *see* nation; tribute, tax 1531; trickle, seep 1606, **2058**; trim (down) 1026, 1702, **1882, 1952**; trot 1954; trouble **343** trough **623**; true **1185, 1361a, A 36, A 85**; trumpet v. 810; trunk (of tree) **562, 1343, 1719**, (proboscis) **1488, A 118**; try *see* test; tub **791**; tube **752, 903**; tuber **608, 1374** tuft **1035**; turban 613; turbid *see* muddy; turbulent **B 13**; turmeric *see* Curcuma; turn 213, **234, 423, 765, 910, 931, 1033, 1090, 1164, 1529, 1669, 1794, A 53a**, (turn aside) **766, 862**, (turn away) **766**, (turn over) 1518 (turn upside down *see* overturn); turtle **1235, B 118**, (freshwater turtle) **104**; tusk **225, 450, 597**, (attack with tusk) **603**; twill v. **898, 910**; twine round 1032, **1754**;

twist, twisted **235, 862, 863, 910, 917, 931, 1208, 1467, 1669, 1772, 1794**, (twist together) **1467**; two **1562**.

U

Ugly **62**; ulcer **923**; umbilical cord **A 148**; umbrella **153, 586**; uncle **58a, 236, A 171**, (maternal) **893**, (paternal) **882**, (older than parent) **2044a, B 47**, (younger than parent) **122**; uncoil **2067**; uncover **307**; under, underneath **1362a, 1391, 1735, 2012 (cf. below)**; understand **677, 1341**; uneven (ground) **437**; unfasten **1968**; unfold **191, 276, 421, 720, 2067**; unload **A 153**; unlucky **169 (cf. taboo)**; unravel **2067**; unstable **196**; untidy **413, 1509**; untie, untied **1501, 1538, 1658, 1968, 2067, 2085**; until **1394, 1703, 1740**; untrue *see false*; unwind **2067**; unwrap **2067**; up to, as far as **1394, 1740, A 76**; upper garment **1813, B 12**; upright **538, 691, 1583**, (plant upright) **407**; uproot **307, 354, 1058, 1904a**; urge **1555**; urinate, urine **1365**.

V

Vagina **A 144a**; valley **426, 1606**; vapour **311, 1546, 1807**; varan **963**, (kinds of varan) **156, 1350**; vegetables **1480**; vein *see sinew*; venomous **1461**; veranda **658, B 115**; very **1200, 1211, 1691, 1943, A85, B 70**; victorious **2018**; vigorous **386**; village **501, 767, A 91, B 17**, (section of village) **581**; violent **1071**; virgin **2052**; viscous **326, 1221**; visit **1246, 1669, 1994, A 95**; voice **1949**; vomit **11, 75, 470, 474, 1695**; vulture **1051, A 81**.

W

Wade **1516**; wag **1090, 1669**; waist **18, A 79, B 95**; waistcloth, skirt **618, 1173, 1244, A 65**; wait **531, 664, 883, 1325, 1661, 1818, A 102**, (lie in wait) **1261, A 102**; wake **1502, 1724, 1885, 1986, A 189**; walk **349, 462**, (walk bent over) **1142**; wall, partition **578, 580, A 147**, (rampart) **626, B 61**; wallow **612, 821a, 1280**; wander **663, 715, 1513, 1669**; wane **825, 842, 1268**; want, wish, desire **832, 1140, A 60, A 123**; war **145, 906**; warm **487, 1000, 1307, 1559a, 1671, 1685, A 121**, (warm oneself at) **1603**; warn **1611, A 134**; wart **1009**; wash **165, 469, 719, 837, 872, 879, 1287, 1841, 1938, 2004**, (wash clothes, laundry) **2004, 2021, 2026, 2053**, (wash head) **69**; wasp **485, 873, 886, 1065, 1560, 1562a**; waste *see residue*; watch (over) **664, 771, 1325, 1773, A 80a, A 136**, (watch for) **1773**; water **274, 1298**, (water-bottle) **B 107**, (waterfall) **710**, (water-hole) **733**, (water-lily) **534**, (water snail) **1867**; wave (v.) **454, 765, 1484, 1529, 1950**, (waves n.) **2030a**; wax **919a, 1517**; way **162**; we **1, 150, 1172**, (we two) **4, 1439**; wealth **1886**; weapon **420, 1917**; wear, put on **453, 1120, 1237, 1244, A 206**, (lower garment) **452, 762, 1208, A 65**, (wear on finger, on wrist) **A 22**, (wear on head) **80, 1742**, (wear over shoulder) **A 98**, (wear &c. round neck) **374, A 22, A 98**, (wear shoes) **301, (p. on turban) B 80**; weasel **528, A 25**; weave **898**; wedge **1212**; weed v. **300**; weep **1381**; weevil **1049**; weigh **1711, 1951**; weight (small unit of weight) **1489**; well n. **72, 557, 724**; wet, moist, damp **277b, 339, 477, 795, 954, 1280, 1330, 1419, 2049**; what **46, 92a, 136, 1115, 1435a, 1855, B 10**; wheel **213, 498**; where **1217**; which **46, 92a, 136, 1115, 1855**; whine, whining **30, 1068, 1959**; whip **1037**; whisper **1293, 1864**; whistle **877, 1068**; white **25, 116, 369a, 436, 732, 1971**, (white hair, white-haired) **25, 164**; whittle **1882**; who **60, 110, 136, 1115**; wide **327, 1996, 2083, A 10**, (widely spaced) **680**; widow, widower **1851a**; wife **113, 183, 1163, 1628, A 141**; Willoughbeia **444**; wind (n.) **616, 1567, 1782, 1958**, (wind; winding) **235, 765, 862, 1164, 1208, B 80**, (break wind)

1007, 1433; window **608a, 2072a, A 41**; wing 496, **601, 850, 1291**, 1633, **B 51**; wink, blink 1228; winnow 678, 1037, 1090, **1317, 1428, 1638**, (winnowing-basket) **584, 678, 1638**; wipe 858, **879, 946, 994**, 1102, 1916; wise 2033; witch 388, 1543, **B 19**; with 1342; wither, wilt 171, 980, **1095, 1386, 1697**; wobble **1013**; woman 113, 151, **1126, 1628, A 141**; womb 468, 1752a; wood **254, 491**; wood-oil tree **848**; woodpecker **2076**; woodworm 840, **1049**; work **890**; world 64; worm **54, 457, 541, 1194, 1666a, 1926, A 94, B 43**; worse (get worse) 1945, **B 121**; wound **A 63, A 72**; wrap (round) **1030, 1173, 1635, 1669**, (wrap up) 1344, **1407**; wrestle 1025; wring 863, 931, 1021, **1033, 1090**; wrinkled **62, 896, 997, 1095, 1155**; write **1675, 1890**.

Y

Yam **1532, B 81**, (kind of yam) **1011**; yawn **1229**; year **1368**; yeast **A 137**; yellow **1052, 1362, 1559b**; yesterday **A 1**; yoke **1354**, (carrying-pole) 1157 (**see also** pair); you **96, 99** (**see also** thou); young **47, 711, 726, 1124, 1339**, (young male) **1355, A 199**, (young unmarried girl, man **see** virgin, bachelor; younger of two) **B 90**; (youngest of sibling) **A78**.

Z

Zalacca **1312a**.

Appendix D The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia¹

The contributions which language studies can bring to protohistory are of two kinds, which unfortunately do not make a whole. There is, first, the evidence to be drawn from the emergence of inscriptions: not from their content, which is sufficiently accessible and exploited, but from their date, geographical location, and general character. This (in conjunction with the even earlier Chinese references, which are discussed in other pages in this volume) furnishes an incipit for the historical period itself, beyond which ethnographic and cultural outlines can be traced with relative certainty. The second kind of evidence is that derived by inference from the distribution of languages within the historical period and from studies of their structural affinity. It is of a far more indirect and conjectural sort and can at best, perhaps, be used to furnish hypotheses or suggest lines of archaeological inquiry. That is, however, an insufficient reason for failing to examine it.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions, in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, appear around the middle of the first millennium A.D. They are found about this date in a number of areas all readily accessible from the sea and prominent among those in which the beginnings of Indianized urbanism are to be sought. From Champa we have inscriptions of Bhadravarman in Sanskrit and Cham found at Tra-kieu and dating from the early fifth century. To the same century belong Sanskrit inscriptions from the region of Ligor at the southern end of the Kra isthmus, and around its end others from Fu-nan which continue into the succeeding century. They are, as near as can be determined, contemporary with the first Mon inscriptions of Dvāravatī from Nakhon Pathom and (a recent discovery) near Lopburi. The earliest inscriptions in Khmer, from Sambor Prei Kuk, date from the beginning of the seventh century and reflect the spread of this politico-cultural movement inland. All these epigraphs are engraved in a script which appears to be derived from the Brahmi of southern India and is, at this early date, pretty well homogeneous; local differentiation only comes later. It is the ancestor of all modern non-Roman scripts on the mainland.

¹ [Editorial note: the present paper was originally published as: Shorto, H. L. 1979. Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia. In Smith, R.B & W. Watson (eds.) *Early South East Asia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp. 273-278. Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press.]

Burma shares this chronology, but clearly marked as a separate province. Śrī Kṣetra at the head of the Irrawaddy delta yields in the seventh and eighth centuries the laconic funeral inscriptions of the Pyu kings in a wholly distinct script of possibly Kadamba affinities. It continued in use for Pyu alone down to the 'Myazedi' quadrilingual of 1112 and then became extinct. It can be traced back, however, to the oldest written document known from Burma, a set of gold plates inscribed with Pali texts now in the British Museum. These plates from Maunggan near Śrī Kṣetra have been dated c. A.D. 500.

The chorological weight of this evidence is impressive, but care must be taken in drawing more general conclusions. First, writing may be presumed to have preceded the monumental act of setting up stone inscriptions, though not necessarily by long. It would be dangerous to equate the beginning of the epigraphic record with that of Indian settlement, as distinct from political 'Indianization'. We may note that some of the inscribed seals found at Oc-Eo may antedate the earliest Funan inscriptions by as much as three centuries. Palaeographically, most local traditions show a more or less rapid development from script forms taken over from other writing media to forms better adapted to cutting on stone, suggesting the re-creation and not the transplantation of a technique. Linguistically, the phonological system deducible from vernacular inscriptions may show development from that for which the transcription must have been devised, a point deserving of more widespread investigation. Certainly in later history we can demonstrate continuity of the writing tradition over long periods when no stone inscriptions occur and other documents have not survived. Indeed, over the whole historical period epigraphy can in many places be only described as sporadic, an atypical product of the energy and literary ambition of some few particular rulers. The phenomena of the middle of the first millennium argue to me a competitive contagion and a fair degree of commerce between the states concerned.

To these implicit limitations must be added those of subject-matter, which is overwhelmingly religious. Political and social information has generally to be gleaned from the preambles of dedications and slave-rolls, so that a further constraint—that of economic surplus—has to be added to those controlling the output of texts. Eulogistic *praśasti* of the kind associated with Kyanzitha in Burma is exceptional. The subsequent stages of epigraphy provide rather a means of intermittently assessing the reliability of other sources such as chronicles than any accurate chart of political developments or ethnic movements. Where other sources are lacking, their effect ranges from indicative to tantalizing; as in the recent discovery of a Dvāravatī inscription of uncertain date (7th-8th century?) 39 miles north of Vientiane. It contains a Mon place-name in a non-Mon form, suggesting a colonial occupation of some duration, and inviting a re-interpretation of the Dvāravatī sites at Muang Fa Daed and elsewhere on the Korat plateau.

Not till after A.D. 1000 have we inscriptions from Pagan, Thaton or Haribhunjaya. Pagan was founded in 850, but had small importance for the next two centuries. Thaton inscriptions come just after the end of our period, Haribhunjayan ones two hundred years later, but by whatever percentage we discount tradition both states must have flourished well within the first millennium, though only Thaton was near the sea, and the other two were frontier principalities. With these exceptions, epigraphy provides a point of contact with all the early political centres of the mainland and with those ethnic groups which dominated them. These are, however, only a minority of the ethnic groups of the region; and estimates of their numerical importance at the time should not be projected from the

dominant groups of much larger modern states, grown by linguistic and cultural absorption of their neighbours. To fill in the gaps in the account with, at any rate, intelligent conjecture we must turn to the evidence of linguistic classification; reflecting that, as discoveries accrue in other fields, intelligent conjecture is likely to need frequent revision.

Language families

The languages currently spoken in mainland South East Asia are representative of five families: Indonesian, Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Tai and Miao-Yao. Of these, the Tai languages were brought in by groups whose arrival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is part of the historical record, while the Miao-Yao ones are confined even now to the northern fringe. Neither, therefore, immediately concerns us here, except to observe that the Tai wedge driven down the centre of South East Asia has (like the Slav intrusion into the Balkans) had the effect of sundering areas of cognate speech and interrupting a formerly constant communication between them.

The Indonesian languages of the mainland ('Chamic') form a coherent group extending from Phan-rang in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula northwards to Pleiku in the central Highlands, within the area of ancient Champa, plus some Cham-speaking colonies in Cambodia. The Cham remnant alone possesses a literary tradition (and the Muslim religion), the other groups being pagans and largely dry cultivators. Chamic appears as an isolated pocket of the Austronesian family which extends from Madagascar through the East Indies to New Zealand, and includes the aboriginal languages of Formosa. It has received less attention as a mainland curiosity than it would have done had it been located in Indonesia itself.

The Mon-Khmer languages may be regarded as the characteristic speech family of the mainland from the Menam basin eastwards. Their position in Burma was probably at all times marginal, even though once in the eighteenth century the Mons came close to seizing power throughout the country. They have, however, outliers across the northern highlands as far as the Khasi Hills south of the Assam valley, in the Nicobar Islands, and in the aboriginal languages of Malaya ('Aslian'). Any ethnic protohistory must take account of their relationship with the Munda languages of eastern India, which together with them constitute Austroasiatic. A remoter relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian has been proposed and is accepted by the present writer, though it is not universally accepted. Three Mon-Khmer languages have longstanding literary traditions: Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese.

The Tibeto-Burman languages of South East Asia are at the limit, in that direction, of a family extending from Tibet across Nepal and Assam through the hills of the Indo-Pakistan border region to Burma, where they predominate, and in pockets across northern Thailand to Laos. They are now held to include the Karen languages, spoken characteristically throughout the hills between the Sittang and Menam basins. Within South East Asia only Burmese and the extinct Pyu have literary traditions older than the nineteenth century.

We must assume that languages belonging to none of these families have at times in the past been spoken in the area. They have left no identifiable traces. I. H. N. Evans once asserted that common elements can be found in all the Asian negrito languages, but unfortunately quoted no examples.

The relationships within the Mon-Khmer family are clearly crucial to any reconstruction of ethno-history. Early attempts at classification were based largely on geographical distribution and such structural arguments as could be extracted from generally inadequate material. Within the past decade or so more serious attempts have been made; but we are still some distance from a comprehensive ordering of the whole group. It is clear, first of all, that Khasi and the languages of the Shan Plateau from Palaung to Lawa stand in a close relationship and bear witness to one migratory current, while similarities between Shan Plateau languages and Khmu of northern Laos can be attributed to recent geographical contiguity. There is historical as well as traditional evidence that at the eastern limit of this group the Lawas were known to the Mons of Thaton. Second, descriptions now becoming available suggest that Aslian and Nicobarese stand nearer than other Mon-Khmer languages to Munda in their overall structural pattern; how this should be interpreted is obscure, but a special relationship between the two Mon-Khmer groups is not unlikely. Thirdly, Vietnamese, an undoubted Mon-Khmer language showing the effects of long contact with Chinese both in its vocabulary and in its phonological progress to monosyllabism, appears to have separated fairly early and to be peripheral in the technical linguistic as well as in the modern geographical sense.

A classification of the languages of the southern Annamite chain on lexicostatistic grounds has been made by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and shows a general correlation with geographical distribution. The most interesting question it raises derives from the probability of a close relationship between the languages to the north and south of Chamic, implying that the inland part of that area is an intrusion and not a residuum.

Most intriguing is the position of Mon and of Khmer. Mon shows no obvious immediate relationship with any other language except for those of two tribal groups in the hills on the edge of the plateau north and south of Korat, who appear to be remnants of an original Dvāravatī population. The position of Khmer has been recently examined by Headley, using a variety of phonological and grammatical criteria. His general conclusions differ somewhat from those outlined above, notably in grouping Mon, the Annamite chain languages and Vietnamese together at the centre of the family. But again he puts Khmer in an isolated position, giving no clues to the route by which the Khmers may have reached the lower Mekong.

The present distribution of languages in mainland South East Asia is extremely intricate, and lexical investigation is complicated not merely by the presence in any language of numerous loanwords but by reborrowings and borrowings back into the first donor language, making an encyclopaedic memory and logical rigour equally necessary to the investigator. There is reason to think that this state of affairs goes back to an early date. Austronesian loans are clearly recognizable, once the phonological rules are known, in Vietnamese, and this is not surprising given the finds at Dong-son. More surprising are words known from Austronesian and found, in Mon-Khmer, in one or other northern language; can they be loans? Benedict has proposed an 'Austro-Thai' grouping of Austronesian and Thai (relegating Austroasiatic to a 'substratum' in some Indonesian populations), which would be disposed of if, after eliminating Austric words which entered Tai from Mon-Khmer, the possibility of early borrowing was accepted. 'Tiger' and 'river' (*kiang*) are well-known Austroasiatic loans in Chinese, and there are many in

Tibeto-Burman. A hypothesis which traced back migration routes to contiguous Urheimats would be attractive on more than one ground.

Certain terms, indeed, have an areal distribution which cuts across language-family boundaries, reviving speculations as to extinct languages. Thus for 'horse' Tai has carried the Chinese *ma* down to the Gulf of Siam, cutting in two a northern zone where Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer alike have *mrang* and a southern one where Karen, Mon-Khmer and Cham have *aseh*.

Various theories have been propounded as to the original home of the Austronesians. Dyen, one of the most authoritative Austronesian comparatists, has proposed either New Guinea or Formosa. The former is incompatible with the Austric hypothesis and must be rejected here, leaving Formosa. But Dahl, in a recent study, has shown that Formosan must have separated early from the remainder of the Austronesian languages; making an Urheimat on the opposing mainland equally probable. We can envisage it as an extensive, if thinly populated one, with the future Austroasiatics ranging north to the Yangtse *kiang*. It is possible to suppose successive migrations, first of Austronesians and then of Austroasiatics. But, given what is known of the chronology of Polynesian migration, it is equally plausible to suppose simultaneous migration of both groups and attribute the greater dispersal of the Austronesians to their taking early to the sea. The Northern Mon-Khmers and Khasis are likely to have followed what became a Chinese trade route to India, as the Mundas may well have done before them. But there seems no overriding reason to trace routes for the Mons and Khmers, and other groups who occupied the river-plains, down the rivers from the hinterland rather than up them from the coast. Why should they then, with a technology adapted to highland regions, have descended into plains where it was useless?

It is tempting to regard the Chams as a residual island of the Dongsonian transients, but the evidence is inconclusive. There are remarkable structural parallels between the mainland Indonesian languages and Achinese on the north-western tip of Sumatra, beyond what could be accounted for by parallel exposure to Mon-Khmer contacts (of which in Achinese there is sufficient evidence). This, again, is difficult to interpret.

Applications of comparative linguistics of the kind employed in this paper have been out of favour for at least thirty years, partly in reaction against earlier excesses. Even more firmly discarded has been what used to be called 'linguistic palaeontology', the analysis of reconstructed vocabulary to draw conclusions as to habitat and technology. This is a field in which, with due precautions, something of extralinguistic value might be achieved; and French scholars have been making a beginning, notably in the field of agricultural origins. It is to be hoped that these lines will be pursued, and in awareness of the work of Vavilov and his successors; so that we may recognize that Mon-Khmer and Austronesian have their word for 'cotton' from India, even if India has 'rice' and 'plough' from South East Asia.

Appendix E In Defense of Austric¹

In “Austro-Thai”, Paul Benedict has laid before us a scrupulously elaborated as well as an audacious thesis. It requires a pantagruelist assurance to declare that where three language stocks reflect, for instance, respectively ***mata**, ***mat**, and ***pra** ‘eye’², it is the first and third that are genetically related while the similarity between the first and second has other causes. Such boldness must have expected to provoke counterargument. But if (as I argue) Benedict has consistently undervalued the strength of the Austric hypothesis, it should be said at once that the fault lies with the Austroasiaticists. Comparative research into Austroasiatic has proceeded slowly after the pioneering reconnaissances of Schmidt (which it is not wholly fair to judge as if they had been campaigns of conquest). A reconstruction of Proto-Mon-Khmer phonology can now be offered, but it is still largely unpublished. Pinnow’s corpus of Munda comparisons is at least available for reference, though the reconstructions are often tentative. But a systematic construction of Austroasiatic is a task for the future. Given the inaccessibility of the Austroasiatic data by comparison with those of Austronesian, Benedict is hardly to be reproached because there is more to be adduced in favor of an Austric cognation than he has taken account of.

In 1942 Benedict still accepted the Austric hypothesis, but claimed that the primary cleavage lay between Mon-Khmer, with Vietnamese, and “Thai-Kadai-Indonesian” (Benedict 1975:461). This is not an easily tenable position. By 1966 he had abandoned it, and instead attributed the coincidences between “Austro-Thai”—*a fortiori* Austronesian—and Austroasiatic to an Austroasiatic substratum in the ancestral Austro-Thai-speaking population (Benedict 1975:32-3). Now he has turned this view inside out to posit an Austro-Thai substratum underlying Austroasiatic (Benedict 1975:484). Both the 1966 and the 1975 hypotheses differ from the classic instances of substrata in that there is no probative opposition of languages with the substratum to sister languages without it; it already underlays the ancestral language. I remain unconvinced that an inwandering group sufficiently powerful to impose its language on a section of the Austro-Thai population would have left no linguistic trace elsewhere; but the point need not be labored. On Benedict’s view as much as on a genetic one, the Austro-Thai/Austroasiatic

¹ [Editorial note: the present paper is an edited version of a draft manuscript which was subsequently augmented with appendices and published as Shorto, Harry L. 1976b. In Defense of Austric. *Computational analyses of Asian and African languages* 6:95-104. For publication here the manuscript we worked from was only changed in so far as most abbreviations were spelled out fully and some language names were made consistent with present usage.]

² Proto-Austronesian reconstructions in this paper follow the system of Dahl (1973), but for convenience in typing I use the symbols **c**, **e**, **j**, **R**, **s**, **z** for **k'**, **ə**, **g'**, **ɣ**, **t'**, **d'** introduced by Dyen.

coincidences must reflect a considerable time-depth even if Proto-Austroasiatic is held to postdate the splitting of Austro-Thai into its main branches. In fact, as will be seen, the posited substratum would have to be specifically Austronesian (“Lexically it stands closest to Austronesian”: Benedict 1975:485); but contact-words between Proto-Austroasiatic and Proto-Tai would have simultaneously to be admitted.

Logically there are three possibilities which we have to consider: (1) Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically unrelated, as Benedict asserts. Or they are related; then either (2), contra Benedict, Austro-Thai is an invalid construction; or (3) it is a valid construction. In the third case what is at question is the ordering of relationships; and then almost certainly we are left with Austroasiatic/Austronesian, Schmidt’s Austric, as the last branching—in other words with the diagram at Benedict 1975:485, minus its substratum.

If from the patchwork mingling of language stocks in mainland Southeast Asia the linguistic facts of the area are inordinately complex, the possibilities of explaining them are not much less so. Some of Benedict’s “Austro-Thai” lexemes more probably parallel borrowings from Mon-Khmer of relatively late date. To identify them is not to weaken his thesis but to refine it by eliminating doubtful material.

‘Ant’, p. 219, may serve to illustrate the criteria employed. Both the Indonesian and the Tai forms are in my view to be derived from continuants of a Proto-Mon-Khmer **s/m/uuc* etc. (Tai: and/or **s/rm/uuc* etc.) which incorporates the root **suuc* ~ **suc* ~ **suəc* also **sac*, **siic* ‘to sting’; cf. e.g. Sre **souc** ‘to prick, sting’, Riang-Lang **ṭhuc** ‘to sting’, Sora **suj-** ‘to pierce’; Bahnar **hmoc**, Umpai Lawa **mɔic** ‘ant’, Temiar (Aslian) **somuj** ‘wasp’, Sora in compounds **muj-**, **mui-** ‘ant’, Mon **hamot**, Khmer **sramaoc** ‘ant’. The direction of borrowing is indicated by the morphological analysability of the Austroasiatic forms and, unless alternative (3) above holds, by the palatal final, which cannot be explained from Austro-Thai as constructed under alternative (1).

Again, unless alternative (3) holds, some contact-words which belong to Proto-Tai have to be admitted as loans from Austroasiatic. They include besides **ya*, Proto-Mon-Khmer **yas* ‘grandmother’ (Benedict 1975:339, 482; also Proto-Austroasiatic **yaq yaq* (or similar) > Proto-Mon-Khmer **yaay* > Khmer **yàəy**, etc., whence Thai **yaay**) the paired term **ta*, Proto-Mon-Khmer **taq* (Benedict 1975:287; Men **taʔ** ‘father’, Riang Lang **ṭaʔ** ‘master, husband, grandfather’, Temiar **tāʔ** ‘sir’, **tatāʔ** ‘old man’, etc.). Note also Proto-SW-Tai **kluai.2* ‘banana’ (Egerod 1961:85), Proto-Mon-Khmer **tluay* borrowing from Tai cannot account for Khmuic **tl-** (Khmu’ **tlɔəy**, etc.) and is hardly to be suspected in Aslian (Semang **telui**, etc.: PRMP, B 42) or Nicobarese (**talui**).

These topics, however, are marginal to the assessment of the Austric and Austro-Thai hypotheses, so far as the two are competitive. Usually when the corpora overlap the Austroasiatic and Tai forms are sufficiently unlike for the question of borrowing between them not to arise. I therefore now turn to the evidence on which a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian might be alleged.

The putative relationship is plainly a remote one. I rely in this paper on an assembly of circa 200 roots or bases about as many as Schmidt, though not the same set drawn for the most part from a comparison of circa 2,000 Proto-Mon-Khmer roots with around the same number of Austronesian ones. The corpus is likely to be enlarged by further research; indeed, I have already cited two items (Proto-Mon-Khmer **yaq* ~ **yaay*, **taq*) revealed as Austric candidates by Austro-Thai. It is biased, however, in two

respects. First, by the method of investigation; the comparison was with Proto-Mon-Khmer roots and such Munda cognates as are cited (from Pinnow 1959 and from an examination of Sora) had been established in reference to the Proto-Mon-Khmer forms. Without undertaking an equally extensive comparison with Munda *per se*, we cannot infer from the relatively low frequency of Munda items here that Austronesian is more closely related to Mon-Khmer than to Munda. Secondly, correspondences which might conceivably be due to borrowing during, say, the last two millennia have been excluded. Loans from mainland Austronesian dialects are found in many Eastern Mon-Khmer languages and Indonesian loans are also present in Mon; while Mon-Khmer loans are found in languages of Sumatra, Java, and even some of Borneo (Shorto 1975:82 and n. 3). Only lexemes attested in geographically remoter languages on both sides can be used as evidence except where distinctive phonological treatment makes borrowing improbable³. This means that if Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically related the true cognate corpus will be significantly larger than the evidential one. The exclusions are probably not sufficient to account by themselves for the high proportion of items with cognates in Oceanic.

It would not be practicable to review the whole of this material in a relatively short paper. In order to support my opinions with some refutable argument, I propose to examine in detail three sets of correspondences where a hypothesis of borrowing, or the inverse one of marginal retention from an Austro-Thai substratum, seems to me least credible. These comprise (1) those involving Austronesian bases of structure *2(CVC); (2) the type of ***mata** : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***mat**, where unusually the second syllabic of the Austronesian base is lost in Mon-Khmer (and Austroasiatic); (3) pases with Mon-Khmer correspondents only in “northern” languages; here a substratum hypothesis is not necessarily, but recent borrowing is, excluded.

Reduplicates. Schematic relationships between the canonic shapes of Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Austroasiatic are readily established. In principle, almost all roots are reduced to a monosyllabic form in Proto-Mon-Khmer; for Proto-Austronesian, disyllabic bases are commonest, with trisyllables not infrequent; Proto-Mon-Khmer shows both monosyllabic and disyllabic types. The variation correlates with general areal tendencies. Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Munda *CVCV(C) most often correspond to Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. Where Proto-Mon-Khmer has *CVC, Proto-Austronesian has fully or, less often, partially reduplicated forms, *2(CV(C)) and *2(CV)C; Proto-Munda shows both *CV(C) and *2(CV(C)). One would assume, on an Austric hypothesis, that forms *CVC and *2(CVC) existed side by side in PA and were retained in Proto-Austroasiatic; that Proto-Austronesian generalized the second type; and that Proto-Mon-Khmer preferred the first, while retaining some traces of the second. (In fact, *CVC is occasionally attested in languages of Formosa; e.g. Bunun reflects ***gud** ‘to drink’ ad Proto-Austronesian ***()ud ()ud**.)

The straightforward type of correspondence may be exemplified by Proto-Austronesian ***bejbej** ‘to wrap round’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bək** : Mon **pək** ‘to put [waistcloth] round’, etc. Less frequent is the type seen in ***bitbit** ‘to take in fingers’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***c[ɓ]ic** : Khm. **cɓɪc**, etc. I take ***c[ɓ]ic** here to continue earlier (Proto-Austroasiatic?) ***[ɓ]ic-[ɓ]ic**; the divergent treatment of such reduplications (contrast ***yaay** < ***yaq-yaq**, above) appears, on the limited evidence now available, to depend on

³ Some of the items cited in Pou and Jenner (1975) are suspect by this criterion.

the classes of phonemes involved. The most interesting of the examples is Proto-Austronesian **ləbləb* ‘to inundate, to dive’, where Mon-Khmer cognates reflect variously **ləp* and, from the reduplicate, **bləp*. This furnishes presumptive evidence for final **b* in Austroasiatic (not contra Benedict 1975:472) lost in Mon-Khmer.

The correspondents of Austronesian partial reduplications are illustrated by Proto-Mon-Khmer **tuuŋ* : Proto-Austronesian **tutuŋ*. The partial type is overrepresented in Dempwolff, who only reconstructed **2(CVC)* where he was obliged to by Tagalog and/or Batak cognates. Some of his formulae should accordingly be rewritten (e.g. **gi(t)git* for **gigit*).

In Achinese and Chamic, which show strong mainland affinities in phonology, Proto-Austronesian **2(CVC)* is with minor exceptions reflected as *CV(C)*; for the probable course of this development see Shorto (1975:98). The same areal pressures bear on most of Mon-Khmer, though not Munda. But the dual types of reflex in these two branches rule out the assumption of a parallel development there of forms borrowed from Austronesian or retained from a substratum. Nor is it likely that Mon-Khmer *CVC* roots were borrowed into Indonesian as *2(CVC)* (the contrary can be shown; cf. **bunbun*). The simplest explanation of the facts is the one indicated above, that coexisting types *CVC* and *2(CVC)* were differentially favored in branches of a common stock under different areal pressures.

Type **mata*. Where reduplication is not in question, Proto-Austronesian **CVCV(C)* usually corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer **CCVC*. The correspondence Proto-Austronesian **mata* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **mat*, to which Benedict devotes some attention, is thus unusual; we would expect Proto-Mon-Khmer ***mtaq* (so e.g. **baRa* ‘shoulder’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer **blaq*). I have collected eleven probable sets where the second syllabic of the Austronesian base corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer *Ø*, all with Proto-Austronesian final vowel or laryngeal (i.e. Austronesian **q*, **S*). There is also one with Proto-Austronesian **-s*, which, however, the Vietnamese cognates suggest may be a suffix (: Proto-Mon-Khmer *-s* causative). Of particular interest is **pan₁aq* ‘to shoot’. Here the tone of Vietnamese *bắn* allows us to reconstruct Proto-Mon-Khmer **paŋ₂* (Benedict 1975:471, rightly rejects Schmidt’s comparison with Proto-Mon-Khmer **pooh* ‘to use a bow’), with apparent secondary palatalization of the nasal as in **(p/b)(ə)ŋ()* : Proto-Austronesian **pəluq* ‘full’.

This material is of recent assembly, and systematic search should reveal more. It is difficult as yet to suggest an explanation of the correspondences unless in terms of variable (distinctive) stress placing. Variable stress is invoked in Austro-Thai (153 and 200-1, n. 4). There Benedict discusses **mata* (201), but the evidence implies dialect variants **matá* (Philippines, Tsouic) and **máta* (Palau); in the case of lungs **pusuq* he speaks of a “pseudofore-stress” form (151, to explain Thai **poót* ~ **pot* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **pu(u)s* ~ **puəs*; *-s* → Thai *-t* would be normal!).

I have also noted two sets which show “vocalic transfer” (Benedict 1975:183), the type-case being **pun₁ay* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **pn₂[uu]y* ‘dove’. Both are attested only in Northern Mon-Khmer, and might be attributed simply to vowel metathesis: their evaluation waits on further research.

The twelve primary examples include five items from the 200-word lexicostatistic list and three more fairly basic terms (‘forehead’, ‘to shoot’, ‘full’); substratum retention is

a more tenable explanation than borrowing. But, again, genetic relationship seems to me most likely.

The northern correspondences. We occasionally find in northern languages (NMK, Khasi, Khmuic) isolated apparent correspondents of Austronesian bases, e.g.: Palaung *juh* ‘distant’; Riang Lang *ṛəy* ‘to swim’ which warrant entry in the Proto-Mon-Khmer corpus only on the assumption that they continue a common PA form. In both the quoted cases there is a distinctively Mon-Khmer synonym of wide distribution (cf. Pal. *səṇjay* ‘distant’, *ləy* ‘to swim’); naturally they startle. I have collected with such cases wider correspondences in which the only known Mon-Khmer cognates are in northern languages, plus in one or two instances Vietnamese or Aslian. The northern correspondences are, of course, striking chiefly because correspondences limited to southern languages have been designedly excluded from this study. A recent 500-word vocabulary of Kammu Yuan, spoken in northern Laos (Lindell 1974), records a word for millet found again in Chamic and Malay; names of cereals travel, but what of Kammu-Yuan *təkán* ‘bamboo-rat’ and Khasi *dkhan* ‘hill-rat, mole’, where Malay *děkan* furnishes the only parallel known to the present writer? Borrowing hardly comes in question here. The substratum hypothesis cannot logically be excluded: but it appears unduly farfetched.

More general phonological considerations arise. I have shown that regularly recurring types of vowel variation are to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer (Shorto 1976c; see Benedict 1975:480). There is less scope for one within the four-vowel system postulated for Proto-Austronesian, but there too a similar variation is discernible: notably between close and central vowels, corresponding to Proto-Mon-Khmer: **iə* (~ **i(i)*) ~ **ə*, **uə* ... ~ **ə*; also between front and back vowels, a minor type in Mon-Khmer. Cf. here e.g. Proto-Austronesian **kitkit* ~ **ketket* ‘to bite’, Proto-Mon-Khmer **kiit* ~ **kiət* ~ **kət*. No such variation has yet been reconstructed for Proto-Munda; but difficulties experienced by Pinnow in establishing Proto-Munda vocalism, and the numerous variant correspondences he recorded, suggest a similar underlying phenomenon. All the indications are that the Mon-Khmer and Austronesian facts reflect variation at an “Austric” level.

The comparison of two protolanguages which have been separately reconstructed is likely to modify our understanding of both reconstructions. Proto-Mon-Khmer final palatal stop or nasal cannot ordinarily be accounted for from Austronesian or Austro-Thai—for neither of which are final palatals posited—either on borrowing or on substratum retention⁴. Neither can borrowing from Mon-Khmer account for cognates of Mon-Khmer palatal-final roots in Oceanic or Formosan (e.g. Proto-Austronesian **cabut* ‘to pull up, draw out’ > Fijian *zavut-a* etc.: Proto-Mon-Khmer **cɓoc*; **cɓooc*: Mon *bot*, Khmer *baoc*). I assume that PA had final palatals which underwent merger in Austronesian, just as Mon-Khmer merged the antecedents of Proto-Austronesian **-j*, **-k* (**bejbej* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **bək*). Proto-Mon-Khmer, as probably Proto-Munda, knew a vowel-length distinction such as may be residually represented in some Austronesian languages (Shorto 1975, 84 ff.). But the Proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system, of seven terms in addition to diphthongs, has yet to be reconciled with the four-term system of Proto-Austronesian. (Austro-Thai encounters a similar difficulty; propounding a system of six terms, with merger of mid and close vowels in Austronesian.)

⁴ Some cases of apparent **-c* are attributed to **-t* + suffix + **-s*.

In denying any genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic Benedict lays stress on the want of agreement in basic or core vocabulary. The nuclearity of items is not the only factor affecting retention (and does it not apply to substratum retention, when that is invoked on as wide a scale as here?); but in any case we should test the accuracy of his assertion. The absence of agreement in the numerals is damaging, but not necessarily fatal (Khmuic dialects have replaced all the Mon-Khmer numerals above 'two' or 'three'). 'One', Proto-Austronesian **isa*, **esa*, is perhaps marginally represented by Riang Lang *s-*, Khasi *shi*; 'twin/two', admitted in Benedict (1975) is in my view doubtful. —Pronouns also show little agreement, e.g.: cognates of Proto-Austronesian **is(S)*, 3 sing., originally rather 'person'.—Of kinship terms unmentioned by Benedict Proto-Mon-Khmer **taq* 'grandfather' has already been cited; note Proto-Austronesian **wawa* 'uncle', we might add Proto-Austronesian **eNbaq* 'grandfather' (Blust 1971, no. 167; also Acehnese *ömbah* 'father') : Proto-Mon-Khmer **mbaq*: Old Mon *'ba'*, Khmer *ba:*, Khasi *pa*, Central Sakai *apa* 'father', etc.; Kharia *'aba* id, etc.—We may add several body parts: 'forehead', 'tongue', 'heart', 'shoulder', 'palm', 'ribs', note further Proto-Austronesian **gaq(ae)m* 'molar': Acehnese *ghööm*, Cham *khùm*, Malay *g/ěr/ham*, Javanese *g/r/aham*, Iban *ngeli gam/gaam*/⁵ : Proto-Mon-Khmer **dga(a)m*: Khmer *thkì:əm* 'jaw', Biat *gam* 'molar', Vietnamese *cằm* 'chin', etc.—Under natural phenomena an important addition is Proto-Austronesian **ubaRi* (? : cf. Shorto 1975, 91 n. 25) 'sun, day' (Benedict 1975:266): Proto-Mon-Khmer **briiq* 'sky': Old Mon *prey* 'rain', Khmu' *mat bri?* 'sun', Praok *pray*, Vietnamese *trời!* 'sky, weather', Sakai *bri* 'day', etc.—Under animal life note especially 'ox'.—Numerous basic verbs figure in the appendices. I shall cite one more item: to the Proto-Austronesian locative prefix **di* corresponds Proto-Mon-Khmer **điiq*: Old Mon *dey*, with cognates in EMK, NMK, Aslian, and Munda (Sora).

Benedict has 600 Austro-Thai comparisons to offer against my 200 for Austric, though the gap is likely to be narrowed by further research. Our corpora overlap to a noticeable degree, three-fifths of my Austronesian comparata figuring in Benedict (1975). That he seriously understates the extent of agreement in basic vocabulary between Austroasiatic and Austronesian emerges sufficiently, I hope, from the foregoing however summary review.

200 equations would be thought enough to support a genetic relationship if the languages concerned were geographically separated beyond the possibility of borrowing. Dravido-Elamite has been proposed on a good deal less! Much of the difficulty in assessing Southeast Asian linguistic affinities stems from the likelihood that ancestral speakers of the main stocks were already in contact—in South China?—at an early date; hence elements can be found that link any two stocks, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese included. Agreements in vocabulary, the crucial issue according to Benedict (1975:464-5), are only part of the argument. The historical selection of phonological structures implied speaks strongly for Austric, as does the persistence—against areal pressures—of vowel variation. I have not so far discussed morphology in this paper. Here Mon-Khmer and Indonesian, at least, show considerable agreement in formal resources but little in the semantic value assigned to them (so Benedict (1975:464), can speak of "congruency in over-all configuration, which might be ascribed to areal factors", but the same holds true even within Indonesian). Austro-Thai as Benedict reconstructs it (1975:146-9) is

⁵ My reconstruction. Cf. Tibeto-Burman **gəm*, Benedict (1972): 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese *g'əm* 頤.

more suggestive in this regard, for Proto-Mon-Khmer has **k-** ‘part of body’ (especially in NMK and Khasi: e.g.: ***mata**; and Riang Lang **kənuas** ‘heart’. ad ***pusuq**, ib.), ***p-** ~ ***-p-** causative (but < Proto-Austroasiatic *(—)**əb-**: see Shorto 1969:112 f.), and perhaps also ***m-** stative.

In this paper I have spoken repeatedly of “roots” and “bases”, by intent. Roots are the common coin of historico-comparative reconstruction, at least of the wider-ranging kind; what by contrast are borrowed from one language into another are rather words. It is true that words often consist of root plus zero affix in Mon-Khmer languages and, though partly by lexicographers’ convention, in Indonesian ones. But neither Austroasiatic nor even Austronesian comparison would advance far if restricted to such simple forms alone. We have here, therefore, a promising tool for distinguishing between the effects of inheritance and borrowing (and substratum retention); productive roots will be more convincing than unramified lexemes as evidence of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian, while correspondence with complex derived forms (as with ‘ant’, p. 2 above) will raise the suspicion of borrowing in Tai and elsewhere.

Benedict treats the position of Austroasiatic as a marginal issue, whence it comes that my critique is concentrated on a small part of Austro-Thai. But if he is wrong on this point, it must affect our assessment of the whole. Of the alternatives set out on p. 2, I need not as an Austroasianist choose between (2) and (3), and so pass judgement on the status of Austro-Thai; but I cannot on the evidence accept (1), and follow him in discarding Austric altogether.

*A Mon-Khmer
comparative dictionary*

Pacific Linguistics 579

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in grammars and linguistic descriptions, dictionaries and other materials on languages of the Pacific, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, southeast and south Asia, and Australia.

Pacific Linguistics, established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund, is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world. Publications are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise, who are usually not members of the editorial board.

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Bowden, Malcolm Ross and Darrell Tryon (Managing Editors),
I Wayan Arka, David Nash, Andrew Pawley, Paul Sidwell, Jane Simpson

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD:

Karen Adams, *Arizona State University*
Alexander Adelaar, *University of Melbourne*
Peter Austin, *School of Oriental and African Studies*

Byron Bender, *University of Hawai'i*
Walter Bisang, *Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*

Robert Blust, *University of Hawai'i*
David Bradley, *La Trobe University*
Lyle Campbell, *University of Utah*
James Collins, *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*

Bernard Comrie, *Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology*
Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, *Universitas Atma Jaya*

Matthew Dryer, *State University of New York at Buffalo*
Jerold A. Edmondson, *University of Texas at Arlington*

Nicholas Evans, *University of Melbourne*
Margaret Florey, *Monash University*
William Foley, *University of Sydney*
Karl Franklin, *Summer Institute of Linguistics*

Charles Grimes, *Universitas Kristen Artha Wacana Kupang*

Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

Lillian Huang, *National Taiwan Normal University*

Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, *Universitas Atma Jaya*

Marian Klamer, *Universiteit Leiden*

Harold Koch, *The Australian National University*

Frantisek Lichtenberk, *University of Auckland*

John Lynch, *University of the South Pacific*

Patrick McConvell, *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*

William McGregor, *Aarhus Universitet*

Ulrike Mosel, *Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*

Claire Moyse-Faurie, *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*

Bernd Nothofer, *Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*

Ger Reesink, *Universiteit Leiden*

Lawrence Reid, *University of Hawai'i*

Jean-Claude Rivierre, *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*

Melenaite Taumoeofolau, *University of Auckland*

Tasaku Tsunoda, *University of Tokyo*

John Wolff, *Cornell University*

Elizabeth Zeitoun, *Academica Sinica*

A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary

Harry Shorto (1919-1995)

Main editor: Paul Sidwell

Assisting editors: Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer



Pacific Linguistics

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

The Australian National University

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

Copyright in this edition is vested with Pacific Linguistics

First published 2006

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Shorto, H. L.
A Mon-Khmer comparative dictionary.

Bibliography.
Includes index.
ISBN 0 85883 570 3.

1. Mon-Khmer languages - Dictionaries. 2. Mon-Khmer
languages - Etymology. 3. Mon-Khmer languages - Comparison.
4. Asia, Southeastern - Languages - Dictionaries. I.
Sidwell, Paul J. II. Cooper, Doug. III. Bauer, Christian.
IV. Australian National University. Research School of
Pacific and Asian Studies. Pacific Linguistics. V. Title.

495.93

Front cover: glazed plaque no. 103 on the exterior basement, Eastern side, of the Ananda pagoda at Pagán, ca. 1105, Dewatāw series. The inscription in Old Mon reads: *dewatāw ma rap bhaddapīdh* 'gods holding thrones (or tables ?)'. (*Illustration courtesy of Christian Bauer* © 2001.)

The editors wish to express their gratitude to Anna Shorto, without whose faith and perseverance this publication would not have come to be.

Pacific Linguistics gratefully acknowledges the support of CRCL Inc. in funding this project.

Typeset by Paul Sidwell
Cover design by Addcolour Digital Pty Ltd
Printed and bound by Addcolour Digital Pty Ltd, Fyshwick, Canberra

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Some Background Notes</i>	xxvi
<i>The Future of the MKCD</i>	xxxii
<i>References</i>	xxxv
<i>Notes on the Dictionary Entries</i>	xliii
<i>Symbols & Abbreviations</i>	xliv
Part 1 Vocalism	1
Part 2 Consonantism	36
Part 3 Comparative Dictionary	69
Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons	532
Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons	559
Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3 and Appendices A, B	572
Appendix D The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia	588
Appendix E In Defense of Austric	599

Preface

Paul Sidwell

Australian National University

It gives me great personal and professional satisfaction to join my colleagues Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer in presenting the long-awaited *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* (MKCD) by the late Professor Harry Shorto (1919-1995).¹

The MKCD will occupy an important place in the literature. Certainly, it is indelibly marked by its era: the Austric hypothesis was still in play, and various branch alignments, particularly among the Katuic and Bahnaric languages, had not yet been fully worked out. But the MKCD also represents the state of the art today: such is the void we confront that it stands, *sui generis*, as the 20th century's only published attempt at a broad comparative analysis of the full Mon-Khmer language family.

The MKCD was originally meant to see print at the end of the 1970s. However, Shorto decided to further revise his manuscript, taking new sources of data into account, and time and health eventually failed him. Publication as originally intended would and should have been a fitting climax to Shorto's career, but it has fallen to a new generation to bring his final work to press.

We do so with the conviction that the contribution of Shorto's MKCD is as relevant now as it would unquestionably have been twenty-five years ago. Then, the MKCD would have crystallised the state of the art in comparative-historical Mon-Khmer linguistics. Today, it will reinvigorate the field of comparative linguistics in Southeast Asia, providing an extensive, integrated framework for building, criticising, and contextualizing our ongoing research efforts.

It is inevitable that a quarter-century of new field research will require extensions to, and adjustments in, Shorto's technical analysis. Nevertheless, the MKCD will make striking contributions to comparative Mon-Khmer studies, kick-start the etymological analysis of modern Mon-Khmer languages like Vietnamese and Khmer, and have a marked impact on comparative and historical linguistics for the other Southeast Asian language families, including Austronesian (especially the Cham language), Tai-Kadai (particularly Thai and Lao), Sino-Tibetan (especially Burmese), and Hmong-Mien.

¹ In addition to the tremendous assistance I received from Doug Cooper and Christian Bauer, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Bernard Comrie and the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig) for financial support received for this and related projects during 2005 and 2006. I would also like to thank Anna Shorto for her hospitality and generosity in helping to make this publication possible. A number of scholars also offered useful advice: Bob Blust, Anthony Grant, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Justin Watkins.

To help the reader appreciate both the historical position and present-day value of the *MKCD*, an extended discussion of the work follows. It begins with a description of the editorial choices and challenges encountered in bringing the manuscript to publication. A survey of Mon-Khmer linguistics in the past century comes next, as a preliminary to the critical assessment of the *MKCD* that forms the main part of this *Preface*. Finally, Christian Bauer's *Background Notes* discuss the long genesis of Shorto's work, and Doug Cooper's *Future of the MKCD* describes our plans for incorporating the *MKCD* into an ongoing *Mon-Khmer Languages Project*.

The Road to Publication

The *MKCD* manuscript was first brought to my attention by Anna Shorto, daughter of the late Professor, in mid-2003. Over the course of several months we established an understanding about the disposition of the *MKCD* and of related unpublished notes in Anna's possession. It was her father's wish that the complete collection should appear in print, a view that I firmly shared and willingly agreed to work toward.

The simplest approach would have been to scan the manuscript pages and distribute the image files electronically. But while this would have been quick and inexpensive, it would have merely preserved Shorto's manuscript as an historical artifact, obscuring its treasure trove of data, analysis, and commentary, including some 2,246 etyma, and almost 30,000 citations drawn from nearly 250 languages.

Making the data within the manuscript directly available to researchers via an online database was a far more desirable alternative. I had already been discussing plans for a Mon-Khmer etymological database with colleagues, and had begun to cooperate with computer scientist Doug Cooper (*Center for Research in Computational Linguistics*) in making my own Katuic and Bahnaric resources Web-accessible.

Cooper suggested that we produce an electronic text that closely followed Shorto's manuscript in order to publish a typeset, printed volume as expeditiously as possible, and then convert this same text into the XML-tagged format needed to build an online database, and allow more extensive data mining in the longer term. We resolved to proceed on that basis, and began to contact Mon-Khmer specialists seeking support for the combined text-and-database project.

To our delight, we discovered that Christian Bauer (*Humboldt University*), who had been Shorto's student while the manuscript was being developed, had independently visited Anna Shorto, making copies of the papers, and taking preliminary steps toward having a facsimile edition of *MKCD* published in Europe. This included typing the drafts of Parts 1 and 2, and exchanging correspondence with a potential publisher.

Bauer, Cooper and I readily agreed to work together (from Berlin, Bangkok, and Canberra, respectively). This has been a truly collaborative effort, with Sidwell taking charge of reconstructing Shorto's text as Main Editor, Cooper accepting responsibility for digitization, data mining, and ongoing electronic publication, and Bauer (who had worked under Shorto in the critical period 1977–1982, with yearly visits thereafter) providing an essential link in clarifying the author's intentions and final thoughts.

Editing the Manuscript

The text presented here is derived from a combination of Shorto's drafts, notes, and unpublished papers, carefully edited and joined to construct a work that is coherent and faithful to the author's intentions.

Shorto's original plan called for three main sections. These were Part 1: *Vocalism*, Part 2: *Consonantism*, and Part 3: *Comparative Dictionary*, as well as various indexes and appendices. Parts 1 and 2 posed significant editorial challenges; in particular, although Part 3 had gone through two complete drafts, the extant manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 were written in support of the first draft of the comparative dictionary, and had not been updated by the author to reflect his revisions. Furthermore both manuscripts were received incomplete, with an unknown number of end pages missing.

Part 3, which we received as a 600-page typed text, is the largest, most important, and most completely realised section. As noted, this was actually a second draft (the first had been compiled from file cards, now lost) that was essentially completed when Bauer arrived at SOAS to write his dissertation under Shorto in 1977.

Shorto continued to update this draft, however, including data from newly available language sources, and pencilling numerous notes in the margin. As he did not manage to retype the augmented text, we eventually integrated the greater part of these marginalia in the course of typesetting and proofing of the text for publication.

Part 3 also included two appendices: *A—Stiengan* (South Bahnaric) and *B—Northern Mon-Khmer* (Palaungic). These contain several hundred lexical comparisons that are particular to the respective sub-groups. The text of Part 3 includes many references to entries in these appendices, and we can expect that more extensive comparative work will see many of them integrated into a revised Proto-Mon-Khmer reconstruction.

Part 1

Part 1 concerns Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism. Shorto clearly intended to explicate this aspect of the reconstruction with an extensively detailed text that would run to more than one hundred pages. Unfortunately, this was never finished; Shorto left us an early but complete paper on proto-vocalism, along with a partial draft of Part 1 of the *MKCD*.

Part 1 as it appears now in print is a hybrid of these two articles, which are discussed in more detail below. First, the detailed justification of Proto-Mon-Khmer vocalism found in the early, complete paper, including tables showing the Mon : Khmer vowel correspondences and the evolution of Old Mon vocalism, was integrated into the unfinished draft of Part 1. Then, the merged text was edited to reconcile the forms and numbering of reconstructions with those seen in Part 3 (the comparative dictionary). Part 1 ends where the manuscript breaks off.

Shorto's paper on proto-vocalism was written in the late 1960s, long before the first draft of the comparative dictionary was finished. Its main section contains some 600 etymologies that illustrate phonological correspondences using Mon and Khmer as criterion languages, plus supporting comparisons from other languages drawn from the missing card files.

This paper is particularly important from the programmatic perspective. In tabulating vowel correspondences between Mon and Khmer, Shorto suggests that there were various vowel alternations (or 'alternances' as he calls them) within Proto-Mon-Khmer. This principle let Shorto separate a core of regular correspondences from a large

set of alternances, and appears to be his answer to a problem mentioned by various writers (e.g. Thomas 1964, Blood 1966): the apparent great confusion of correspondences that had resisted systematisation and blocked the reconstruction of proto-vocalism.

The surviving partial draft of *MKCD* Part 1 is quite different. It begins with a short introduction to the history and state of the art of Mon-Khmer comparative studies. Then, with little preparatory justification, it launches directly into a table of proto-vocalism, giving the list of reconstructed phonemes, and supporting examples grouped according to the class of vowels.

Proto-Mon-Khmer word-final consonants were also meant to be dealt with in Part 1, as is made clear by a mention in the beginning of Part 2. However, the section is absent from the surviving text, which has only a truncated discussion of rhymes with finals **-ʔ* and **-h*.

Shorto raises several issues concerning these finals. First, a number of etymologies appear to show alternances between finals **-ʔ* and **-h*, the function and distribution of which are not understood. Second, Shorto reconstructs final clusters of the type **-Cʔ* and **-Ch* in some etyma on the basis of their reflexes in Vietnamese and Mường. Now, it is known (since Haudricourt 1952) that certain Vietnamese tones correlate with final stops and fricatives in other Mon-Khmer languages. The occurrence of these tones where the rhyme is already closed by a continuant implies the reconstruction of an additional final segment in Shorto's analysis. Third, in a small number of entries Shorto also presents a final cluster with **-s*, which he posited as an instrumental suffix.

Finally, it is apparent that Shorto made a small alteration to his proto-vocalism at the time of the second major draft: an additional vowel **uə* is posited in a small number of cases, although always bracketed.

Part 2

Part 2 comes to us in a more complete form, missing only a final few pages. It includes a table of initial consonant correspondences for twenty Mon-Khmer languages, and a systematic explanation of the reconstruction of initial clusters. Although the etymological illustration of cluster reconstructions is truncated, this does not seriously affect the substance of the discussion.

But although Part 2 is nearly complete, the table of consonant correspondences and reconstructions was prepared for the first draft of the comparative dictionary. The second and final draft incorporates an important change in the reconstruction that is not reflected in that table. Examining the proto-forms in Part 3, one will notice that, in addition to proto-phonemes **t*, **d* and **n*, Shorto reconstructs forms with **t₁*, **t₂*, **d₁*, **d₂*, **n₁* and **n₂* in non-final positions.

We puzzled over these for some time until, during a visit in late 2005, I fortuitously stumbled upon an unpublished manuscript still in Anna Shorto's possession. In this paper, titled "On Mon-Khmer inter-branch relationships," Shorto discusses the phonological correlates of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, and writes:

"The whole of this group is characterized by a shift of **t* in initial position in structures **CCVC* (in some cases) to a sibilant, *prima facie* via an affricate stage. This minor shift is interesting because it apparently extends to Munda. Its incidence may be conditioned by the lost (in Mon-Khmer) *V₁* of Proto-Austroasiatic **CVCVC*, or it may entail reconstructing an additional proto-phoneme (**t₁*,) **t₂*. Thus we find

‘taro’, Khm. **tra:v**, Ste **traw**; RL **ˈsəroʔ**, Khs. *shriew*, Sora **'saro:-gai-ən**, Mundari **sāru**, Santali **saru**;
 ‘sun, day’, Old Mon *they*, Khm. **thɲay**; KY **səŋiʔ**, RL **ˈsəŋiʔ**, Khs. **sngi**, Mundari **siŋgi**.

Contrast (a bad example since it uses infixes, but with a Munda cognate) ‘new’, Khm. **thmɣy** ~ Middle Mon *t/a/mi*, RL **ˈt/ən/meʔ**, Khs. *th/ym/mai*, Kharia **'t/ən/me**.

A parallel shift of ***d** to a palatal is attested at least for Khmuic and Palaungic, and one of ***n** > **l** at C₂ in structures *CCVC certainly for these languages and possibly for Khasi. A reconstruction of two ***t**’s, two ***d**’s and two ***n**’s would of course—for those who favour the Austric hypothesis—bring PAA closer to Proto-Austronesian.”

Shorto was clearly referring to himself as a supporter of the Austric hypothesis, so his motivation for altering the consonant reconstruction between the first and second drafts is made plain. However, only ***t**₂, ***d**₂ and ***n**₂ are reconstructed to account for the sibilant and lateral reflexes in Northern Mon-Khmer. A second set, consisting of ***t**₁, ***d**₁ and ***n**₁, is not dealt with in Part 2. Yet our text of the *MKCD* distinguishes between the three notational sets ***t**, ***d**, ***n** : ***t**₁, ***d**₁ ***n**₁ : ***t**₂, ***d**₂, ***n**₂. At this time, we suggest that the unmarked notation indicates that the reconstruction is intentionally underdetermined in order to avoid a clumsy notation such as ***t**_{1/2}.

Aside from this point, the major editorial issue for Part 2 was synchronizing the form and numbering of examples with Part 3. There were also some issues concerning language (sub)branch names and the treatment of marginal notes.

The first naming issue relates to Shorto’s treatment of Bahnaric, which can now readily be seen as having been based on the limited data available in the 1960s. In editing *MKCD*, we have globally replaced the terms Stiengan and Bahnaran throughout with the more recognizable South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric. But aside from this change in terminology, Shorto’s outdated classification has not been altered. We discuss the issue further below.

The second naming issue involves the Katuic branch, which was also poorly understood in the 1960s. For reasons discussed below, Kuy (then thought to be closely related to Khmer) was originally Shorto’s primary Katuic representative. His later notes and marginalia make it clear that as data on lesser-known Katuic languages came into his possession in the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto recognized and began to correct his error. In editing Parts 2 and 3, we have replaced ‘Kuy’ with ‘Katuic’ where and whenever it is clear that Shorto intended to designate this branch of Mon-Khmer.

Finally, as new language data became available throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Shorto never ceased adding marginal notes and alterations. We have integrated these marginalia into the text, excepting those cases where Shorto’s pencilled notes were not legible enough to allow accurate readings.

Part 3

The comparative dictionary of Part 3 arrived in our hands as a carefully typed and painstakingly corrected manuscript.

Preparing Part 3 for publication was a massive but relatively straightforward task. All of Shorto’s typographic corrections were applied, and his extensive marginal notes were incorporated into the text. His layout was slightly modified in the interests of

readability. Usually, this entailed breaking the entries into their constituent sections, and adding labels as necessary. In addition, Shorto's phonetic transcriptions of Thai references were replaced by more commonly used Haas-style equivalents.

One other large-scale modification was made in the interests of making the text more accessible. Shorto made extensive use of abbreviations for language names, text sources and semantic values. This made sense as a space and labour-saving device in the days when hot metal type was being set, but in the computer age it serves little purpose, and can lead to unintentional obscurity in the text: indeed, quite some effort was required to identify many of his sources. Wherever practical we have spelled out abbreviated forms.

MK Comparative Linguistics in the 20th Century

Before we can consider the content and contribution of Shorto's *MKCD*, it is necessary to survey the larger stage of Mon-Khmer research.

The *MKCD* forms a link in a chain that reaches back to the foundational works of the German comparativist and ethnologist Pater Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), who pioneered the application of neo-grammarian principles in investigating language families beyond Indo-European.

With the European colonisation of Southeast Asia, scholars began to have access to increasingly reliable lexical data for many languages of the region: colonial authorities carried out linguistic surveys, missionaries generated lexicons and bible translations, and dictionaries of Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese became available. Schmidt drew upon these sources to establish the field of comparative Mon-Khmer studies with a series of four major publications at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901, 1904, 1905, 1906).

The first (1901) examined the Aslian languages of Malaya (Senoï and Sömang specifically), demonstrating that they are genetically part of the Mon-Khmer family. This contrasted with Skeat and Blagden (1906), who in their contemporaneous study concluded that there was merely a Mon-Khmer stratum among languages of the peninsula.

Schmidt (1904) next discussed Northern Mon-Khmer languages, dealing with Khasi and Palaungic only, as he lacked Khmuic data. A third paper, Schmidt 1905 (usually referred to as the *Grundzüge* [roughly, 'Foundations'] from the title) was a systematic treatment of Mon, Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar. He treated this group as forming a core Mon-Khmer family, to which other languages could be compared and related within a wider Austroasiatic or Austric framework.

The *Grundzüge* is an extensive attempt to analyse the historical phonology of the Mon-Khmer family. Schmidt's method relied upon interpreting the Indic-based scripts used to write Mon and Khmer. It assumed that the spellings faithfully recorded phonetic values when and where those scripts were adopted (roughly mid-first Millennium).

For Bahnar and Stieng he utilised lexicons that had been compiled in Vietnam by Dourisbourne (1889) and Azémar (1886). The data from these languages revealed relatively conservative, unrestructured phonologies, largely confirming the interpretations of Written Mon and Khmer.

By choosing to work mainly with written languages Schmidt followed established methods, as the comparative investigation of Indo-European had proceeded principally by using Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Although Schmidt did err to some extent by placing

too much importance on the etymologically Indic phonetic values of the spellings, he established basic patterns for reconstructing proto-consonantism that endure to this day.

Schmidt's treatment of proto-vocalism was less successful. His failure to understand differences in the inherent vowels of the Mon and Khmer scripts led him to ignore important length and quality distinctions among the low central and back vowels. The apparent confusion of vowel correspondences created such difficulty for Schmidt that he was only able to posit phonetic equations, and not proper vowel reconstructions.

On the other hand Schmidt's morphological analyses, which related affixes to various phonetic changes, and established the importance of the patterning of segmental collocations within the rhyme, were brilliantly insightful.

Thus the *Grundzüge*, with more than 900 Mon-Khmer lexical comparisons, reconstruction of proto-consonantism, and morphological analyses, laid the foundation for all subsequent comparative work. Astonishingly, given the absence of any comparably extensive synthesis later in the 20th century the *Grundzüge* was not exceeded (in print) until the appearance of the present *MKCD* 100 years later.

Schmidt's ultimate work in this series was his (1906) attempt to link Mon-Khmer and Austronesian in a grand Austric macro-family. This bold hypothesis remains controversial. Although it faces serious difficulties in the light of Shutler and Marck's (1975) now generally accepted formulation of a Formosan homeland for Austronesian,² it still competes with other models of deep genetic relationship among the various language families of Asia (see Sagart et al. 2005 for recent papers and discussion). Schmidt's evidence was both lexical (more than 200 comparisons) and morphological (including parallels in prefixes and infixes), and found a small and enthusiastic following, including Shorto, and nowadays notably Laurence Reid (e.g. 1994, 1996, 2005).

Contemporary with Schmidt was Skeat and Blagden's (1906) massive comparative Aslian lexicon. It was richly annotated with wider Mon-Khmer comparisons, and serves as a useful complement to Schmidt's work. However, Skeat and Blagden did not use their lexical materials within the framework of comparative reconstruction, instead, seeing the presence or absence of etyma in various languages as evidence of ancient migrations and population mixing. These ultimately contributed to unhelpful notions about language classification, and comparative Aslian studies languished for another 70 years.

Other resources that became available during this highly productive period include the ongoing publication of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, especially the survey of Mon, Khmer, Siamese, and Chinese families (Grierson 1903). However, despite ever-increasing access to data, and a solid foundation of comparative analysis, comparative Mon-Khmer studies soon fell into a prolonged lull, overwhelmed by what appeared to be a series of intractable problems.

Vietnamese was a striking example. Some scholars (e.g. Maspero 1912) sought to explain its tonal nature by invoking Thai and/or Chinese ancestry; as late as 1942 Sebeok cast doubts on its relation to various Mon-Khmer languages. Still, a solid line of inquiry based on the epigraphic tradition continued at SOAS (London) and the French EFEO.

² That paper was written specifically to refute Dyen's (1965) classification that suggested a Micronesian homeland for Austronesian. By implication it also refuted the idea, expressed by Shorto from time to time, of an Indo-Chinese homeland, which would have reconciled more easily with the Austric hypothesis.

The key transitional figures were Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), and Gordon Luce (1889-1979). Working at SOAS well into the 20th century, Blagden developed considerable interest in Mon, and had prepared a preliminary etymological dictionary on index cards by 1928. Never completed, Blagden's notes informed various research publications and four fascicles and a plates volume of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* (between 1919 and 1936), and were eventually passed on to Luce.

An indefatigable field worker, Luce compiled thousands of pages of notes and wordlists for the languages of Burma.³ Luce clearly meant to carry through Blagden's dream of a Mon etymological dictionary. He expanded and corrected Blagden's corpus of transcribed Mon texts, developed a set of lexical comparisons, and also improved the morphological analyses of the language(s). Luce published extensively, including the three-volume *Old Burma-Early Pagan* (1969-70), and the posthumously published two-volume Paris lectures *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma* (1985), but included only comparative lists rather than reconstructions.

The mid-20th Century saw a rebirth of interest in comparative Mon-Khmer studies. Haudricourt (1952, 1953) breathed new life into the field with his proof that Vietnamese tones could be explained by direct reference to Mon-Khmer etymology, rather than to Thai or Chinese. This was a powerful demonstration of the insights into phonology and proto-history that comparative investigation of Mon-Khmer languages could offer, and came as a new wave of field data began to emerge, particularly from Indo-China.

1959 was an especially good year, bringing the publication of the first volume of the huge multi-dialectal Bahnar dictionary of Guilleminet, as well as Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow's *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*.

Pinnow's understated title suggests a tentative historical phonology of Kharia (a Munda language of India), but his 514 pages of dense text were a first attempt at an Austroasiatic etymological dictionary, with more than 550 etyma and a representative set of languages. Issues of Kharian phonological evolution were handled in the context of a preliminary Proto-Munda and Proto-Austroasiatic reconstruction: more than 400 cognate sets supported the proto-vocalism, and more than 500 supported the consonantism.

Pinnow made extensive Mon-Khmer comparisons, with the implication that regular Munda : Mon-Khmer correspondences would reliably establish etyma as ancient within the Mon-Khmer family, even if they are now apparently isolated within particular Mon-Khmer branches. For an example close at hand, see #182 in this volume: Kuy (Katuic) **bru**: 'hill' is related to Kharia **'biru** 'hill', demonstrating the root at both Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic levels. But Pinnow's results were hampered by a lack of data, and by problems of interpreting sources. His book's ultimate impact on the field was not nearly commensurate with the effort that had gone into it.

As the 1960s progressed Mon-Khmer research positively blossomed. A generation of young and mostly American scholars traveled to Indo-China, collecting data on many previously little-known and undocumented languages, and preparing various sub-group-level reconstructions. These include Proto-Mnong (Blood 1966), Proto-East-Katuic (Thomas 1967), Proto-Viet-Mường (Barker 1963, Barker and Barker 1970), Proto-Jeh-Halang (Thomas and Smith 1967), and Proto-North Bahnaric (Smith 1972).

³ The Luce Papers are now held in the manuscripts collection of the Australian National Library. The Mon-Khmer and Sino-Tibetan lexical materials are being scanned by CRCL, and will be published on-line in 2007 at <http://archives.sealang.net/luce>.

1964 also saw the founding of the journal *Mon-Khmer Studies* in Saigon; it is today based at Mahidol University, Thailand. European interest was rekindled at this time as well. For example Michel Ferlus (CNRS, France) began his decades-long commitment to collecting data on various languages of Laos and Vietnam, and Scandinavian scholars, including the Kammu specialist Kristina Lindell, became increasingly active.

The world-wide interest in Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic linguistics stimulated a major international conference on comparative Austroasiatic at the University of Hawai'i in 1973; a substantial two-volume set of proceedings was published in 1976 (Jenner et al.). A second Austroasiatic conference was held at Mysore (India) in 1976.

Throughout this period, Harry Shorto was in the thick of things as both author and editor. Taking up the torch from Blagden and Luce after accepting a lectureship at SOAS in 1948, Shorto first published his *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* (1962). He followed this up with *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971), which included extensive etymological commentary, reflecting progress that would lead to the first draft of the *MKCD* (the genesis and history of these books is detailed in Bauer's article, below).

As his work on the *MKCD* progressed, Shorto actively sought out scholarly discussion and debate. He presented his reconstruction of Mon-Khmer proto-vocalism to the Hawai'i comparative Austroasiatic conference, and defended the Austric hypothesis at a symposium in Toronto in 1976. In both cases he made extensive reference to his draft *MKCD* (the Toronto paper is reproduced as Appendix E).

But the 1970s also marked a turning point. With the political transformation of Indo-China attentions were refocused elsewhere. As Cold War funding dried up, the field began to dissipate as researchers turned to other languages and interests. Nevertheless, a core of highly motivated scholars continued their efforts.

Gérard Diffloth was the most notable member of this group. Beginning with Aslian, he produced a reconstruction of Proto-Semai in 1977. Diffloth then ambitiously widened his research program, boldly proposing to systematically work through each Mon-Khmer sub-group, and eventually arrive at a comprehensive Mon-Khmer database and reconstruction. He produced some very important early results, which include book-length reconstructions of Proto-Waic (1980) and Proto-Monic (1984), and a substantial paper on Proto-Katuic (1982). Since then, however, Diffloth has concentrated more on data collection and analysis, choosing to delay the release of his results.

Independently of Diffloth, Ferlus (1983) produced his own Proto-Monic reconstruction. He also began working on the history of the Vietic languages, and has produced an extensive body of work on the topic (e.g. 1982, 1991, 1992a, 1997, 2001 etc.). Ferlus has also offered a reconstruction of the history of Khmer (1992b).

From the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, while important descriptive work on Mon-Khmer languages was pursued by various researchers, the output of comparative studies generally declined, e.g. the Proto-Plang of Paulsen (1989), Proto-South Bahnaric of Efimov (1990) and Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996). But since the year 2000—as we approach the centenary of Schmidt's foundational efforts—a new generation of comparative studies has begun to appear, producing extensive work on Bahnaric (Sidwell 2000, Sidwell and Jacq 2003) and Katuic (Thongkum 2000, Sidwell 2005).

In conclusion, an overall evaluation of the progress of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics in the 20th century reveals periodic ebb and flow. The field advanced in fits and starts through Pinnow's attempted consolidation in 1959, then lost focus when no

similar effort was completed in the 1970s or 1980s. Although branch level comparative studies continued to be pursued, these were conducted without reference to any published, overarching analysis of Mon-Khmer. Predictably, results were mixed.

For example, Diffloth's comparative analyses of Waic (1980) and Monic (1984) were of the highest analytical standards. The years he had invested in compiling notes for a comparative dictionary and preliminary PMK reconstruction—never published, although substantial fragments of early drafts of these works can be inspected at the Cornell University Library manuscript archives—clearly informed Diffloth's consideration of branch-level hypotheses.

In contrast, the South Bahnaric reconstruction of Efimov (1990) and the Proto-Katuic of Peiros (1996) both offered highly defective results. Their analyses were conducted in isolation from the broader Mon-Khmer context: borrowings were not reliably distinguished from inherited forms because there was no reference to the distribution of etyma across the family, and proposed sound laws were formulated without consideration of how they might be reconciled with the deeper historical foundations of Mon-Khmer languages.

In this light, the failure of Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* to have been published was a terrible loss for the field. As we shall discuss below, it is inevitable that some of Shorto's analysis must be extended or discarded; but no amount of re-evaluation is likely to obscure the tremendous amount of scholarship that forms the body of the *MKCD*.

Assessing Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary*

We can categorize Shorto's results as follows:

- Phonological reconstruction: PMK vowels and consonants, and the sound laws that relate these to daughter forms.
- Lexical reconstruction: identification of lexical cognates, specification of appropriate levels for reconstruction, and (after relating these to the proposed sound laws) the construction of proto-lexemes.
- Specification of internal branching and classification.
- External comparison: identification of Munda and Austronesian parallels, and documentation of forms influencing (or influenced by) Thai, Lao, Chinese, Burmese and others.

An exhaustive critique of the *MKCD* would be a major project in itself; it would significantly delay publication, yet probably be less useful than the collection of specialized articles that publication is likely to inspire. I offer instead a brief summary review, touching upon those issues which I consider most important, and which are most likely to require reconsideration.

In doing so, I note that our greatest difficulty with the *MKCD* is the incomplete textual justification for its results, due to the unfortunate demise of the author before he was able to complete, present and defend his work. Nevertheless, while we gladly adopt a generous attitude in assessing the work of a man who is no longer able to defend and explain his magnum opus, we must, still, cast a heartlessly impartial light in raising questions that must be answered.

Phonological reconstruction: vocalism

We are at an advantage insofar as Shorto (1976c) had already begun to explain his reconstruction of the proto-vocalism, with only a very minor modification admitted sometime after that. The proto-vowel inventory applied in the *MKCD* is tabulated as follows:

* /	i		u	aa		uu
	e	ə	o	ee	əə	oo
		a	ɔ		aa	ɔɔ
				iə	[uə]	uə
				ai		/

The principal justification for this reconstruction (excepting the bracketed item) is provided in Table 1 of Part 1. The system is strictly Mon-Khmer in the sense that it is derived exclusively by comparison of those two languages. The resulting reconstruction is then generalised to the family as a whole.

This is an interesting approach for Shorto to have taken. It contrasts utterly with his treatment of the proto-consonantism, where correspondences were compiled for criterion languages that were (within the available data) broadly representative of the whole family.

For the vocalism, Shorto restricted the criterion languages to just two, arguing that this produced an entirely expected result consisting of a substantial core of regular correspondences, and a residue of more-or-less chaotic correspondences. The former securely reflect the proto-system with minimal changes, while the latter are interpreted in two ways: some result from numerous isolated factors that are difficult to identify within the limits of the dataset, while others may reflect a system of vowel grades or alternations within the proto-language, evoking something akin to Indo-European ablaut.

This idea is not well developed and may well turn out to be an artifact of Shorto's particular methodological bent. My view is that narrowly basing the vocalism on Mon and Khmer is not entirely desirable. Ideally one would work through the various branches of the family, reconstructing the proto-vocalism for each, and then using those results as the input for the ultimate reconstruction.

But Shorto was working without branch level reconstructions. In those circumstances, any attempt to assemble a comprehensive tabulation of correspondences between modern languages belonging to different branches would definitely have produced an unmanageable chaos of data.

Instead, he not unreasonably assumed that the Old Mon and Old Khmer vowel systems—which are very similar to each other, and which are both recorded in vernacular script—are archaic. If this assumption is correct, the binary comparison of Mon and Khmer should produce a reconstruction that is reliable at least insofar as these two languages had not undergone parallel independent developments. The latter should become apparent when a sufficient number of other languages are considered.

Does the reconstructed vocalism have any characteristics that are typologically odd, or that otherwise give us cause for question? Certainly. Indeed, Shorto himself remarks briefly in Part 1 on the lack of a distinction between open and half-open front vowels, speculating that his *e and *ee may actually subsume *ɛ and *ɛɛ. Given that such

a distinction is typologically common among Mon-Khmer languages, I am almost certain that it is the case. We can also note the absence of a close central vowel, such as long or short **i** or **u**. Shorto is probably correct here, as these frequently develop as conditioned variants of front and/or back vowels, and by (typically) unconditioned raising of the other central vowels.

What will be the consequences of re-evaluating Shorto's results? Consider the reconstruction of the etymon underlying #1070 ***priit**; ***priət** 'banana.' Shorto offers this on the basis of forms such as Bahnar **priit**. However, more recent data reveals reflexes such as Jru' (West Bahnaric) **priət**, and point to a merger of ***iə** and ***ii** in Central Bahnaric. Further afield the Old Mon cognate **brāt** (compared in Shorto 1971 but absent from the *MKCD*!) clearly indicates that Proto-Bahnaric ***iə** derives from a raising of PMK ***aa**. The same correspondence can be found elsewhere, e.g. 'bone,' compare: Bahnar **ktiŋ**, Jru' **ktiəŋ**, and Palaung **kəʔaŋ** (at #553 and #488 respectively, and arguably the same correspondence for 'rain' at #127 and #141 and 'dry hill-field' at #1651).

These examples reflect two different but related problems. In the case of 'banana,' admitting new comparisons will indicate a revision of the reconstruction, although not a revision of the proto-system. In the case of 'bone,' the Bahnaric and Palaungic reflexes have been assigned to quite separate reconstructions that, arguably, should be collapsed into one. Therefore the recognition of new sound laws, a very likely eventuality, is going to indicate revisions to the proto-lexicon. Here I expect that substantial improvements to the reconstruction will emerge.

Various issues concern the diphthongs ***iə**, ***uə**, ***ai** and **[*uə]**. The first two of these are reconstructed on the principle that they are reflected largely unchanged in Khmer. However, it is very often the case that reflexes in other languages are not diphthonged, appearing rather as ***ɛɛ** and ***ɔɔ**, respectively. It is known that low, long monophthongs have a strong tendency to diphthongise in Mon-Khmer languages (e.g. see the discussion and diagram in Huffman 1985), perhaps more often than the reverse change is apt to occur. Thus, it is entirely likely that PMK ***ɛɛ** and ***ɔɔ** underlie various examples of Khmer **iə**, **uə** that Shorto uses to reconstruct ***iə** and ***uə**.

One will note numerous examples of ***iə** and ***uə** reconstructed in the *MKCD* where there is no Khmer reflex, or in fact no diphthonged reflex at all. Consider #467 'hair,' for which the four alternates ***suk**, ***suuk**, ***suək**, ***sək** are reconstructed. In this case, ***suək** is posited on the basis of reflexes that in isolation would only suggest ***ɔɔ**. However, influenced by his theory of vowel alternations, Shorto reconstructs the **uu ~ uə** alternance to link the **ɔɔ** forms in Bahnaric with **u** in Palaungic. I am sure that integrating the results of comprehensive branch level reconstructions will eliminate many of these alternate reconstructions, and reassign many proto-diphthongs to monophthongs.

The diphthong ***ai** is also problematic, a fact acknowledged by Shorto. It is posited to explain the rather infrequent correspondence of Mon **a** to Khmer **ɛ**. I doubt whether it reflects anything other than **a** fronting in Khmer (and it is likely that similarly fronted reflexes in Kuy are Khmer loans), although a detailed analysis of reflexes in other languages is required to solve this.

In his second draft of the *MKCD* Shorto introduced a doubtful proto-diphthong **[*uə]** in some eight reconstructions. It is not indicated by the Mon : Khmer correspondences, but rather is based on four examples of a correspondence of Palaung **u** to Kammu Yuan **ua** in closed syllables (#410, #503, #1179, #1328). This is then

invoked to explain three cases of open syllable **ɔw** in Bahnar (and similar reflexes elsewhere in Bahnaric) corresponding to Palaung **u** (#6, #45, #264).

It is very doubtful that these two groups of correspondences can be linked. The first group has many parallels with etyma for which ***iə** is indicated, so we need to find cognates beyond Northern Mon-Khmer for those four cases. The other group is perhaps sufficiently explained by contextual changes to PMK ***uu**. An additional reconstruction of [***uə**] at #573 lacks Bahnaric or Palaungic reflexes that follow either pattern, and is instead based upon a correspondence of Mon **u** to Vietnamese **ư** and Stieng **o**, and requires further investigation.

These considerations would lead us to revise Short's proto-vocalic inventory to the following:

*/	i		u	aa		uu	
	e	ə	o	ee	əə	oo	
	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɛɛ	aa	ɔɔ	
				iə		uə	/

The revised inventory is only provisional, and may be subject to further changes in the light of new data and analyses. For example, there are strong indications of Proto-Katuic high central vowels ***u**, ***uuu**, ***uə** (see Diffloth 1982, Sidwell 2005). If these are found to have cognates with similar values in other branches, this will indicate reconstruction to PMK. On the other hand, if these are isolated within Katuic, the more likely explanation will be raising from PMK ***ə**, ***əə** etc. Such issues can only be addressed by comprehensive branch-level reconstructions.

Phonological reconstruction: consonantism

The table of proto-consonants presented by Shorto in his first draft, below, matches exactly that offered by Diffloth in his 1974 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article (and passim). It effectively reflects a consensus view that can be traced back to the foundation laid by Schmidt, and it is not anticipated that further research will be likely to significantly alter this model.

*/	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	b	d	j	g	
	ɸ	ɗ			
	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	w	r l	y		
			s	h	/

Additional segments ***t₂**, ***d₂**, ***n₂** were added by Shorto in the course of his second draft (already discussed to some extent above). They were posited to account for certain correspondences among Northern Mon-Khmer and other Mon-Khmer languages: between dental sibilants and dental stops (e.g. #31 ***t₂ɲiiʔ** 'sun, day' on the basis of such forms as Palaung **səŋi** and Khmer **thŋay**), and between laterals and dental nasals (e.g. #1906 ***bn₂iəs** 'spear' on the basis of such forms as Riang-Lang **ples** and Old Mon **bnəs**).

However, it is important to note that the tabulated proto-consonants are posited as the initial segments in sequences CVC, whereas the ***t₂** and ***d₂** were specifically

motivated by correspondences of preconsonantal segments. In the rare cases where the second series were reconstructed for prevocalic stops (e.g. #553 ***kt₂iŋ** ‘bone’), the reconstruction is in all but three cases specifically intended to explain the sibilant reflexes within North Bahnaric, and thus is likely to reflect a quite different phenomenon.

The exceptions are readily explained by other processes: #534 ***kt₂aŋ** ‘bitter’ and #1621 ***kt₂uur** ‘ear’ suggest fusion of ***kt** > **c** > **s** in Northern languages; #543a ***t₂aŋ** ‘knee’ also has evidence of preconsonantal **k**. Similarly, #1343 ***t₂əm** ‘plant’ is infixed in Northern languages, relegating the reflex of ***t₂** to the preconsonantal position, so that it actually patterns regularly after ***t₂ŋii?** ‘sun, day.’

Therefore, the table above still holds, leaving us with the separate problem of explaining a correspondence pattern that is restricted to preconsonantal dental stops. Typologically it would be very strange if the set of preconsonantal segments included forms not also occurring as CVC initials, in which case some other explanation must be offered. Shorto himself suggested that it may be explained by the assimilation of a vowel which has since been eliminated by changes to syllabic structure. Given the CVCVC typology of Munda roots, this vocalic explanation is surely more likely than the ***t₂** and ***d₂** modeled after the more speculative Austric parallels.

The **n₂** reconstructions are more problematic. There are only seven cases: #344, #593, #1367, #1369, #1476, #1631, and #1906. All involve **n₂** as the second member of various clusters, so there is in fact no underlying structural parallel to the ***t₂**/***d₂** issue. In at least two cases (#1476, #1631) it is likely that Austronesian loans are confusing the issue, and in three (#593, #1367, #1369) we cannot rule out dissimilation from the final nasal (cf. #1401 ***liəm** ‘good’: Bahnar **liəm** and Sre **niam**). This leaves the identification of **n₂** unlikely to withstand close investigation.

The reconstruction of initial clusters is based upon the following relation between the registers of Mon and Khmer:

PMK	Mon	Khmer
voiceless + voiceless	head register	head register
voiceless + voiced	chest register	head register
voiced + voiceless	head register	chest register
voiced + voiced	chest register	chest register

The underlying principle is that Mon registers reflect only the voice quality of the prevocalic consonant, but Khmer registers regularly reflect the voice quality of the initial.

The formulation appears (so far as I can tell) to hold up fairly robustly, although the same caveat applies in respect of the proto-vocalism: reconstruction on the basis of this formula will not recover any features that have been lost due to parallel developments in the criterion languages. In this respect I anticipate that the integration of new data from (in particular) Aslian, Khmuic, Vietic and Katuic has the potential to indicate at least a fine-tuning, if not a thorough overhaul, of Shorto’s PMK clusters.

Lexical reconstruction

Shorto’s reconstruction of 2,246 groups of proto-lexemes rests on two pillars: 1) the identification of cognates that indicate etyma were present at the PMK level, and 2) the application of sound laws to these cognates in order to generate proto-forms.

The generation of proto-forms is, inevitably, an ongoing process even for the most well-studied language families. As we have just seen, specific aspects of Shorto's phonological analysis may require revision on the basis of existing data, or even reanalysis as new information becomes available. We can expect that such reanalysis will have the beneficial effect of simplifying Shorto's reconstructions, reducing the number and complexity of the variant forms.

Shorto's methodology for identifying etyma at the PMK level must be reviewed more critically. Lacking a coherent model of inter-branch relations between Mon-Khmer languages—a situation that arguably still persists—Shorto was in a sense forced to work without a safety net in order to achieve the heights he wished to attain.

Shorto does not provide any formula to specify the precise mix of languages or sub-groups an etymon would have to be attested for in order to justify a triangulation back to PMK. Despite this, we can readily discern several principles he consistently invoked to justify Mon-Khmer heritage:

- attestation in both Mon and Khmer where borrowing from a non-Mon-Khmer source is considered unlikely,
- attestation in Munda and in at least one Mon-Khmer language,
- attestation in Austronesian and in at least one Mon-Khmer language where borrowing into the Mon-Khmer language is considered unlikely.

The great majority of Shorto's cognate groups are based on evidence from multiple branches of Mon-Khmer, and will be strengthened as more data becomes available. The 354 items supported by Munda attestation are particularly likely to be legitimate, regardless of how many MK branches they occur in (although Munda forms have radically complex morphologies that present special difficulties to comparativists). This issue is discussed below in *Relation to Munda*.

In a few cases Shorto relied on a single MK branch without citing external comparisons. In a regular pattern of error whose root cause I will return to below, he appears to have consistently treated South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric as separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purpose of lexical reconstruction. This led to entries such as #1401 *liəm 'good,' for which only Bahnaric forms are cited.

Shorto's Austronesian connections are obviously the least justifiable. Assuming an Indo-Chinese origin, before Shutler and Marck's results supporting a Formosan homeland for Austronesian, the Austric hypothesis was of crucial importance, spurred on by the increasing availability of extensive and reliable Austronesian reconstructions. But Shorto's use of Austronesian data as evidence in his phonological and lexical reconstruction of Mon-Khmer will certainly be the most controversial aspect of his work.

Even if one accepts the Austric hypothesis, the discrimination of borrowings from genetic inheritance at great time depths is extremely problematic. Normally one would expect to see strong additional evidence (such as distributional factors) taken into account before borrowing is discarded as the null hypothesis.

Shorto does not explain his reasoning in 30 *MKCD* entries of etyma that appear to be isolated within single branches of Mon-Khmer, yet have been accepted as archaic on the basis of questionable Austronesian parallels. A good example is #1476 'dove,' for which Proto-Austronesian *pun₁ai is invoked to justify projecting Palaung [ə]ploy and Riang-Lang ˀploe to PMK *pn₂[uu]y. This can only be accepted on the basis of the

questionable **l : n** correspondence, or the phonetic equation evaporates and the etymon is better relegated to the Palaungic level until wider Mon-Khmer cognates can be found.

Regardless of one's view of the Austric hypothesis, a great number of Mon-Khmer-Austronesian lexical comparisons compiled by Shorto extensively catalog a long history of poorly understood language contact. They provide a detailed and well-documented overview not generally accessed by specialists working strictly within either the Austroasiatic or Austronesian traditions, and create the opportunity to address some of the larger issues of Southeast Asian linguistic history.

Aside from the readily identified deviations discussed above, Shorto's approach to lexical reconstruction is fundamentally sound. Some of his comparisons will ultimately be rejected as not justifying lexical reconstructions, but it would be a mistake to rule out, *a priori*, all cases that raise questions because of the limited data presented at this time.

Internal branching and classification

The problem of determining the structure of the Mon-Khmer family has vexed linguists since the time of Schmidt, and it is fair to say that it remains unsolved. A confusing muddle of tree diagrams have been offered over the past century, although none, to my knowledge, have been determined on the basis of explicit formulae of shared innovations.

Since the 1960s two consistent (albeit irreconcilable) schemes have emerged. Each is based on essentially lexical methods, reflecting the longstanding absence of a well-developed phonological reconstruction. One approach is championed by Diffloth, who has consistently grouped Mon-Khmer branches into three large divisions. This implies that the languages must have diverged gradually over thousands of years, with speakers undertaking multiple migrations (see Diffloth 2005 for his most recent view).

An alternative view derives from lexicostatistical studies (e.g. Thomas 1966; Thomas and Headley 1970; Huffman 1976, 1978; Smith 1981) that have generally found that Mon-Khmer languages branch into at least 10 more-or-less equidistant groupings. These results suggest a simple "rake"-shaped tree, and imply that at some point in time Proto-Mon-Khmer expanded rapidly over a vast area.

Shorto's method effectively assumed the rake model, as he compiled etymologies on the assumption that attestation in any two branches was a reasonable minimum criterion for identifying Mon-Khmer heritage. Given the state of the art in the mid-1970s, we hardly fault Shorto for adopting the rake model, inasmuch as it is founded on empirical studies. However, issues regarding understanding and treatment of Bahnaric and Katuic led Shorto to inconsistencies and mistakes in his analysis.

Shorto cites examples from Bahnaric—a single branch in the rake model—extensively in the *MKCD*. It is second only to Mon and Khmer in importance, echoing the approach of Schmidt (1905). When he began working, the Bahnaric languages were classified into two groups: Stiengan and Bahnaran (reflecting the fact that Stieng and Bahnar were the first Bahnaric languages to be extensively documented). This two-way division was subsequently renamed South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric respectively by Thomas and Headley (1970). Shorto nominally subscribed to an analysis that held Bahnaric to be a single branch, noting comparisons as "Bahnaric" in the *MKCD* when they had both Stiengan and Bahnaran reflexes.

Yet despite the above, it is apparent that Shorto treated Stiengan and Bahnaran as reflecting two separate Mon-Khmer branches for the purposes of lexical reconstruction.

He posits some 146 PMK reconstructions on the basis of Bahnaric forms alone, as if attestation in these two “branches” justifies triangulation of the etymon back to PMK, rather than merely to Proto-Bahnaric. In addition, in Appendix A of *Stiengan/South Bahnaric etymologies* Shorto constructs putative PMK antecedents without recourse to other Bahnaric comparisons or intermediate Bahnaric level reconstructions.

Shorto’s error is compounded by his choice of representative languages for these putative branches. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly recognised that Bahnar does not belong in the North Bahnaric branch, and is probably more closely related to South Bahnaric (see Sidwell 2002). Moreover, the language Rōngao, which was treated as a dialect of Bahnar in the dictionary of Guilleminet (1959-63) that Shorto relied upon, is most certainly a distinct North Bahnaric language.

The consequence of Shorto’s handling of *Stiengan* and *Bahnaran* is that 146 etymologies technically do not justify PMK reconstructions; a large proportion of these do not even justify Proto-Bahnaric reconstructions. It can be expected that although wider MK etymologies will be found for many, others—particularly those attested only in Bahnar and South Bahnaric—will turn out to be Austronesian borrowings. While this in no way undermines the rest of Shorto’s achievement, all of the 146 reconstructions in question must be treated as provisional until more data is considered.

Another issue involves the Katuic branch, which was very poorly understood until recently. The Kuy language, which has hundreds of thousands of speakers in the lowland areas of Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos, was the principal representative of Katuic in the *MKCD*. Unfortunately, Kuy is not a very good exemplar for the Katuic branch. Besides borrowing numerous Cambodian words, Kuy has highly innovative phonology, having undergone a vowel split parallel to that of Middle Khmer.

Shorto initially assumed that Kuy was closely related to Khmer, rather than being an aberrant member of a separate and more conservative Mon-Khmer branch, as has been subsequently shown (see Diffloth 1982). However, after completing the second draft of Part 3, Shorto realized and began to correct his error as data on the various Katuic languages spoken by small and diverse communities in the upper Sekong valley of Laos and the adjacent Vietnamese hills came to his attention.

Katu, the most linguistically archaic of these, was just beginning to be known to outsiders, and a published lexicon only came into Shorto’s possession in the 1980s. In piecing together notes retained by Anna Shorto, it is apparent that he also obtained lexicons for several other Katuic languages, including Bru, Ngeq, and Pakoh.

Using this information, Shorto developed two preliminary reconstructions: one for Proto-Bruan (designating the Bru-Kuy subgroup), and one for Proto-Katuic, based on data from Ngeq, Pakoh, and Katu sources. Consequently he made many marginal annotations of Bru forms in Part 3, the comparative dictionary proper, and had begun to add Pakoh forms when circumstances intervened and the work was abandoned. Shorto’s unpublished notes on Katuic reconstruction are archived at <http://archives.sealang.net/shorto>.

Relation to Munda

Shorto’s conviction in the Austric hypothesis made it nearly inevitable that consideration of Munda, a large and deeply complex language family of India, would be somewhat marginalized. It has been recognised since Mason (1854) that Munda languages are related to Mon-Khmer, but the structure of that relationship is still unclear. While the

received view is that Mon-Khmer and Munda are sister branches of the Austroasiatic macrophylum, there is no real consensus.

The recent classification by Diffloth (2005) treats Munda as a branch on a par with Northern Mon-Khmer, such that there is no meaningful distinction between Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic. In contrast, the noted Munda specialist David Stampe (pers. com.) considers it more likely that Mon-Khmer is an offshoot of Munda, and in a sense is the reverse of Diffloth's formulation.

Although he does not raise the issue explicitly, Shorto's analysis agrees with Diffloth. Shorto reproduces Austroasiatic etymologies from Pinnow (1959), and in some cases relies upon Munda comparisons to justify reconstructions where Mon-Khmer reflexes are restricted in their distribution (e.g. #182 ***bruu?** 'hill').

Elsewhere, in his discussion of the **t₂**, **d₂** problem (quoted above), Shorto notes that the sibilant reflexes of Northern Mon-Khmer are also found in Munda, not the phonological contrast (e.g. #31 ***t₂ŋii?** 'sun, day': Khmer **thŋay**, Palaung **səŋi**, Mundari **səŋgi**). This would suggest that Munda and Northern Mon-Khmer descend from a common branch, reducing Munda to a much less important place in the phylogenetic tree.

This position is consistent with the greater emphasis Shorto places on comparing Mon-Khmer to Austronesian, without attempting to posit intermediate Proto-Austroasiatic forms. After all, if Munda is merely a sister to Northern Mon-Khmer, then the PMK reconstructions will in principle be equivalent to Proto-Austroasiatic.

A present-day perspective would undoubtedly hold that despite uncertainties concerning the phylogenetic relation of Munda to Mon-Khmer, they share a closer relation to each other than either might share with Austronesian. The comparative reconstruction of Proto-Munda must take priority, fully informing the Proto-Mon-Khmer/Austroasiatic reconstruction before we attempt to analyse the phonological and lexical implications of any putative Austric comparisons.

Conclusion

It is fair to say that the transformative role of the *MKCD* in Mon-Khmer studies will, in time, be comparable to other works of similar scope and quality, such as: Otto Dempwolff's (1938) *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes* or Emeneau and Burrow's (1961) *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*.

No scholar would claim that either of these provided wholly definitive results or reached entirely error-free conclusions. Yet both crystallised decades of scholarship in their respective fields, and each stimulated tremendous improvements in the quality of subsequent research. Their meticulously organised and analysed data were immediately useful for reference; indeed, careers were established on the basis of ideas gleaned while fishing through their pages.

More importantly, they established neutral playing fields for future generations, making it possible to unambiguously cite an etymology or theoretical model in a context whose forms and issues were recognized and accepted by the entire profession. Shorto's citation of Dempwolff's forms in his Austric comparisons amply demonstrates the point. Although they are now outdated now by almost 70 years, any comparative Austronesianist will immediately recognise them, and can easily relate them to modern forms.

This is the unique contribution of canonical texts to research: defective and incomplete as they may be, they are essential to the progress of any field. Their value is based not on the absence of error, but on the honesty and scholarship with which they attempt to account for the field's current state of knowledge. And by this standard, Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* richly deserves its pride of place at the head of 20th Century Mon-Khmer linguistics.

Paul Sidwell
Canberra, June 2006

Some Background Notes

Christian Bauer

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Any posthumous publication warrants some remarks about the historical context in which it was created; information privy to those who had the privilege of working closely with its author, and which may shed light on aspects of its compilation. This is all the more true in this particular case as the *Comparative Dictionary* has its origin in Mon lexicography and a lineage going back to as early as 1928.

Harry Shorto graduated in Modern and Medieval Languages from Cambridge University. He spent the war years as a commissioned officer in the Fourteenth Army in Burma. From anecdotes he told me during classes I know that, at some stage, he was involved in reconnaissance missions in the Shan states.

Following an initial posting as an assistant lecturer in linguistics in 1948, Shorto was appointed to a lectureship in Mon at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1952. His ties to SOAS were extensive; officers involved in reconnaissance missions and intelligence work received language training in Japanese and Burmese in the linguistics department, headed by J. R. Firth, and all newly employed language lecturers at SOAS were instructed in general linguistics and phonetics under the supervision of Eugénie Henderson (1914-1989).

The availability of a Mon lectureship is not as incongruous as it may seem today. The British assumed that Burma would join the Commonwealth after gaining independence, and that the major ethnic groups would be accorded a measure of autonomy. The need for intensive regional language study in the wake of decolonization was, therefore, a given.

The Scarbrough Report of 1947 had reviewed the state of Asian language instruction at British universities, and recommended the creation of a number of lectureships in Southeast Asian languages. At the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was even planned to create positions for Shan and Karen at a later stage. Although these never materialized, Mon had already been established at SOAS in all but name for several decades.

Mon was first introduced by J. A. Stewart (1882-1948), Professor of Burmese, who as a colonial administrator in lower Burma had collected Mon texts, and who later initiated a certificate in Mon at the School. He was followed by Charles Otto Blagden (1864-1948), first Lecturer (1917) and then Reader in Malay, who succeeded in deciphering the Old Mon inscriptions of Pagán, Prome, Thaton and Lamphun. It is actually Blagden's materials from which *A Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* ultimately derives, as we shall see below.

Shorto began to study modern Mon in 1949 when the Mon monk U Wāyama, originally from Kawbein, was resident in London for about a year. U Wāyama was no mere language assistant. An educator and modernizer, he conceived and co-wrote the seven-part series of Mon Readers for language instruction in the schools of lower Burma, and also authored an introduction to Mon for Burmese speakers. U Wāyama came from a long line of distinguished Mon Sayadaws that include Silawantathera (Shwe Ngwè) and U Kosalla, in whose monastery Shorto was to reside as a layman.

After a year of typical armchair preparatory work in London, Shorto left for Burma and took up residence in U Kosalla's monastery in Mudun on Bilu Island. To students of my generation this had always appeared to be a period of unrestricted travel and carefree research opportunities. However, his fieldwork was actually severely hampered by travel restrictions, which limited his access to detailed information on Mon dialects in Burma.

Shorto never traveled south of the mainland township Mudon, and his occasional sorties from Bilugyun were limited to Moulmein, Martaban and Kyaikmaraw. Shorto was, however, able to do fieldwork on Mon dialects in Thailand, where he met William Gedney. And it was Gedney who provided him with a Mon contact, Mahā Phuan, who acted as informant for his 'Lopburi' dialect.

Shorto remained in Southeast Asia until 1952.

The first draft of the *Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon* was written during the steamer journey back to England. In addition to Shorto's field work, his lexicographic description of Mon was based on Robert Halliday's Mon-English Dictionary of 1922, and on material Stewart had bequeathed to the School and now lost: mainly songs, folktales and pieces of traditional literature. This material was complemented by wordlists written by U Wāyama.

However, the dictionary was not published for a full decade. The delay was due, among other factors, to Firth; the "Philological Society" was willing to defray the cost of printing but Firth insisted that the dictionary be revised to include a concordance of written forms as well.

Shorto began his study of Old Mon under Gordon Luce (1889-1979), who had been appointed visiting professor at the School for three years until 1953. Luce was by then Professor of Far Eastern History at the University of Rangoon and had studied Old Mon, Chinese and Sanskrit in Europe since 1918 during his annual leaves of absence. After a decade of study and correspondence with Blagden, Luce had secured funds from University College Rangoon in 1929 to publish Blagden's *Dictionary of Old Mon with cognate forms in Khmer, etc.*—as its title was intended to be—to be followed by an Old Mon grammar. The dictionary was meant to include cognates from other Mon-Khmer languages; no surprise, considering that Blagden, after years of colonial service in Malaya, had co-written *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* with W. W. Skeat, and had corresponded, in German, with Pater Wilhelm Schmidt.

Blagden had continued his editorial work on Old and Middle Mon inscriptions through the war years, carefully noting etymologies in a 5,000-card index. After Blagden's death in 1948, his daughter sent his papers to the School. These papers consisted, among others, of the 5,000-card index, on which the projected epigraphic Mon dictionary was to have been based, and a notebook with transcriptions of unpublished texts and a concordance. The fate of the collection of rubbings was never established.

When Luce returned to Burma it was agreed that Shorto would update and edit Blagden's index and notes, rework them into a dictionary, and arrange for publication. Shorto completed a first draft of the Old Mon dictionary by 1956. Throughout 1956-57, the draft was checked against epigraphic data in Burma wherever possible. Mainly, this was confined to stone inscriptions and ink glosses from Pagán as well as the Middle Mon bell inscriptions.

Further etymological material was incorporated through Shorto's own fieldwork on the Northern Mon-Khmer languages Palaung and Praok (a Wa dialect). Pinnow's *Habilitation* of 1959 provided new comparative Munda material. No further epigraphic data were added beyond findings of the early 1960s, thus excluding significant early data from Northeastern Thailand.

The dictionary was eventually published in 1971, as *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the 6th to the 16th centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden* (henceforth *DMI*). Shorto, since 1964 Reader in Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures, was then promoted to a personal chair in Mon-Khmer Studies.

Although still immensely useful to epigraphic research to this day, *DMI* is not without its deficiencies. Paradoxically, these have a direct bearing upon—and more importantly, a direct benefit for—the execution of this *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary*. To Shorto, the phonological reference form was of key importance. The notation of special glyphs, so dear to the epigrapher, would only distract and could hence be ignored as being of no phonological impact. Thus, the transliterated forms found in *DMI* are, in fact, *transcriptions*, with a few exceptions a practice inherited from Blagden. In *DMI*, features of the writing system, including special ligatures, abbreviated rhyme notations and superscripts, were all normalized; which is to say they were not noted at all.

Shorto's compilation of the *DMI* (and later the *Comparative Dictionary*) was also greatly influenced by Sir Ralph Turner (1888-1983), who published the first and main volume of his *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* in 1966. Sir Ralph, director of the School from 1938 to 1957, had taken an avid interest in the progress of *DMI*, and it is hardly surprising that Shorto found inspiration, both in form and method, in the magnum opus of his senior colleague.

The main Old Mon entries in *DMI* served as building blocks against which a series of cognates could be set, in the same manner that Turner used Vedic and Sanskrit citations (rather than reconstructions) to head the entries. It is telling that Middle Mon forms in *DMI* do not appear as separate main entries whenever an Old Mon form is attested: convenient for the etymologist, but frustrating indeed for the epigrapher in the field.

In a sense, then, *DMI* was from its inception a prototype or blueprint for an etymological Mon-Khmer dictionary to come, in which Mon was intended as one of three *Testsprachen* or criterion languages, along with Khmer and Vietnamese. Shorto recognised the importance of including more representative criterion languages in the analysis, hence his interest in adding to the knowledge of Northern Mon-Khmer; his work on Palaung was actually a check on Mrs. Milne's data of the 1920s.

Acquiring a working knowledge of Khmer, probably in the early 1960s, lead him to reject all previous reconstructions of the early Mon vocalism he had envisaged. Shorto

arrived at his definitive reconstruction of the Old Mon vocalism with his 1965 London paper.¹

For the *Comparative Dictionary* Shorto carried on the notation and symbols of Turner's *CDIAL*, although his layout and method of reconstruction are more reminiscent of Dempwolff's comparative Austronesian, particularly in basing the reconstructions on a small set of criterion languages chosen to represent a large and under-documented language family.

In January 1973 Shorto debuted a preliminary version of the proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system to the First Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics in Hawai'i. In September of the same year he presented his view of Southeast Asian linguistic proto-history, which was meant to be part of the introduction of the *Comparative Dictionary*, to the London Colloquy on Early Southeast Asia. And, by 1976 he was able to propose a reconstruction of Austric, based on 200 roots, at a Toronto conference dedicated to Benedict's Austro-Thai hypothesis.

When I arrived at SOAS in September 1977 to learn Mon and write my doctoral dissertation under Shorto's supervision, the second draft of the *Comparative Dictionary* was ready in typewritten draft form, although some issues in Vietic and other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages remained to be solved. This was essentially the same state of affairs when I took the final examination in the autumn of 1982. On one of my subsequent annual visits from Mahidol to London—Shorto had retired in 1984—he confided that he had changed the reconstruction of the vowels again. And that he was still occupied with writing the introduction.

Christian Bauer
Berlin, August 2006

¹ The interpretation of archaic writing systems, *Lingua*, 1965, 14:88-97.

The Future of the MKCD

Doug Cooper

Center for Research in Computational Linguistics

Paul Sidwell and Christian Bauer have described the present and past of Shorto's *MKCD*. We now turn to a preview of its future as an electronic resource.

As Sidwell notes in his *Preface*, we originally began working together to make the few available Mon-Khmer branch reconstructions and their supporting lexical data more accessible for research and reference. These included Diffloth's analyses of Monic and Waic, Ferlus's forthcoming presentation of Vietic, and Sidwell's own comparative dictionaries of Katuic and Bahnaric.

Tying these works into a single, unified resource, with branch reconstructions pointing to Mon-Khmer roots, was an obvious goal, but it was an objective that was by no means trivial. An underlying skeleton of Mon-Khmer etyma that could ease the task of organizing data—far less a systematic attempt at reconstructing the proto-language—simply did not exist.

We became more frustrated as we began to find extensive, unpublished documentation for little-known, highly endangered Mon-Khmer languages, both in manuscript form (as in the Australian National Library's Gordon Luce collection), and buried in the appendices of theses and lexicons. While we could readily scan and archive these texts, we had no desire to manage a museum of fossils. Again, we needed a way to incorporate the data into the larger body of Mon-Khmer research.

The appearance of Shorto's manuscript changed everything. Its coverage is broad and deep enough to provide a rational framework for most Mon-Khmer language resources, including both reconstructions and lexical data. As a result, our efforts to prepare the *MKCD* for publication have also focused on deconstructing Shorto's text in preparation for a much broader project.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project

This effort, scheduled to commence formally in 2007, will carry on where Shorto leaves off. Initially, the complete content of Part 3's Comparative Dictionary will be extracted, XML-tagged, and made freely available on line. All of the text's constituent parts, including etyma, reconstructions, and lexical citations, will be accessible both in accordance with Shorto's analysis and layout, and as a collection of independent datasets.

Shorto's data will form the core of a new resource: the *Mon-Khmer Etymological Database*. A companion *Mon-Khmer Languages Database* will be dedicated to purely lexicographic data, obtained from as wide a variety of both published and unpublished sources as possible, including original manuscripts from Luce and others. Shorto will

continue to be identified with all of the elements and relations defined in *MKCD*, but new language data, etyma, reconstructions, and citations can be added to both databases.

The MKL Project presents the opportunity to make a clean break with an outdated tradition: to challenge the view of Mon-Khmer comparative linguistics as an essentially solitary task, based solely on traditionally published work.

Both Sidwell and Bauer have described the patrimony of file cards handed down from generation to generation. Although some scholars have begun to rely on electronic databases for recordkeeping in recent decades, use of the Internet as a means for active collaboration has barely penetrated the field's consciousness. Data has been computerized, but its management has not been modernized, and some of the social and academic practices that restrict access to data are unchanged since Blagden's day.

This would not be a problem for comparative work if branch-level issues were well-resolved, with authoritative, published proto-language reconstructions that had stood the test of time. And, indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s there was every reason to believe that this happy state of affairs lay just around the corner.

But it has not come to be. Nor is the situation improving; as lack of funding reduces the number of practitioners in the field, the gridlock of academic publication has worsened apace. Publishers are famously hesitant to print large, specialized monographs whose sales will not cover typesetting costs, and qualified editors able to make the substantial time commitments that highly technical works require are an endangered species. Worse, every missing publication has a ripple effect: unpublished field notes cannot help to build dictionaries; unpublished dictionaries cannot support branch-level analysis; and the missing branch-level analyses have led to deadlock in the field.

The Mon-Khmer Languages Project will enable a new alternative, founded on Shorto's data and analysis, and open to ongoing development. The Mon-Khmer Etymological Database will focus on etyma, reconstructions, and relations. It will initially consist of data mined from Shorto's *MKCD*; however, a new numbering system will be applied to make the database easier to extend.

The companion Mon-Khmer Languages Database will also initially contain lexicons derived from the *MKCD*. We anticipate that it will grow rapidly; we have a substantial amount of language-specific data, and have received offers of additional contributions for nearly every branch of the Mon-Khmer family from colleagues around the world.

Both databases will be open for inspection and addition. Any suitably tagged dataset can easily be harvested via the Internet and incorporated into the system. Because every single item is identified by its contributor, the obvious issue of quality control is dealt with in a transparent, elegant manner: source-filtering lets the databases be customized on the fly. Only sources the user trusts, or items that been vetted by scholars the user trusts, will actually figure in responding to any of the user's queries.

Thus, the project will not screen data. Rather, we provide simple tools necessary to let the scholarly community collaborate in certifying data and relations: not by majority vote, but by the same process of consideration, occasional rejection, and eventual consensus that traditional publishing has always provided. It is likely to be a painful process at first, but absent a new Golden Age of funding for Southeast Asian scholarship, editors, and publication it cannot be avoided.

Technical Notes on this Edition

Shorto's text incorporates a dizzying array of symbols used in a half-dozen different traditions for linguistic transcription and transliteration. To ensure the most accurate data entry possible we relied on *Keyster*, a software tool developed at CRCL for digitizing dictionaries as part of the *SEAlang Library* project. Keyster supports independent double-key text entry, followed by a third pass that reconciles any differences between the two operators.

To catch the small number of misreadings that passed the two independent typists (an inevitability, given the large number of scripts Shorto used, and his many handwritten corrections), Sidwell and I spent weeks painstakingly proofreading the work, again using custom software that let us make a heads-up comparison between the typed output and the source image, one line at a time. The result was a Unicode-encoded plaintext file that (once several dozen Chinese characters supplied by Geoff Wade were added) matched Shorto's manuscript exactly, and was ready for Sidwell to copy edit.

A small suite of Perl programs then analyzed the plaintext, making thousands of small changes in layout, labeling, and expansion of abbreviations, and inserting some 100,000 tags to individually mark each feature, including citations, reconstructions, transcriptions, transliterations, glosses, references, and notes.

This feature-tagging was simply a means to an end. After transforming the text into MS Word format, macros relied on the tags to create an important visual aid for copy editing: an extensive palette of fonts and colors uniquely distinguished every element type. A final laborious proofing pass by Sidwell ensured that the text would be properly formatted for this print edition, and could be accurately XML-tagged for service as a Web-based resource in the future.

We take full responsibility for any errors made in transcribing the text, and in the interests of accountability for content (per Bird and Simons 2003), scans of Shorto's original manuscripts are available for inspection at <http://archives.sealang.net/shorto>. These will be linked to the electronic edition of *MKCD*, which can of course be immediately corrected if and as errors are reported.

Doug Cooper
Bangkok, August 2006

References

[Editorial note: the following is a consolidated list of references covering both the *MKCD* and the front matter. The manuscript that Shorto had left was so incomplete that we were unable to construct the bibliography as he had intended.]

- Azémar, H. 1886. Dictionnaire Stieng. Recueil de 2500 mots fait à Brolâm en 1865. *Excursions et Reconnaissances* 12:99-146, 251-344.
- Barker, Milton E. and Muriel A. Barker 1970. Proto-Vietnamuong (Annamuong) final consonants and vowels. *Lingua* 24.3:268-285.
- Barker, Milton E. and Muriel A. Barker 1976. *Mường-Vietnamese-English Dictionary*. Dallas, Summer Institute of Linguistics (microfiche) (facimile of 1962 manuscript).
- Barker, Milton E. 1963. Proto-Vietnamuong initial labial consonants. *Văn-hoa Nguyễn-san* 12.3:491-500.
- . 1966. Vietnamese and Mường tone correspondences. In Norman Zide (ed.) *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. The Hague, Mouton. pp.9-25.
- Bauer, Christian. 1991. Notes on Mon epigraphy. *Journal of the Siam Society* 79.1:31-83. [addenda to Shorto 1971]
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- . 1975. *Austro-Thai Language and Culture, with a glossary of roots*. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey. 1976a. Austroasiatic Subgroupings and Prehistory in the Malay Peninsula. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu. pp. 37-128.
- . 1976b. An outline of Temiar grammar. In Jenner et al. (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu. 129-188.
- Biggs, Bruce, D.S. Walsh and Jocelyn Woqa, 1966. Proto-Polynesian Reconstructions with English to Proto-Polynesian finder list. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. Auckland, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- Bird, Steven and Gary Simons. 2003. Seven dimensions of portability for language documentation and description. *Language* 79.3:557–582.
- Blood, Henry F. 1966. *A Reconstruction of Proto-Mnong (Including Tentative Reconstruction of Proto-South-Bahnaric)*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Linguistics Indiana University.

- Blust, Robert A., 1969. Some new Proto-Austronesian trisyllables. *Oceanic Linguistics* 8:85–104.
- . 1970. Proto-Austronesian addenda. *Oceanic Linguistics* 9:104–162.
- . 1972. Additions to “Proto-Austronesian addenda”. *University of Hawai‘i Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.8:1–17.
- . 1973. Additions to “Proto-Austronesian addenda” II. *University of Hawai‘i Working Papers in Linguistics* 5.3:33–61.
- Buddhist Institute. 1938-1943. [wacanānukram khmaer] *Dictionnaire cambodgien*. Phnom Penh, Editions de l’Institut Bouddhique [⁵1967-68].
- Burrow, T. and M. B. Emeneau. 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Charles, Matthew. 1974. Problems in the reconstruction of Proto-Philippine phonology and the subgrouping of the Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:457–509.
- Cœdès, George. 1935. L’origine du cycle des douze animaux au cambodge. *T’oung Pao*, 31:315-29.
- Dahl, Otto Christian. 1973. *Proto-Austronesian*. Lund, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Monograph Series No. 15.
- Delcros, Henri and Jean Subra. 1966. *Petit dictionnaire du langage des Khmu’ de la région de Xieng-Khouang*. Vientiane, Mission Catholique (mimeograph).
- Dempwolff, Otto. 1938. *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesisches Wortschatzes. Bd. III: Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Berlin and Hamburg, Dietrich Reimer.
- Diffloth, Gérard. 1976. Jah-Hut, an Austroasiatic language of Malaysia. in Nguyễn Đăng Liêm (ed.) *Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies* Vol.2. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics Series C-No.42. pp. 73-118.
- . 1977. Towards a History of Mon-Khmer: Proto-Semai Vowels. *Tônán Ajia Kenkyû (Southeast Asian Studies)* 14.4:463-95.
- . 1980. The Wa Languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. Vol. 5.2:1-182.
- . 1982. Registres, dévoisement, timbres vocaliques: leur histoire en Katouïque. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 11:47-82.
- . 1984. *The Dvāravatī-Old Mon Language and Nyah Kur (Monic Language Studies 1)*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House.
- Dourisbourne, Le Père P.-X. 1889. *Dictionnaire bahnar-français*. Hongkong, Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères 45.
- Dournes, Jacques. 1950. *Dictionnaire Srê (Köhö)-Français*. Saigon, des Missions Etrangères de Paris.
- Dyen, Isidore. 1951. Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *Z. *Language* 27.4:534-40.
- . 1953. *Proto-Malayo-Polynesian laryngeals*. Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America.
- . 1953b. Dempwolff’s *R. *Language*, 29.3:359-366.
- . 1965. Formosan evidence for some new proto-Austronesian phonemes. *Lingua* 14: 285-305.
- . 1975. A reconstructional confirmation: The Proto-Austronesian word for ‘two’. *Oceanic Linguistics* 14:1–11.

- Efimov, A. Ju. 1990. *Istoricheskaja Fonologija Juzhnobaxnaricheskix Jazykov*. Moskva, Nauka.
- Egerod, S. 1961. Studies in Thai dialectology. *Acta Orientalia*. 26:43-91.
- Elkins, Richard E. 1974. A Proto-Manobo word-list. *Oceanic Linguistics*. 13:601-641.
- Ferlus, Michel. 1982. Spirantisation des obstruantes médiales et formation du système consonantique du vietnamien. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* 11.1:83-106.
- . 1983. Essai de phonétique historique de môn. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 12:1-90.
- . 1992a. Histoire abrégée de l'évolution des consonnes initiales du vietnamien. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 20:111-27.
- . 1992b. "Essai de phonétique historique du khmer (du milieu du premier millénaire de notre ère à l'époque actuelle)", *Mon-Khmer Studies* 21:57-89.
- . 1997. Problèmes de la formation du système vocalique du vietnamien. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale*, 26.1:37-51.
- . 2001. *The origin of tones in Viet-Muong*. Paper presented at the ninth meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistics Society, Mahidol University, Bangkok, May 16-18 2001.
- Gradin, Dwight and Patrick Gradin. 1979. *Jeh Dictionary*. Huntington Beach, CA, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Grierson, G.A. 1903. *Linguistic Survey of India*. [Reprinted 1967, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass]
- Guesdon, Joseph. 1930. *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*. Paris, Plon et Nourrit.
- Guilleminet, Paul et R.P. Jules Alberty. 1959-63. *Dictionnaire bahnar-français*. Hanoi, Paris, Publications de Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.
- Halliday, Robert. 1922. *A Mon-English Dictionary*. Bangkok, Siam Society. [reprinted in 1955 by the Mon Cultural Section, Ministry of Union Culture, Government of the Union of Burma, Rangoon]
- Haudricourt, André-Georges. 1952. L'origine môn-khmère des tons en vietnamien. *Journal Asiatique* 240:264-265.
- . 1953. La place du vietnamien dans les langues austroasiatiques. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 49:122-128.
- . 1954. De l'origine des tons en vietnamien. *Journal Asiatique* 242:69-82.
- . 1965. Mutation consonantique en Mon-Khmer. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 60:160-72.
- Headley, Robert K. Jr., K. Chhor, L. K. Lim, L. H. Kheang and C. Chun. 1977. *Cambodian-English Dictionary*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press.
- Henderson, Eugénie J.A. 1952. The main features of Cambodian pronunciation. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14:149-174.
- Huffman, Franklin E. 1976. The relevance of lexicostatistics to Mon-Khmer languages. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.). *Austroasiatic Studies*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i (Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication, No. 13). Part 1, pp.539-74.

- . 1978. On the centrality of Katuic-Bahnaric to Austroasiatic. Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics, Mysore. In *Proceedings of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, 10.2:78-79.
- Jacob, Judith M. 1974. *A concise Cambodian-English Dictionary*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Jacq, Pascale and Paul Sidwell. 2000. *A Comparative West Bahnaric Dictionary*. München, Lincom Europa.
- Johnston, Richard. 1969. Kuy basic word list. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 3:1-4.
- Kuiper, F. B. J. 1948. *Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit*. Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
- Lewitz, Saveros. 1967. Recherches sur le vocabulaire cambodgien. (I) Mots khmers considérés à tort comme d'origine savante, *Journal Asiatique*, 1:117-31.
- Lindell, Kristina 1974. A vocabulary of the Yuan dialect of the Kammu language. *Acta Orientalia* 36:191-207.
- Luce, Gordon H. 1965. Danaw, a dying Austroasiatic language. *Lingua* 14:98-129.
- . 1969-70. *Old Burma—early Pagán*. Vols. I-III. New York, J. J. Augustin.
- . 1985. *Phases of Pre-Pagán Burma: Languages and History*. 2 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Man, Edward Horace. 1889. *Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese language (English-Nicobarese and Nicobarese-English), with appendices containing a comparison of synonymous words in the remaining Nicobarese forms and other matters, preceded by notes on the grammar of the Central form*. London, W. H. Allen and Co. [Reprinted in 1975 by Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi]
- Mason, Francis. 1854. The Talaing Language. *Journal of American Oriental Society* 4:277-288.
- Maspero, Henri. 1912. Etude sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 12.1-27.
- . 1955. Matériaux pour l'étude de la langue t'èng. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 47:457-507.
- Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the 'organic' approach to linguistic comparison*. Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics, Volume VI. Publication of the Institute for the Study of Human Issues (ISHI), Philadelphia.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1953-1980. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg, Winter.
- Milke, Wilhelm. 1965. Comparative Notes on the Austronesian Languages of New Guinea. *Lingua* 14: 330-348.
- Milne, Leslie. 1931. *A dictionary of English-Palaung and Palaung-English*. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationary.
- Mohring, Hans. 1972. Einige Gedanken zum Ursprung der Töne im Vietnamesischen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 25.3:232-44.

- Nothofer, Bernd. 1975. *The Reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 73. Den Haag, Nijhoff.
- Paulsen, Debbie Lynn. 1989. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Plang*. M.A. Thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Peiros, Ilia. 1996. *Katuic Comparative Dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics Series C-132. Canberra, Australian National University.
- Pinnow, Heinz-Jürgen. 1959. *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- . 1965. Personal pronouns in the Austroasiatic languages: a historical study. *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies* 1:3-42.
- Pou, Saveros and Philip N. Jenner. 1973. Some Chinese loanwords in Khmer. *Journal of Oriental Studies* 11.1:1-90.
- . 1975. Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer. *Asian Perspectives* 17.2:112-124.
- Radhakrishnan, R. 1981. *The Nancowry word: phonology, affixal morphology and roots of a Nicobarese language*. Current inquiry into language and linguistics 37, Edmonton, Linguistic Research Inc.
- Ramamurti, G.V. 1938. *Sora-English Dictionary*. Madras [reprinted Delhi, Mittal, 1983]
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1996. The current state of linguistic research on the relatedness of the language families of East and Southeast Asia. In Ian C. Glover and Peter Bellwood (eds.), *Indo-Pacific Prehistory: The Chiang Mai Papers, Volume 2, Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 15. Canberra, Australian National University. pp. 87-91.
- . 1999. New linguistic evidence for the Austric hypothesis. In Elizabeth Zeitoun and Paul Jen-kuei Li (eds.) *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Taipei, Academia Sinica. pp. 5-30
- . 2005. The current status of Austric: A review and evaluation of the lexical and morphosyntactic evidence. In Laurent Sagart, Roger Blench and Alicia Sanchez-Mazas (eds.), *The peopling of East Asia: putting together archaeology, linguistics and genetics*. London, Routledge Curzon. pp. 81-106.
- Schmidt, Wilhelm. 1901. Die Sprachen der Sakai und Semang auf Malacca und ihr Verhältnis zu den Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 52:399-583.
- . 1903. The Sakai and Semang languages in the Malay Peninsula and their relation to the Mon-Khmer languages. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 39:38-45.
- . 1904. Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache in ihren Beziehungen zu derjenigen der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. Mit einem Anhang: die Palaung-Wa-, und Riang-Sprachen des mittleren Salwin. *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 22.3:677-810.
- . 1905. Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer-Sprachen. *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 51.3:1-233. Wien, Holder.

- . 1906. Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens. *Archiv für Anthropologie* 5:59-109. [also printed separately as a monograph by Vieweg, Braunschweig]
- Scott, James George and J. P. Hardiman. 1900. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part 1, Vol. 1. Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing. [Reprinted 1983 by AMS Press, New York]
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 1942. An examination of the Austro-Asiatic language family. *Language*, 18:206-217.
- Shafer, Robert. 1952. Études sur l'austroasien. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 48:111-158.
- . 1965. Studies in Austroasian II. *Studia Orientalia* [Helsinki] 30.5:3-69.
- . 1960. Word and syllable patterns in Palaung. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23:544-57.
- Shorto, Harry L. 1962. *A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1969. Moh labial clusters. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32:10-14.
- . 1971. *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions, from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, incorporating materials collected by the late C. O. Blagden* (London Oriental Series 24). London, Oxford University Press.
- . 1972. The word for 'two' in Austroasiatic. In Jacqueline M.C. Thomas and Lucien Bernot (eds.) *Langues et techniques, nature et société*, Vol. 1, Approche linguistique. Paris, Klincksieck. pp. 233-35.
- . 1973. Three Mon-Khmer word families. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 36:374-81.
- . 1975. Achinese and mainland Austronesian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38:81-102.
- . 1976a. Gayo consonant correspondences. In Nguyễn Đăng Liêm (ed.) *South-East Asian Linguistic Studies II*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics Series C - No. 42. pp. 199-217.
- . 1976b. In defense of Austric. *Computational analyses of Asian and African languages* 6:95-104.
- . 1976c. The Vocalism of Proto-Mon-Khmer. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson, and S. Starosta (eds.). *Austroasiatic Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii (Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication, No. 13). Part II, pp. 1041-1067.
- . 1979. The linguistic protohistory of mainland South East Asia. In Smith, R. B and Watson, W. (eds.) *Early South East Asia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp. 273-278.
- . 1982. The affinities of Kuy. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45:574-576.
- Shutler, Richard, Jr. and Jeff Marck. 1975. On the dispersal of the Austronesian horticulturalists, *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, 10.2:81-113.

- Sidwell, Paul. 2000. *Proto South Bahnaric: a reconstruction of a Mon-Khmer language of Indo-China*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics 501.
- . 2005 *The Katuic Languages: classification, reconstruction and comparative lexicon*. Munich, Lincom Europa.
- Skeat, Walter William and Charles Otto Blagden. 1906. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*. London: Macmillan. [Aslian language data in volume II; reprint 1966, London, Frank Cass]
- Smith, Kenneth, D. 1972. *A phonological reconstruction of Proto-North-Bahnaric*. Dallas, Language Data Series, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- . 1981. A Lexico-statistical study of 45 Mon-Khmer languages. In Andre Gonzalez and David Thomas (eds), *Linguistics across Continents*. Manila SIL, pp 180-205.
- Sriwises, Prasert. 1978. *Kui (Suai)-Thai-English dictionary*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University.
- Stresemann, Erwin. 1927. *Die Lauterscheinungen in den Ambonischen Sprachen*. Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) and Hamburg, C. Boysen.
- Tandart, Syndulphe. 1935. *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*, Phnom Penh, Imprimerie Albert Portail.
- Tauern, O. D. 1914. Versuch einer Sakai Grammatik mit Vocabularium. *Anthropos* 9:529-538.
- Thomas, David and Robert Headley. 1970. More on Mon-Khmer subgroupings. *Lingua* 25:398-418.
- Thomas, David and Thô Sang Lùc. 1966. *Chrau vocabulary*. Trilingual Vocabularies, No1. Manila, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Thomas David, and Marilyn Smith. 1967. Proto-Jeh-Halang. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 20:157–175.
- Thomas David. 1964. A survey of Austro-asiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 1:49-163.
- . 1966. Mon-Khmer subgroupings in Vietnam. In Norman Zide (ed.) *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. London, The Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1966, pp. 194-202.
- Thomas, Dorothy M. 1967. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-East-Katuic*. MA thesis, University of North Dakota.
- Thompson, Laurence C. 1967. The history of Vietnamese finals. *Language*, 43.1:362-371.
- Thongkum, Theraphan L. 1984. *Nyah Kur (Chao Bon)-Thai-English Dictionary (Monic Language Studies 2)*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House.
- . 2000. *Languages of the Tribes in Xekong Province Southern Laos*. Bangkok, Thailand Research Fund.
- . and See Puengpa. 1980. *A Bruu-Thai-English dictionary*. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing House
- Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1977. Some plant names in Formosan languages, *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages*, 7:79-119.

- Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1962-1966. *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, Ruth. 1966. A comparison of Muong with some Mon-Khmer languages. In Norman Zide (ed.), *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*, The Hague, Mouton. pp. 203-13.
- Zide, Arlene and Norman Zide. 1976. Proto-Munda cultural vocabulary: evidence for early agriculture. In Philip N. Jenner, L. C. Thompson and S. Starosta (eds.) *Austroasiatic Studies*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No. 13, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, pp.1295-1334.
- Zorc, David and Matthew Charles. 1971. *Proto-Philippines finder list*. Ithaca, typescript/xerox.

Notes on the Dictionary Entries

Entries in Part 3 are constructed of up to seven parts:

- Numbered etyma, with a semicolon-separated list of PMK reconstructions, and italicized English glosses
- Supporting etymologies (labels A, B etc. correspond to the semicolon-separated list, and are followed by branch names in parentheses)
- Remarks on the reconstructions/etymologies
- Comparative works used as sources, in parentheses
- Munda comparisons and sources, if any
- Austronesian comparisons and sources, if any
- Other remarks or comparisons (more often Sino-Tibetan)

Each entry comprises at least the first two parts.

Some 156 extended etyma numbers (e.g. #6a, #798a) indicate Shorto's intention to insert new items and renumber the complete system. We have preserved all original numbering for fear of introducing any errors among the numerous cross-references.

References to the sources of lexical citations are often more implicit than explicit, reflecting the author's approach to economy of text. Although Shorto's draft bibliography is sketchy, we have made every possible effort both to identify sources, and to confirm the accuracy of citations.

The dictionary is based initially upon a synthesis of published comparative works. The texts drawn on for each etymology are listed in parentheses accordingly. This leads to some underspecification, as there are overlaps between these works, and items taken directly from the primary sources, e.g. Stieng items drawn directly from Azémar (1886) are not distinguished from Schmidt's citations from the same source.

Where particular forms are not drawn from published comparative works, their source may (although not always) be indicated immediately after their citation within the etymology, e.g.: in #2 *ʔiiʔ *person*, Stieng ʔap is marked as being from Blood (1966), as it was not taken from Azémar (1886). The author also introduced various new comparisons; some of their sources are marked, but others are not. As Shorto had not finished redrafting the full text before his passing, it is a fact that not all sources have been identified, and we beg the reader's understanding.

Symbols & Abbreviations

*	hypothetical, reconstructed, unattested
†	Munda cognate cited
‡	Austronesian cognate cited
>	becoming, developing into
<	deriving from
→	loanword into
←	loanword from
~	morphologically related to
=	the same (etymon) as
≠	differs from
°	except for letters following or preceding symbol the same as form last cited

cf.	compare
ib.	in the same work
intr.	intransitive
n.	noun
tr.	transitive
v.	verb
v.i.	verb intransitive
v.t.	verb transitive

Part 1 Vocalism

Introduction¹

More than sixty years have passed since Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, in a celebrated series of monographs, laid the foundations for modern comparative study of the Mon-Khmer languages as a group and within the Austric family to which they ultimately belong (Schmidt 1904, 1905, 1906). Few scholars now, in spite of intervening controversies, would seriously dispute his main findings; but there have been marked differences in the rate of progress in the various branches of the field which he opened up. Austronesian studies have proliferated, following on the classic work of Otto Dempwolff (1934-38); more recently H.-J. Pinnow (1959) has provided a comparable, if in some respects more modest, systematization of Munda. In Mon-Khmer² itself, the kernel of Schmidt's inquiries, the equivalent synthesis has yet to be achieved. A good deal of additional cognate material has been assembled, notably by Skeat and Blagden (1906) and Shafer (1952, 1965); but attempts at a systematic reconstruction have run into difficulties most obviously in the face of irregularities in the correspondences of vowels.³ The pivotal character of this part of the problem is my excuse for anticipating the comprehensive account which must follow later by putting forward the data from which the Mon-Khmer vowel system may be reconstructed.

The solution I propose depends on the recognition, alongside the vocalism reflected in a set of "regular" correspondences, of a number of types of vowel variation or gradation in Proto-Mon-Khmer with the variants distributed more or less randomly in modern dialects. It will readily be seen that, if such an interpretation of the data is correct, then the wider the extension of a cognate set the greater the chance of its including one or more vowel-variant forms. It follows that a comparison which, as most recent ones have, embraces the largest possible number of languages will elicit a very large number of partially similar correspondences. If, on the other hand, comparison is

¹ [Editorial note: for spoken Mon and modern Khmer Shorto uses the symbols **b** and **d** for IPA **ḃ** and **ḍ** respectively; spoken Mon **hw** corresponds to IPA **ḥ**.]

² The term "Mon-Khmer" has been used in two senses: of Mon, Khmer, and the languages of the Annamite Chain as in the titles of Schmidt's three monographs; and of the whole of the eastern branch of Austroasiatic, i.e. AA excluding Munda. Pinnow has proposed "Khmer-Nicobar" for the latter grouping. Until the position of Nicobarese is clarified I adhere to the older term; but my use of "Mon-Khmer" in the wide sense will be unambiguous, since I prefer to divide Mon with Nyahkur as "Western MK" from the remainder of the languages in Schmidt's narrower group, which designates "Eastern MK".

³ Cf. David D. Thomas (1964), "A survey of Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer comparative studies", p. 161: "So in general Schmidt's work on initial consonants can be considered sound, the final consonants can be considered valid at most points, and the vowels are as he left them—chaotic."

restricted to two languages—and given that the incidence of vowel variation is limited—we should expect a relatively high number of regularly related cognates and a smaller number of “irregular” ones attributable to variation. These again will be likely to show the following features: doublets will occur at least occasionally in each language; variations being randomly distributed will generate multiple correspondences, e.g. *i in Language A versus *ii in Language B, and *ii in A versus *i in B; the correspondences so generated will be relatively infrequent as well as numerous. These expectations are borne out in the material presented below.

The two languages to be thus compared are Mon and Khmer. I choose them in the first place because the amount of lexical material available guarantees a maximum number of cognate pairs. In addition, their relationship is distant enough to provide a useful baseline when the comparison is extended to other dialects; and with Mon at any rate it is possible to trace the evolution of the language and so to go behind more recent perturbations of its phonological system.

For Mon, Old Mon is taken as the standard of reference and forms from the inscriptions are cited wherever possible, their counterparts in modern spoken Mon, if any, being also noted. Old and Middle Mon are cited from my *Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions* (1971); spoken Mon from my *Dictionary of modern spoken Mon* (1962); most of the literary forms cited will be found in P. Halliday, *A Mon-English dictionary* (Bangkok, 1922; repr. Rangoon, 1955), but some are taken from unpublished lexical collections.⁴

In the case of Khmer my knowledge regrettably does not allow me to base the comparison on epigraphic material in the same way. For many of the Old Khmer forms cited I am indebted to the kindness of [ms. blank here].⁵ Most of the modern Khmer forms are taken from Syndulphe Tandar [1877-1931], *Dictionnaire-cambodgien-français* (1935); those bearing the rubric “(Guesdon 1930)” are from Joseph Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français*. In addition, my colleague Mrs J. M. Jacob has kindly supplied a number of references to the 1969 edition of *Vacananukram Khmer*. All modern forms are transcribed according to the system set out in Eugénie J. A. Henderson, “The main features of Cambodian pronunciation”, *BSOAS*, XIV, 1952, pp. 149-74. This differs in certain minor respects from that used in Judith M. Jacob, *Introduction to Cambodian* (1968), to which reference is made at appropriate places below.⁶ Where it is necessary to refer to the Cambodian orthography, the transliteration used is of the conventional Sanskrit type with the following modifications: the long inherent vowel is represented by *ī*, the inherent vowel plus short mark (*bōntōk*) or in a non-final syllable by *ṛ*; *ā* plus short mark, and *ā* plus *anusvāra* before *ṇ*, is represented by *a*; the vowel signs which are

⁴ [Editorial note: Bauer confirms that Shorto is referring to lexicographical material compiled by J. A. Stewart, C. O. Blagden and U Wāyama which used to be kept in metal file-card boxes at Shorto's office and in the form of notebooks. The material is presumed to be lost. He kept a handwritten copy of Stewart's collection of Mon folktales, of which lexical and syntactical samples were entered into the Mon dictionary of 1962. Bauer possesses a photocopy of it as well as of interleaved notes of Blagden's annotations to various Mon texts.].

⁵ [Editorial note: It is likely that Shorto meant to thank Saverous Pou and his colleague J. M. Jacob, but hesitated due to concerns over various sensitivities. Mrs. Jacob had compiled a glossary of pre-Angkorian Khmer and may have supplied a number of samples.]

⁶ There are marginal advantages in citing Khmer forms in a transcription which represents the modern pronunciation. The relation of the latter to the orthography is indicated in the discussion of each correspondence.

respectively the fifth, sixth, ninth to twelfth, and fourteenth in the Cambodian syllabary are represented by *u*, *ū*, *uə*, *ɣ*, *uə*, *iə*, *ɛ*.⁷

The proposed reconstruction was developed from a comparison of these two languages in the first instance, and is presented in terms of them here for clarity of demonstration. However, its extension to other Mon-Khmer dialects has necessitated some modifications of the scheme first derived from comparison of Mon and Khmer. Since I do not posit an immediate relationship between the two within the larger group, there would be little point in establishing the first version of the system only to reformulate it later, and I do not so. At those points, therefore, where Mon and Khmer are insufficient to establish distinctions attributed to the Proto-Mon-Khmer system, forms from other dialects are quoted in order to justify the reconstructions made. The vowel system to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer comprises seven simple vowels, in all of which length is distinctive, and three diphthongs: *i*, *ii*, *e*, *ee*, *ə*, *a*, *aa*, *ə*, *əə*, *ɔ*, *ɔɔ*, *o*, *oo*, *u*, *uu*, *iə*, *uə*, *ai*.

The principal types of variation postulated are (i) between short and long vowel: *i/ii*, etc.; (ii) between simple vowel and diphthong: *ii/iə*, *uu/uə*, occasionally *aa/ai*; (iii) between diphthong and *ə* : *iə/ə*, *uə/ə*. They may occur in combination, e.g. *i/ii/iə/ə*. Some other, minor types, may be noted.

Before proceeding further we shall consider the vowel systems of Mon and Khmer. The Old Mon system, in its maximal extension before velars, may be phonologically interpreted as /*i*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, *o*, *u*, *u*, *ai*/. Its graphic representation, which is not fully systematic, is noted at the appropriate places below and summarized in Table 1. Of the nine terms listed, /*ai*/ occurs only before velars and /*u*/ only before velars and laryngeals; /*i*, *e*/ do not occur before /*y*/; /*o*, *u*/ do not occur before /*w*/.

The subsequent evolution of this system is summarized in Table 2. The main steps were as follows. (i) In Middle Mon /*ə*/ lost its rounding, and /*u*/ became rounded (/*ə*/ > /*i*/; /*u*/ > /*u*/), following a nasal and following medial /*ʔ*/ < /*nʔ*/. The disappearance through merger of final /*c*, *j*/ added a further diphthong to the system before velars, which was and is not distinguished in writing from /*e*/, but survives in spoken Mon as *ɔi*. (ii) At a later stage /*ɔ*/ > /*o*/ before most finals following /*n*, *m*/ (the position is complicated, however, by interdialectal borrowing); then /*o*/ disappeared before laryngeals as a result of /*oʔ*/ > /*u*/, /*oh*/ > /*uh*/; /*u*/ and /*ə*/ merged as a central vowel. (iii) The emergence of a register distinction, probably towards the end of the sixteenth century, set in train the complex series of splits, shifts, and mergers which produced the modern system. These changes were conditioned partly by register, partly by the nature of the preceding consonant, and partly by that of the final one. They are reflected in the orthography only to the extent that rhyme mergers have led to historically misleading “phonetic” spellings of particular words.

The Khmer system is most conveniently set out in terms of its orthography, which like the Mon one antedates the splits which have followed the development of register. In its maximal extension, in closed syllables before most finals, the written system is (not in syllabary order) *i/u*⁸, *ī*, *iə*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ā*, *ɔ*, *ṛ*, *o*, *u*, *ū*, *uə*, *ɣ*, *ū*, *uə*. In the contexts in question these symbols are pronounced, according to register, *ɣ/ū*, *ī*, *iə/īə*, *e/è*, *æ/è*, *a/èa/ṛə*,

⁷ I am grateful to Mrs Jacob for looking over the Khmer material in this paper. Any errors which remain, however, are mine.

⁸ In complementary distribution.

a:/îə, ɔ/wə/û, ɔ:/ɔ̄, ao/ò, o/ù, o:/ù, uə/ûə, aɣ/ɣ̄, ɣ:/ù, ʋə/ùə. Before palatals, before *h*, and in open syllables restricted systems operate.

The sixteen terms of the maximal system include four pairs which are functionally distinguished by length, or appear to have been so at the time when the orthography was established: *i, î* (or *u, û*; but these symbols are of relatively recent introduction), *a, ā, ɔ, ɔ̄, u, ū*. Further simplifications are suggested by a study of distribution after known loanwords have been eliminated, as by inspection of the correspondences set out below. *uə* seems to occur only in loans from Thai, while *u:* has a very restricted distribution in native words and is then probably environmentally conditioned. *î* does not occur in head-register words; oppositions of *e* and *ɛ* are relatively infrequent and show at least a partial correlation with register.

I shall now set out the Mon : Khmer correspondences in their relation to the reconstructed Proto-Mon-Khmer system, dealing at first with the regular correspondences. The order to be followed is dictated by simplicity of exposition and is, ***a, *aa, *i, *ii, *iə, *u, *uu, *uə, *ɔ, *ɔ̄, *ə, *əə, *e, *ee, *o, *oo, *ai.**

Table 1: Mon : Khmer correspondences

PMK	Old Mon orthography	Old Mon phonology	Khmer orthography
*i	i, u, a, ī, ū, e, ui, ei	ø	i, u
*-i?	-i(?)	-i?	-ī
*ii	ī, i	i	i, u ⁽¹⁾ , ī ⁽¹⁾ , e ⁽²⁾
*-ii?	-ey	ɔy	-ai
*e	e	e	ɛ ⁽³⁾ , e ⁽⁴⁾
*ee	ī, i	i	ɛ ⁽⁵⁾ , e ⁽⁶⁾
*a	a; e ⁽⁷⁾	a ⁽⁸⁾	a, ā ⁽⁹⁾ , ai ⁽¹⁰⁾ , e ⁽¹¹⁾ , - ⁽¹²⁾
*aa	ā; e ⁽¹³⁾	ai ⁽⁸⁾ , a	ā
*ə	i etc.; a ⁽¹⁴⁾ , o ⁽¹²⁾	ø; ɔ ^(12,14)	ɔ; ɔ̃ ⁽⁹⁾ ; a ⁽²⁾
*əə	i etc.; u, ū ⁽¹⁰⁾	ø; u ⁽¹⁰⁾	ɣ
*ɔ	o ⁽⁸⁾ , a	ɔ	ɔ; ɔ̃ ⁽⁹⁾ ; a ⁽²⁾
*ɔɔ	o ⁽⁸⁾ , a	ɔ	ɔ̃; ūv ⁽¹⁵⁾
*o	u, ū, o ⁽⁸⁾ ; i etc.	u ⁽⁸⁾ , ø	o
*oo	o; u ⁽¹⁵⁾	o; u ⁽¹⁵⁾	o
*u	u, ū, o ⁽⁸⁾ ; i etc.; ū, u ⁽¹⁰⁾	u ⁽⁸⁾ , ø; u ⁽¹⁰⁾	u; ūv ⁽¹⁵⁾ , ū ⁽¹⁶⁾
*uu	ū, u	u	ū, u ⁽¹²⁾ ; o ⁽²⁾
*-uu?	-ow	ɔw	-au
*iə	e; a ⁽¹⁷⁾	ei; ɔ ⁽¹⁷⁾ (?); iə ⁽¹⁸⁾	iə
*uə	o	o	uə
*ai	a; e ⁽¹³⁾	ai ⁽⁸⁾ , a	ɛ

Table 2: Mon historical developments
(Spoken Mon open syllables, and Literary Mon -ā, -ī, -ū, au, reflect Old Mon final /r, l, w/; Literary Mon -a, -i, -u reflect Old Mon final /ʔ/.)

Old Mon phonology	Literary Mon	Spoken Mon
i	<i>i, ī</i>	ɕe i ɿ⁽¹⁹⁾; oi òi⁽²⁰⁾; ɛ i ɿ
e	<i>e</i>	ea èa⁽²⁰⁾; e è
a	<i>-a, -ā; -au⁽²¹⁾; -a⁽²³⁾; -ā-</i>	a(ɛ) è(a)⁽¹⁹⁾; ɛ èa⁽²⁰⁾; a à⁽²²⁾; a è⁽²⁴⁾; -ai -ài⁽²⁵⁾; -ao -èa⁽²¹⁾
ø	<i>ui; e⁽²⁶⁾; i, ī</i>	a à⁽²⁰⁾; ɕi òi⁽²⁶⁾; -oi⁽²⁵⁾; ɒ (ɜ) ɜ; or as < Old Mon /i/ ⁽²⁷⁾
ɔ	<i>ā⁽²⁰⁾; -au⁽²¹⁾; a</i>	ɔ ò; -o -o- -uh⁽²⁸⁾; -oa -òa⁽²⁵⁾; -ao -èa
o	<i>o</i>	-ɒʔ -ɜʔ; -uh -ùh; -oa -òa⁽²⁵⁾; o ò
u	<i>u, ū</i>	ao u ù⁽¹⁹⁾; ɜ ɜ⁽²⁰⁾; -ɕe -ui -ùi⁽²⁵⁾; ɔ u ù
u	<i>o⁽²⁹⁾, ui; u⁽²⁷⁾</i>	ɒ ɜ⁽³⁰⁾; a à⁽²⁰⁾; or as < Old Mon /u/⁽²⁷⁾
ai	<i>ā</i>	ai ài

1. Chest register.
2. “Post-dental” shift. The incidence varies according to the vowel.
3. Head register.
4. Chest register; head register ***h**, (?) ***w**.
5. Head register; chest register before ***ʔ**.
6. Chest register; (?) head register before *s*.
7. Before *y*, optionally before *c*, *ñ*.
8. Before laryngeals and velars.
9. Before ***ʔ**, *m*, *r*.
10. Before ***y**.
11. Chest register before *ñ* (?).
12. Before ***h**.
13. Optionally before velars.
14. Before *s*.
15. Before ***ʔ**.
16. Before *r*.
17. Before *s* following consonant cluster.
18. Before *r*, *l*, *w*.
19. In open syllables and before laryngeals.
20. Before velars.
21. Old Mon -*w*.
22. Before dentals.
23. Before velars, *h*.
24. Before *p*, *m*.
25. Old Mon -*y*.
26. Before velar < Old Mon palatal.
27. By post-nasal split.
28. Following *n*, *m*.
29. Rare except before ’ /ʔ/.
30. Before laryngeals.

Vowels before Stops, Nasals and Liquids⁹

***a, *aa, *ai.**

***a.** Before final ***k, *ŋ, *t, *n, *p, *m** the reconstruction of ***a** presents little difficulty. It follows from correspondences of **a** in Eastern Mon-Khmer languages other than Khmer (Bahnaric, Khmuic) and in Temiar, **ă** in Vietnamese and Mường, and orthographic *a* in Khmer and in Old and Middle Mon.

Mon: Old Mon **a** is interpreted as phonological /**a**/ before velars (and laryngeals) and /**ɔ**/ before other finals. Modern Mon has correspondingly **ɛ**, chest-register **ɛa** before velars; **ɔ** (and following nasal **o**), chest-register **ò** otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic *a* is realized as **a** in head-register words, and in chest-register words as **ɛə** before velars, **ɔə** before other finals.

Palaungic: the Riang-Lang correspondences are **a** before velars and **ə** before other consonants. Palaung has **aʔ** < ***-ak** and **ə** before other consonants, so that PMK ***a** can generally be reconstructed from Palaung **-aʔ** : Riang-Lang **-ak**; Palaung **-əŋ** : Riang-Lang **-aŋ**; Palaung **-ət** : Riang-Lang **-ət**, etc. Praok, which shows indications of having been a register language at an earlier stage, has **o** before velars following an originally voiceless initial complex, **u** following an originally voiced one; before the other consonants in question it has **u** irrespective of the initial.

Khasi most often has **a**; but in a significant minority of cases—about a quarter, before all finals—it has **e**. This is too frequent to account for by assuming PMK variants in ***ə**, nor can it readily be explained by environmental conditioning. I make no special reconstruction in these cases.

Most of these reflexes are illustrated in the following examples.

1. Middle Mon *jak*, Modern Mon *cək* ‘to march, set out’; Sre *ja* ‘to tread on, trample’, Bahnar *jak* ‘to go away’; Riang-Lang *cak* ‘to put on, wear [shoes]’ (and by extension ‘... [headgear, rings]’); ‘Central Sakai’ *jak* ‘to tread on’ (301 **jak*).

2. Khmer *tək* ‘to trap’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) *dak* ‘to catch’, Sre *da*, Biat *dak* ‘trap’, Bahnar *dak* ‘projectile trap’, Jeh, Halang *dak* ‘spear trap’; Riang-Lang *ˀdak* ‘(to) trap’; Semai (Tauern 1914) *da:k* ‘trap’ (#330 **dak*). This root is distinct from **dak* ‘to bind’ (325) with which Schmidt (1905:38) conflated it.

3. Middle Mon *kwak* ‘to hang (v.i.t.)’, Modern Mon *kwək* v.t.; Khmu Yuan *wak*; Palaung *hvaʔ* v.i.; Khasi *wah* v.t.; Mường *quắc* (#459 **kwak*). From a nasal-infix form is Vietnamese *mắc* v.t.

4. Palaung *təŋ* ‘to roast, steam, heat’, Riang-Lang *ˀtaŋ* ‘to bake in open dish’, Praok *toŋ* ‘to broil’; Khasi *thang* ‘to burn, roast, cremate’ (#544 **t₁aŋ*).

⁹ [Editorial note: The original title for this section was “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, but Shorto changed his mind and in the typescript “Non-Laryngeal Finals” is crossed out and “Stops, Nasals and Liquids” written over it. The significance of this change in title can be inferred from Shorto 1976c, which presents a reconstruction of PMK vocalism specifically restricted to the rhymes with laryngeal finals. Structurally the reconstruction in that paper corresponds to that offered in the present chapter, which we know was prepared for the first draft of his MK comparative dictionary (Bauer confirms that Shorto was reworking his PMK vocalism for the second version, although no relevant manuscript has been found). We can thus deduce that the paper (1976c) is the missing companion to “Vowels Before Non-Laryngeal Finals”, reworked to appear as a stand-alone paper.]

5. Old Mon *t̃baŋ*, Modern Mon *bəŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) *baŋ* id., Biat *baŋ* ‘shoots’; Palaung *bəŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’; Vietnamese *mǎng* [tre] id. (#636 **t̃baŋ*). From an infixed form are Khmer *tùmpèəŋ*, *dəmpèəŋ* ‘shoot’, Sre *baŋ*, Bahnar *təbaŋ*, Jeh *tabaŋ*, Halang *dəbaŋ* ‘bamboo shoots’. Theng *tbaŋ* ‘shoot’.

6. Khmer *phlèəŋ* ‘thatching-grass’; Palaung *pləŋ*, Riang-Lang *ˀplaŋ* id.; Khasi *phlang*, *ˀlang* ‘grass’; ‘Central Sakai’ *plɔ:k* ‘roof’ (#749 *[p]laŋ). (Vietnamese *tranh* ‘thatching-grass’ appears to reflect a var. **plaiŋ*.)

7. Stieng (Azémar 1886) *hǎŋ* ‘piquant, biting, pungent’, Sre *haŋ* ‘over-salt’, Bunör, Central Rölöm *haŋ* ‘peppery’, Biat *haŋ* ‘spicy, piquant’, Bahnar *haŋ* ‘sharp, piquant, biting’; Vietnamese *hǎng* [smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong’ (#783 **haŋ*). (Jeh has *hàŋ* ‘hot, peppery, for expected ***haŋ*. Khmer *haŋ* ‘tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling’ is perhaps a loan from the Austronesian cognate: cf. Cham *kà-a:ŋ* ‘acre et fort’.)

8. Mon *bət* (cəm—) to feel, palpate, (—toa) fist’; Biat *bat* [ti:] ‘fist, to clench’; Riang-Lang *ˀbət* ‘to feel, palpate’; Khasi *bat* ‘to hold, catch hold of, grasp’; Bateg Deq *bət* ‘to hold, (#1042 *[j]bat).

9. Old Mon *mat*, Modern Mon *mòt* ‘eye’; Stieng *mat* id., Sre *mat* ‘face, eye’, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar *mat* ‘eye’, Jeh *mat* ‘eye, face’, Halang, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan *mat* ‘eye’; Khasi *ˀmat* id.; Vietnamese *mặt* ‘face’, Mường *mặt* ‘eye, face’; Temiar *mad* ‘eye’ (#1045 **mat*). Vietnamese *mắt* ‘eye’ is from a prefixed form, along with Khasi *khmat*.

10. Middle Mon *that* ‘to be powerful, severe’, Modern Mon *thət* ‘to be strong’; Khmer *thəət* ‘to be fat’; Palaung *hət* ‘to be thick’ (#111 **dhat*). Riang-Lang *ˀkhət* ‘to be thick’ shows a secondary prefix.

11. Mon *klən* ‘python’; Khmer *thlan*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) *klǎn*, Sre, Biat *klaŋ*; Khasi *thlen*, *ˀlen*; Vietnamese *trăn* id.; (?) Che’ Wong *talun* ‘snake’ (#1205 **t̃lan*).

12. Stieng, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Kuy *kap* ‘to bite’; Temiar *kab* (#1231 **kap*). From a prefixed form are Khasi *jkep* ‘to bite’, *jkap* ‘snapping with teeth’.

13. Old Mon *kam* ‘arrow, projectile’, Modern Mon *kəm* ‘bullet, cartridge’; Khmer *kam* ‘projectile’, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Khmu Yuan *kam* ‘arrow’ (#1308 **kam*). Khasi has *khnam* id., from an infixed form. See also the forms with variant, nos. 62-3, 66-9, 72-3, 77 below.

Before final **c*, **ɲ* fronted and raised vowels are found in the Stieng dialect described by Azémar; Bahnar, Jeh, and Halang; Khmuic; Palaung; and Temiar, corresponding to the reflexes specified for *-*k* etc. in other languages. This is accompanied by a shift of the final nasal to a velar one in the North Bahnaric languages and Palaung. We find *ɛ* in Bahnar, so frequently accompanied by lengthening that this should probably not be treated as irregular; *ê* in Azémar’s Stieng; *e* in Jeh, Halang, and Temiar; and *i* in Khmu’, while Khmu Yuan has *-ec* (see no. 27 below), *-iɲ*. Palaung has *-iɲ* < *-*aɲ* following a voiceless initial complex, *-eɲ* following a voiced one, but the reflexes before stop have not been determined.

In one instance also (no. 19) Khmer has *è*, and this is taken to be the chest-register reflex before a palatal.

In Old Mon before these finals **a** or **e** may be written allographically for /ɔ/; thus *kumlac*, *kumlec* /kəɫɔc/ ‘thief’; *srañ*, *sreñ* /srəɲ/ ‘silver’.

14. Khmer **kac** ‘to break [rigid-object]’, Stieng **kac** ‘to strip [leaves, grain]’, Sre **kac** ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kac** ‘to strip [grain]’, Bahnar (**kə:c** beside) dial. **kə:c** ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’; Riag-Lang **kac** ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’; Khasi *kheit* ‘to pluck, gather’; Vietnamese *cắt*, Mường *cách* ‘to cut up’; Bateg Deq **kəc** ‘to cut’ (#800 ***kac**). Note further Bahnar **kəɲ:c** ‘to break [ear, twig, etc.] with nail’, from an infixed form.

15. Mon **wòt** ‘to wring out’; Sre **wac**, Biat [**da:k**] **wac** [**we:l**] ‘eddy’; ‘Central Sakai’ **wêt**, **uêt** ‘to twist, wring’ (#863 ***wac**). Khasi *khyrwait* ‘id., to strangle’, from a prefixed form, is to be compared with Biat **rwac** ‘to twist [hair] into knot’.

16. Old Mon **sac**, Modern Mon **sət** ‘fruit’; Khmer **sac** ‘flesh, meat’, Kuy **sac** ‘meat’, Bahnar **tsəc** ‘lean meat’; Temiar **sej** ‘meat’ (#871 ***sac**). The senses ‘meat’ and ‘fruit’ are both found in Aslian: Skeat and Blagden 1906, F 170(a).

17. Old Mon *pañ*, Modern Mon **pən** ‘to shoot’; Khmer **baɲ**, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **paɲ** id., Bahnar **pəɲ** ‘to beat cotton with a bow’, Jeh, Halang **pəɲ**, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **pɪɲ** ‘to shoot’; Palaung **piɲ**, Riag-Lang **puɲ** id.; Vietnamese *bắn*, Mường *pảnh* (#905 ***paɲ?**). Riag-Lang **u** is otherwise attested only in Shan loans; its occurrence here may conceivably reflect the complex final, but the point cannot be proved.

18. Literary Mon. *saman* ‘star’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau **səmaɲ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **maɲ**, Khmu Yuan **sərmɪɲ**; Palaung **səmiɲ**, Riag-Lang **səkməɲ**, Praok **simuɲ** (#888 ***sm?aɲ**).

19 Late Middle Mon *mran*, Modern Mon **pəròn** ‘smallpox’; Khmer **mrəɲ** ‘ulcer, cancer, chancre, gangrene’, Biat **mrəɲ** ‘chancre’; Palaung **brəɲ** ‘smallpox’ (#923 ***mrəɲ**).

20. Kuy **kasəɲ** ‘snake’; Palaung **hiɲ**, Riag-Lang **həɲ**; Khs *bseĩñ*, *seiñ* (#937 ***[b]saɲ?**). From a form with r-infix are Praok **si?uɲ**; Vietnamese [*con*] *rắn*. (Khmer **msəɲ** ‘year of the snake’ is reportedly a loanword from a Mường dialect.)

See also 64-5 below.

Final semivowels and liquids: in most languages the reflexes are those already listed; I note here exceptions.

From *-**ar** Praok has -**o** (following originally voiceless initial; the post-voicing reflex has not been determined). Vietnamese has -*ay* (i.e. with short /a/), -*ây*, variation between these finals being common in the language. Thus:

21. Mon **pə** ‘to fly’; Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Bahnar **par**, Jeh **pal**, Halang **par**; Palaung **pər**, Riag-Lang **pər**, Praok **po**; Vietnamese *bay*, Mường *pă l* (#1633 ***par**; note also Kuy **paal**). Khasi *ner* ‘feather’—beside *sner*, with secondary prefix—from an infixed form, is to be compared with Sre **ddar**, Chrau, Bahnar **pənar** ‘wing’ inter alia. (Note here Biat **na:r** ‘wing, feather’, with unexplained long vowel; Khmu Yuan **pəniir** ‘wing’ shows contamination by **tiir** ‘to fly’.)

See also 70 below.

From *-**al** Praok has -**ɔ**, following originally voiceless initial; Vietnamese has -*ay*. In the one available example Riag-Lang has **a**, not **ə**. Thus:

22. Khmer **tbal** ‘rice-mortar’ (Tandart gives **tba:l**, with possibly secondary lengthening; so Stien (Azémar 1886) **pa:l** ?; Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **ˈpal**, Praok **pɔ** (#1757 ***tpal**). Sre, Biat **mpal**, Bahnar **təpal** are from an infixed form.

See also 71 below.

Other correspondences. In three items Khmuic exhibits an unexplained high back unrounded vowel.

23. Khmu Yuan **lik** ‘to be blind’. Cf. Mon **klek** ‘to be filled in, closed, blind’; Khasi [mat]lah ‘blind’ (#433 ***klak**).

24. Theng **drũŋ**, from prefixed form **cəndrũŋ**, Khmu Yuan **centriiŋ** ‘horn’. Cf. Old Mon **drai** ‘elephant’s tusk’, Modern Mon **krəŋ** ‘horn, tusk’; Praok **ruŋ** ‘horn’; Khasi **reng**; Vietnamese **sũng** (#699 ***d₂raŋ**); and from prefixed form Riang-Lang **kəmrəŋ**.

25. Khmu Yuan (obsolescent) **nim**, Theng **nũm** ‘year’. Cf. Khmer **chnam**, Stien **sənam**, Sre **nam**, **sənam**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **nam**, Jeh **hnam**, Halang **hənam**; Palaung **sənəm**, Praok **num**; Khasi **snem**, *’nem*; Vietnamese, Mường *nă m* (#1368 ***cnam**). Old Mon **cnām**, Modern Mon **hnam**, and perhaps Bahnar dialects **hana:m**, **sana:m**, **səna:m** reflect a long-vowel variant. Some of the above may reflect an infixed form.

It is doubtful whether these cases are environmentally conditioned. (Contrast here with (#707) ***mraŋ** ‘horse’ > Palaung **brəŋ**, Riang-Lang **məraŋ**, Praok **bruŋ**; (***kuən mraŋ** >) ***k-mraŋ** > Khmu’ **hmraŋ**, Khmu Yuan **həmprəŋ**, **kəmprəŋ**.)

In four items Vietnamese exhibits a similar vowel; apart from no. 24 above all involve final *-c.

26. Vietnamese **đứt** ‘to be broken, snapped, to be cut’. Cf. Khmer **dac** ‘(to) break’, Stien (Azémar 1886) **têc** ‘to break’, Sre **tac** ‘broken, cut’, Biat **tac** ‘[rope] to break’; Khasi **thait** ‘to cut asunder, to snap’ (#812 ***tac**).

27. Vietnamese **bán đứt** ‘to sell’. Cf. Khmer **dac** ‘saleable’, Stien (Azémar 1886) **têc**, Sre, Biat **tac**, Bahnar **tɛ:c**, Jeh, Halang **tek**, Khmu Yuan **tec** ‘to sell’ (#813 ***t₁ac**).

28. Vietnamese **nứt** ‘to crack open, split open’. Cf. Mon **đot** ‘to hatch out (v.i.)’ (#821 ***[r]đac**; Sora **ra’daj’-**).

In none of these cases do I make a special construction.

***aa.** The normal correspondences from which ***aa** is reconstructed before the same finals are of orthographic **ā** in Old and Middle Mon and in Khmer; long /a:/ in other Eastern Mon-Khmer languages (noted as **aa** in Kuy, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan), Temiar (noted as **ā**), and Khasi (written **a**); Vietnamese and Mường **a**; Palaung **a**, Riang-Lang **a**. Praok has **a** following an originally voiceless initial complex and usually **ɛ** following an originally voiced one.

Mon: Old Mon **ā** is interpreted as /ai/ before velars and /a/ before other finals. In the first context **e** may be written allographically, e.g. **kyāk**, **kyek** /**kyaik**/ ‘sacred being...’. Modern Mon has correspondingly **ai**, chest register **ài** before velars; before other finals **a**; chest-register **è** before labials, **-èa** from Old Mon **-ār**, **-āl**, **à** otherwise.

Khmer: orthographic **ā** is realized as **a:** in head-register words, **ɪə** in chest-register ones.

Thus:

29. Mon **kətaik** ‘tongue’; Kuy **ntaa?**, Khmu Yuan **həntaak**; Riang-Lang **ˈtak**, Praok **dak**; Temiar **lentāg** (#320 ***nt₁aak**, ***l(n)t₁aak**). Palaung has **kərtā?**, with a

secondary prefix seen also in Nicobarese **kəletak**; note also Khmer **ɔnda:t**, with assimilated final.

30. Old Mon *kyāk*, *kyek*, Modern Mon **caik** ‘sacred being or thing’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **cia:k** ‘bloodsucking male witch’, Sre **caa** ‘evil spirit’, Biat **cia:k** ‘ghost’, West Bahnar **kiak** (and **kiek**; with secondary shortening following semivowel?), ‘corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts’, Jeh **kaya:k** ‘to die’, Halang **kəya:k** ‘corpse’ (#388 ***kyaak**).

31. Sre **kaaŋ** ‘jaw’, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ka:ŋ** ‘chin’, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:ŋ** ‘chin, jaw’; Mường *cáng* ‘chin’ (#497 ***kaaŋ?**).

32. East Bahnar **rà:ŋ** ‘light (n.)’; Palaung **raŋ** ‘lamp’, Praok **reŋ** ‘to be light’; Khasi rang ‘[weather] to be fine’; Vietnamese *rạng* ‘to dawn’ (#660 ***raaŋ?**). From a prefixed form are Khmer **sra:ŋ** ‘first light, to glimmer’, Biat **cra:ŋ** ‘reflection, to reflect’; Vietnamese *sáng* ‘light’; Sakai **chěrang** ‘daylight’.

33. Mon **thaiŋ** ‘junction, fork, division of stem’; Khmer **thi:əŋ** ‘palm-frond’, Kontum Bahnar **tha:ŋ** ‘branch’ (#789 ***dhaaŋ**).

34. Mon **sat** ‘to bale’; Khmer **sa:c** ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre **saac** ‘to empty with a bucket’; Riang-Lang **ṭhac** ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’; Vietnamese *tát* ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 ***saac**). Khasi *snaid* ‘strainer’, from an infixed form, formally parallels Biat **nhac** ‘drizzle’ (and Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **nhac**, with perhaps contextual shortening).

35. Old Mon *smāñ*, Modern Mon **hman** ‘to ask, inquire’; Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **maap** ‘to ask’; Palaung **hman** ‘to request’, Riang-Lang **ṁaŋ** ‘to inquire, request’, Praok **maŋ** ‘to request’; Temiar **səməŋ** ‘to inquire, (#912 ***smaap**).

36. Mon **hwat** ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’; Khmer **pa:t** ‘to trim down, file down’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pa:t** ‘to cut oneself on something sharp’, Bahnar **pāt** ‘to whet’; Vietnamese, Mường *phát* ‘to cut, trim’ (#1026 ***cpaat**).

37. Mon **dan** ‘path’; Khmer **da:n** ‘path, trail, scent’ (and **l?a:n**, by levelling on the infixed form **lùm?a:n** id.; #1123 ***l?aan**).

38. Sre **caan** ‘to borrow, hire, buy on credit’, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ca:n** ‘to borrow’, Bahnar **ca:n** ‘[to buy] on credit’ (#1141 ***.caan**). From an infixed form is Praok **san** ‘debt’.

39. Bahnar **haa:p**, **həa:p**, Jeh **kaqa:p**, Halang **kəqa:p** ‘to yawn’; Riang-Lang **ṭhap** (#1229 ***s?aap**). From an infixed ***sn?aap** are Mon **həap** id.; Khmer **sŋa:p**, Biat **ŋga:p** [bic], Bahnar **h(°)ŋa:p**, Theng **hŋap**; Vietnamese *ngáp* id.; Khasi *sngab* ‘gills’ (and Sre **ŋgap** ‘to yawn’, with contextual shortening?).

40. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ta:p**, Sre **taap** ‘to clap, slap’, Biat, Jeh **ta:p** ‘to slap’, Bahnar, Halang **ta:p** ‘to slap, hit’; Praok **tap** ‘to strike, beat’; Khasi *thab* ‘to hit with hand, slap’ (#1251 ***t₁aap**).

41. Khmer **kda:m**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ta:m**, Sre **taam** ‘crab’; Riang-Lang **kətam**; Khasi *tham* (#1348 ***kt₁aam**). From a nasal-infix form are Mon **hətam** id.; Bahnar, Halang **kəta:m**, Jeh **kata:m**, Khmu Yuan **kətaam**; ‘Central Sakai’ **kantom**.

42. Khmer **chì:əm** ‘blood’ (#1430 ***jhaam**); and with n-infix Kuy **hjaam** id.; Palaung **hnam**, Riang-Lang **ṁnam**, Praok **nam**; Khasi *’nam*, *snam*; with m-infix, Sre **mhaam**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **mha:m**, Bahnar, Jeh **pha:m**, Halang **məha:m**, Khmu Yuan **màam**; Kensiu **məhəm**. (Old Mon *chīm*, Modern Mon **chīm** represent an isolated front-vowel variant.)

43. Mon **həpa** ‘flat surface, back [of hand etc.]’; Khmer **təm̥baː** ‘flat surface’ (#1639 ***tnpaar**).

44. Old Mon **’bār**, Modern Mon **məa** ‘to kneel with bowed head’; Khasi **par** ‘to kneel’; Vietnamese **bái** ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 ***ʔbaar**; the Vietnamese tone may be attributable to the initial sequence).

45. Old Mon **kyāl**, Modern Mon **ca** ‘air, wind’; Kuy **kayaal**, Stieng **caːl**, **chaːl**, Sre **caal**, Chrau **chaːl**, Bunör **syāːl**, Central Rölöm **caːl**, Biat **chiaːl**, Bahnar **kiaːl** ‘wind’ (#1782 ***kyaal**). Khmer **khyəl** shows a special contextual development (Pre-Khmer ***kyəl** ?) following **y**, seen also in **yùm** ‘to weep’ : Old Mon **yām**, Modern Mon **yəm**, &c. (1381 ***yaam**)

46. Mon **wəa** ‘open ground, pasture’; Khmer **vəlːəl** ‘plain’ (#1797 ***waal**).

47. Middle Mon **kṣā**, Modern Mon **cha** ‘split bamboo fibre’; Riang-Lang **ṭkhal** [roʔ] (#1802 ***ksaal**).

See also 62, 64-71, 74-7.

Other correspondences. Praok **a** following an originally voiced initial may be regular before certain finals. For ***-aac** we have **lac** ‘to sleep late’ : Riang-Lang **_lac** ‘to be lazy’ (***laac**), and **vac** ‘sword’ : Riang-Lang **_vac**, **_wac** (#864 ***waac**). **nam** ‘blood’ < ***jnhaam** (no. 42) probably reflects Proto-Palaungic ***hnām**, with loss of ***j-**. But there is a discrepancy between e.g. **ke** 3rd pers. dual pronoun : Palaung **gar**, Riang-Lang **_kar** (***gaar**) and **ma** ‘dry hill field’ : Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang **_mar** (#1651 ***[]maar**). The point must remain undetermined for the present.

In four items Vietnamese exhibits **-uôt**, **-uā** /**uə**/, a development to be compared with **u** < ***a** (nos. 24, 26-8 above).

48. Vietnamese **uôt** ‘to be wet’; Temiar **kəʔāj** (#795 ***kʔaac**); and from an infix form Vietnamese **múôt** ‘to trickle’; Kintaq Bong **məʔaj** ‘to be wet’ (contrast **tát** < #872 ***saac**, no. 34).

49. Biat **maːɲ** ‘to borrow’; Vietnamese **mượn**, Mường **manh** (***maɲʔ**; contrast **lan** ‘[water, fire, vegetation] to spread’ < ***s-laɲ**, ad Bahnar **laːɲ**, and ***sn-laɲ** > Mon **hənan**, see #926).

50. Vietnamese **ngiã**, Mường **ngá** ‘to lie on one’s back’ (#1590 ***[l]ñaarh**); so from infix forms Mon **təŋɛa** ‘id., to be the right way up’; **təŋɛa** ‘to turn [something] the right way up’; Khmer **phnəː** ‘on one’s back, the right way up, looking back’ (contrast **bái** < ***ʔbaar**, no. 44).

51. Old Mon **kintāl**, Modern Mon **həta** ‘under-surface, bottom’; Vietnamese **dưới** ‘(to be) below, under’ (#1735 ***kt₁aal**, ad Theng **tāl** ‘(space) under, underneath’).

See also 63 below.

I make no special construction in these cases.

In the following example Bahnar fronting following a palatal+liquid cluster probably requires no special explanation.

52. Bahnar **hlit** ‘to flee in terror’; Praok **lat** ‘to be afraid’ (#1086 ***[c]laat**); cf. with the causative **pəlit**, **pəhlit** ‘to frighten’ Khmer **cūmlɨət**, which is perhaps not formally parallel.

Contrast, however, Bahnar **hlaːk** ‘numeral classifier for pieces of thatch...’ if : Old Mon **clāk** ‘shingle’.

***ai.** The reconstruction of a diphthong ***ai** is proposed in the first place to account for correspondences of Khmer orthographic *ε*—realized as **ae/ê**—with reflexes in most other languages identical with those assigned to ***aa**. The majority of items involve final velars, though ***-ail** and **-ais** are also reconstructed.

Distinctive reflexes are not limited to Khmer. (i) Stieng usually has **e**: following voiced initial (and two instances of **a**: may be attributable to borrowing). (ii) From ***-aik** Sre has **-a**, distinct both from **-aa** < ***-aak** and **-a'** < ***-ak**. (iii) Khasi has *ie* /**e**:/ or less frequently *ia*; the latter perhaps < ***iə** by metathesis. (iv) Vietnamese has *-ach*, *-anh*, implying palatalization of the final velar.

It may be assumed that an original ***ai** was merged with ***aa** before other finals early in the history of Mon-Khmer. This choice of reconstruction, consonant with the development of a mid front vowel in Khmer and Khasi and the final palatalization in Vietnamese, has the further merit of perhaps explaining the merger of ***aa** and ***ai** before velars as /**ai**/ in Mon. We may also note that variants in ***ai** and ***iə** are found in a significant number of cases; not improbably exhibiting metathesis.

Examples:

53. Khmer **khʔaek**, Theng **kăʔak** ‘crow’, Bahnar **āk** ‘to croak, (*se:m*—) crow’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **aʔ** ‘to caw’; ‘Central Sakai’ **ök-ak** ‘crow’ (#270 ***kʔaik**). From an infixed ***klʔaik** are Old Mon *kil’āk* etc., Modern Mon **hədaik** ‘crow’; Sre **kənda**, Biat **nʔa:k**; Palaung **kəʔaʔ**, Praok **lak** (and by metathesis Riang-Lang **luk ʔak**).

54. Old Mon *tək* ‘to slash’, Modern Mon **pàik** ‘to slash, cut, cut down, fell’; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **be:k** ‘to break, split, burst (v.i.)’, Biat **ba:k** ‘to notch’; Khasi **piəh** ‘to cut in two’; Sakai **bak** ‘to split’ (#364 ***tbaik**).

55. Old Mon *mrek*, Modern Mon **pəràik** ‘peacock’; Stieng **bra:k** (loanword?), Sre **bra**, Chrau **bra:ʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **bra:k**; Palaung dialects **phraʔ**, **braʔ** (whence Riang-Lang **prak**) (#416 ***mraik**).

56. M **lāik** ‘to split [bamboo] into fibres’; Khmer **rəlè:k** ‘to divide up, share out’, Biat **rla:k** ‘to divide up’; (or from prefixed form?) Khasi *thlieh* ‘to split’ (#451 ***rlaik**).

57. Sre **aaŋ** ‘light’, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔa:ŋ** ‘light, bright’, Biat **a:ŋ** ‘light, to shine’, Bahnar **à:ŋ** ‘light’; Vietnamese *ánh* ‘beam, ray, (—*sáng*) light’ (#489 ***cʔaiŋ**; Vietnamese tone perhaps from initial sequence). Chrau **səla:ŋ** ‘light, bright’ is from an infixed form.

58. Khmer **pə:ŋ** ‘beaker, cup’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **be:ŋ** ‘small copper cup for rice-spirit’ (#620 ***baiŋ**). Mon **həpàŋ** ‘offering-vessel of plantain stalk’ is from an infixed ***brbaiŋ**.

59. Old Mon *kuṃmbān* etc. ‘city etc. wall’, Modern Mon **kəmaiŋ** ‘brick or stone wall’; Khmer **kəmpè:ŋ** ‘(city) wall’ (beside **kəmpheaŋ**, by back-borrowing from Thai **kəmpheəŋ**; #626 ***kbaŋ**).

60. Khmer **vè:ŋ** ‘long’, Khmu Yuan **wàaŋ** ‘long (space, time)’ (#768 ***waiŋ**).

61. Mon [kaʔ] **həpa** ‘skate’; Khmer **pəbael** ‘skate, shark’ (#1760 ***p[r]pail**).

See also 72-7 below

Variation. Here we shall note, first, the occurrence of length variation (i) between ***a** and ***aa**, and (ii, which I treat on the same footing for convenience) between ***a** and ***ai**; secondly, the few cases of apparent variation between ***aa** and ***ai**.

Isolated divergences from a reasonably widely attested form may be due to innovation in one language, or otherwise explicable (e.g. nos. 6, 7, 11 above), and are excluded from this head. But doublets in any language may constitute evidence of variation if neither form is readily attributable to borrowing.

***a ~ *aa**

62. (#374) ***[d]ɓak**: Khmer **pèək** ‘to put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride’, Stieng, Chrau **ba?** ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’, Sre **ba** ‘to carry in a shawl on one’s back’, Biat **ba?** ‘to carry [person] on one’s back’, Bahnar **bak** ‘to wear round neck’, Khmu’ **bak** ‘to mount, ride, be astride’; (***[d]rɓak**) Mon **həbək** ‘to hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck’; Bahnar dialects **habak**, **təbak** ‘to hang over sth.’; (***[d]nɓak**) (Sre **ma** = **ba** ← ?) Bunör **m?mak**, Central Rölöm **ɓak** ‘to hang up’, Biat **mbak** ‘to carry on a yoke’.

[d]ɓaak**: Bunör, Central Rölöm **ba?** ‘to carry [baby] on one’s back’; ([d]nɓaak**) Stieng (Azémar 1886) **nba:k** ‘to carry over one’s shoulder’; Vietnamese *vác* id. (or ***[d]r-?**; with unexplained loss of glottalization).

Either variant may underlie Palaung **ba?** ‘to ride, drive’; Khasi *bah* ‘to carry on back or shoulders’, **tabah** ‘to throw, hang, across shoulder’.

63. (#487) ***cʔaŋ**: Khmer **aŋ** ‘to roast, to warm oneself’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **aŋ** ‘to grill’; Khasi *s’ang*, *syang* ‘to roast, toast’; (***c[n]ʔaŋ**) Mon **həeŋ** ‘to warm, dry, at fire, to toast’.

***cnʔaŋ**: Vietnamese **nướng**, Mường **náng** ‘to roast, toast’ (with tone from the initial sequence?).

64. (#874) ***ksac**: Khmer **khsac** ‘sand’; (***kmsac**) Riang-Lang **mac** id. (and by metathesis ***krcas** > ***kcras** > Khmu Yuan **cres** id., with contextually conditioned fronting).

***skaac** by metathesis: Kuy **sakaac** id.; Vietnamese *cát*, Mường *cách*; ***kmsaac**: Praok **mac** id.

65. (#906) ***paŋ**: Praok **pup** ‘to fight’; (***pnpaŋ**) Bahnar **pəpɛ:ŋ** (and **pəpɛ:ŋ**) ‘to struggle, thrash about’; ‘Semang’ **pin-pen** ‘to fight’; (***pnpaŋ**) Palaung (Milne 1931) **nɛŋ** ‘soldiers’.

***pnaaŋ**: Old Mon *pnāñ* ‘army’, Modern Mon **nan** ‘army, war’; Palaung **nan** = **nɛŋ**, Praok **naŋ** ‘war, army’.

66. ***[t]rkat**: Riang-Lang **sərkət** ‘thorn’.

***[t]kaat**: Praok **kat** id.

67. (#1119) ***ʔan**: Bahnar **an**, Khmu’ **ʔan** ‘to give’.

***ʔaan**: Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat **a:n** id.

68. (#1225) ***ʔap**: Khmer **ap** ‘dull, dim’; Palaung **əp** ‘to be dark’, Riang-Lang **əp** ‘shadow, to overshadow’.

***ʔaap**: Palaung **ap** = **əp**; with probably secondary prefixation West Bahnar **aa:p** ‘shady retreat’; Palaung **iʔap** ‘darkness’.

69. (#1399) ***smram**: Bahnar **[bru:ih] mram**, **bram** ‘dirt, sweepings’.

***smraam**: Mon **həram** ‘dust, powder’; Khmer **səmra:m** ‘rubbish, straws, sweepings, dirt’.

70. (#1630) ***[]nar**: Stieng **nar** ‘sun, day’.

***[]naar**: Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **na:r**; (by secondary prefixation?) Bahnar **kəna:r** id.

71. (#1762) ***cbal**: Biat **bal** ‘companion’.

cbaal: Mon **hwèa** ‘close male friend’; Praok [paw] **pə** friend’.

*a ~ ai

72. (#352) ***lpak**: Khmer **bak** ‘to be broken’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pak** ‘to break (v.i.t.)’, Sre **pa**’ id., Biat [tə:m] **pa?** ‘to share out’, Rongao **pak** ‘[cord &c.] to be broken’, Theng **pāk** ‘to break’; (***tlpak**) Rongao **təpak** ‘to break, be broken’, Khmu Yuan **təlpak**, Theng **tlpāk** ‘to break’.

lpaik**: Old Mon **pāk** ‘to be shattered’, Modern Mon **paik** ‘to split’; Khmer **baek** ‘to break (v.i.)’, (Sre [tam] **paa** ← ?) Bunör, Central Rölöm **pa:?** ‘to share out’; (or from affixed form) Praok **pak** ‘half, part’; (lmpaik**) Old Mon **lumpek** ‘either of two sides’, Modern Mon **kəpaik** ‘id., half, part’.

73. (#714) (***laŋlaŋ** >) ***lnlaŋ**: Mon **kənèaŋ** ‘kite’; ***klaŋ**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **klaŋ** ‘hawk, owl, (—tə:p etc.) kite’, Sre **klaŋ** ‘hawk, large raptor’, Chrau **khlaŋ** (with unexplained -h-) ‘eagle’.

lain**: Semai (Tauern 1914) **la:ŋ** ‘buzzard’ (but perhaps from Malay **lang** ‘hawk, kite, eagle’, which is ultimately cognate); (klain**) Khmer **khlaeŋ** ‘kite’, Bunör (and Sre, B.) **kla:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **tlai:ŋ** ‘eagle’, Biat **kla:ŋ** ‘hawk, large raptor’, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:ŋ** ‘hawk etc.’, Khmu Yuan **klaaŋ** ‘eagle’; Palaung, Praok **klaŋ**, Riang-Lang **klaiŋ** ‘kite, hawk’; Khasi **khlieng**, **’lieng** ‘kite, eagle’.

‘Central Sakai’ **kla^k** ‘hawk’ may reflect the prefixed form of either variant.

*aa ~ *ai

Few instances of this variation have been noted, and it is possible that some of them result from interdialectal borrowing (as was suggested of Sre **paa**—otherwise < ***lpaa**—in connexion with ***lpai**(i)k, no. 76 above). All are listed below.

74. (#291) ***caak**: Khmer **ca:k** ‘to leave’ (G. ‘to be separated from’).

***caik**: Khmer **caek** ‘to divide up’; Khasi **siah** ‘to cut, pare, shave off’ (or from an associated variant ***ciək**, in Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic).

Other reflexes are not phonologically distinctive, but an assignment might be attempted on semantic grounds. Cf. (***ca[a]k**) Old Mon **cāk** ‘to be parted’; Chrau **sà:?**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sa:k** (also Central Rölöm **sak**, < ***cak**) ‘to go, return’; (***ca[i]k**) Mon **caik** ‘to tear, be torn’; ‘Central Sakai’ **chāk** ‘to chop’; (***pca[i]k**) Mon **phyaik** ‘to split up, punctuate [text]’. Perhaps two distinct roots should be postulated.

75. (#404) ***craak**: Khmer **cra:k** ‘to divide up’.

***[c]raik**: Khmer **crè:k** ‘to part [e.g. curtains], (—pùh) cut way through’; Vietnamese **rách**, Mường **réch** ‘torn’.

Mon **saik srāk** ‘to tear (in two, up), (—thoŋ) to be torn’ may be assigned to either form, while Sre **ceree** ‘to tear’ appears to reflect a variant ***criik**. But Khmer **cra:k** may perhaps be a borrowing from the ultimately cognate Malay **sarak** or another Austronesian form.

76. (#476) ***khaak**: Khmer **kha:k** ‘to hawk, clear the throat’, (***kmhaak**) **kəmha:k** ‘phlegm’; and with secondary prefixation Khasi **kyrkha** ‘phlegm, to clear the throat’.

khaik**: Khmer **khaek** = **kha:k** (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer), (kmhaik**) **kəmhaek** = **kəmha:k**.

Assignable to either form are Mon **khaik** ‘to hawk...’; Biat **runha:k** ‘phlegm’. But since the term is onomatopoeic, ***khaik** may well be a Khmer innovation.

77. (#496) ***kaaŋ**: Khmer **kaŋ** ‘to spread [wings, arms, clothes] apart’, (***ckaaŋ**) **chkaŋ** ‘to skewer with wings open’; (***knaaŋ**) Vietnamese, Mường **ngang** ‘to be horizontal, level, to be wide; across’.

kaŋ(?)**: Vietnamese **canh**, **cánh**, Mường **kenh** ‘wing’ (and Vietnamese **cành**, Mường **kênh** ‘branch’ by secondary variation); (knaŋ?**) Khmer **khnaeŋ** ‘cross-shaped; side-shoot on branch of tree’; Vietnamese **ngánh** (and **ngành**) ‘branch of river etc.’ On semantic grounds we might assign to this variant Middle Mon *knān* ‘branch’, Modern Mon **naŋ** (merging Middle Mon *tnān* id., of separate origin).

A third variant ***kaŋ** underlies Old Mon *knān* [ko] ‘collar-bone’, Modern Mon **neŋ** ‘crosspiece’; and Biat **rkaŋ** ‘transverse, across’. This is perhaps the most telling of the ***aa** ~ ***ai** variants, though as in 78 a consistent semantic distinction can be made.

Structurally the relationship of the diphthong ***ai** to ***aa** might be thought analogous to that of the diphthongs ***iə**, ***uə** to ***ii**, ***uu** (for which see the next two sections). The parallel does not hold good for distributional frequency. ***iə**, ***uə** are both more frequently attested than either the long or the short simple vowels, whereas ***ai** is relatively infrequent so far as our material allows us to distinguish it from ***aa**. Moreover the other two diphthongs alternate rather more often with the corresponding long vowels than with the short, whereas with ***ai** the opposite is the case.

***i, *ii, *iə**

Since problems arise in deciding when to reconstruct a high front and when a central vowel before a final palatal, discussion of these occurrences will be deferred until Section (d).¹⁰

We shall consider first the long vowel ***ii**, and proceed then to the reconstruction of its short counterpart ***i**.

***ii**. I reconstruct ***ii** from correspondences of a high front vowel in languages which do not show a vowel-length distinction (or show only a fragmentary one), in most of them qualitatively different from the reflex of ***i**; and in part of a long vowel of similar quality in languages which have the length distinction. Many of the latter, however, have undergone contextually conditioned splits—of broadly similar incidence and perhaps of a single origin—which complicate the reconstruction. They will be dealt with in turn below.

We have, then, regularly Old Mon /i/ (written *ī*, *i*); **i** in Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok, Khasi, and Vietnamese; long **ii** in Khmuic and, usually, Sre (but short **i** is noted by Dournes with such frequency that it is unlikely that it represents a short-vowel variant in all cases). In many comparisons we find Khmer head-register **ɿ**, chest-register **ɿ̃**; and **ĩ** in other South Bahnaric languages and in Bahnar. A diphthongization to **ia** appears to be regular before stop final in Jeh and Halang.

Mon: Old Mon /i/, written *ī* for preference in the ‘high literary’ inscriptions but usually *i* in less formal ones, before stops and nasals yields Middle Mon *i*; modern **oi**, **òì** before velars, before dentals and labials **ɛ**, **i**, **ì** (head-register **ɛ**, **i** by a split originally

¹⁰ [Editorial note: the alluded to Section (d) was not found.]

contextually conditioned, now contrastive but of low functional load). Old Mon /ir, il/ > Middle Mon → modern -ɛe, -i, -i.

Khmer: in chest-register words *i* is the realization of orthographic *i*. In closed syllables in head-register words this symbol is not found; the distribution suggests merger of earlier short and long *i* in such contexts. *ɿ* is the realization of the (now) complementarily distributed symbols *i* (before *k, ŋ, m*), *i* (before *t, n, p*).

Examples of these ‘straightforward’ reflexes follow.

78. East Bahnar **tsi:k** ‘disagreeable in taste’; Palaung **sik**, **swi-**, Riang-Lang **-cik** ‘to be astringent in taste’ (#294 ***?ciik**).

79. Old Mon **jik**, Modern Mon **còik** ‘to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate’; Old Khmer **jyak**, Modern Khmer **cì:k**, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **jì:k**, Chrau **ji:?** ‘to dig’, Sre **jii**, Biat **jì:k** ‘to grub up weeds’, Jeh, Halang **jìak** ‘rice-field’ (#300 ***jiik**; Rongao has **je:k** ‘to plough, prepare for cultivation; cultivated field’). From an infixed ***jniik** is Bahnar **ji:k** ‘hoe, mattock’.

80. Mon **toiŋ** ‘to pluck [stringed instrument]’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **tiŋ** ‘guitar’; Praok **tiŋ** ‘harp’ (#896 ***t₁iŋ**). Infixes yield Old Khmer **tmīn** and Old Mon **tinmīn** ‘player of stringed instrument’, and a prefixed form Khasi [**ma**]rynting ‘Khasi harp’.

81. Sre **ntiŋ**, Stieng, Central Rölöm **ti:ŋ**, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **nti:ŋ**, Bahnar **kəti:ŋ** ‘bone’ (# 553 ***knt₂iŋ**).

82. Khmu Yuan **kəntiŋ** ‘navel’; Riang-Lang **kəndiŋ** (# 582 ***kdiŋ**); and with r-infix Palaung **kərdiŋ** id.

83. Khmer **kdət** ‘anus’; Riang-Lang **ˀtit** ‘anus; to break wind’; Vietnamese **đít** ‘anus’ (#1007 ***kt₁iit**).

84. Sre **priit**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **pri:t**, Jeh, Halang **priat** ‘banana’ (#1070 ***priit**). (Bahnar **priit** is an isolated short-vowel form.)

85. Khmer **hət** ‘to sniff at’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **hi:t** ‘to sniff; cold in the nose’; Vietnamese **hít** ‘to inhale’, Mường **hít** ‘to smell, (#1104 ***hiit**).

86. (#1288 Palaung **lip** ‘to enter’, Praok **lip** [**lu**] ‘to enter [trance]’; Khasi **lip** ‘to be extinguished, to extinguish’ (***liip**; Khmer has **lùp** ‘to withdraw, [sun] to go in’, from a short-vowel variant). From a prefixed form are Jeh **kliap**, Halang **gliap** ‘[sun] to set’; Praok **kliap** id.

87. Khmer **həp**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **hi:p** ‘trunk, box’ (***hiip**). Jeh **hi:p** may be a back-borrowing, cf. Jar., Rade **hi:p**; so, with secondary prefixation, Halang **gəhi:p** ‘cabinet?’)

88. pal. **tim**, Riang-Lang **ˀtim** ‘nine’ (***[c]t₁iim**). Praok **sidim** id. reflects a nasal-infix form.

89. Literary Mon **s’i** ‘to be numerous, plentiful’; Sre **ir** (Blood 1966 **ʔi:r**), Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔi:r**, Biat **i:r** ‘too much’ (#1557 ***[c]ʔiir**).

90. Theng **pīr** ‘pumpkin’; Vietnamese **bí** (#1637 ***[c]piir**). An infixed form underlies Mon **həpɛ** id. and probably Riang-Lang **ˀsəpīr**. (Maspero (1955) often notes short vowel before Theng **-r**, **-l** where Khmu’ and/or Khmu Yuan have a long one. The two-plosive sequence attested by Riang-Lang may account for the Vietnamese tone.)

91. Old Mon **kumsīr** ‘parents-in-law’ (and Modern Mon **kamsəe**, for ****kəsəe**, originally as learned form); Semai **gənsīr** ‘husband’ (#1679 ***kmsiir**).

92. Khmu' **sriil** [gold] (and Theng **sril**; #1789 *[c]riil). From a prefixed form are Palaung **khrrir**, Praok **khri** id.

See also 136-40.

Splits. Khmer has orthographic *e*, head-register **e**: following **t**, **l**, and in some cases **d**, **r**. Chest-register **è**: is attested in one case (and doublets in another: 101 below) following **l** where the register and antecedent voicing are thought to be secondary (though voicing is already present in Old Khmer in 101).

93. Khmer **de:k** 'to lie down, sleep'; Kensiu **tik** (#305 ***tiik**). Old Mon **stik**, whence Modern Mon **toik**, is probably a normalized hypothetical form, 'intending to sleep'; so English 'going to sleep'. (Khasi **thiah** reflects a variant ***tiək**.)

94. Literary Mon **latin** 'kind of flowering plant'; Old Khmer **ramtyan**, Modern Khmer **rùmdə:ŋ** 'galanga' (#564 ***rmtiŋ**)

95. Khmer **pre:ŋ**, Stieng (Azémar 1886), Biat **pri:ŋ** 'oil, fat' (#702 ***priŋ**).

96. Khmer **te:t** (and Sre **dit**, with secondary shortening?) 'small'; Vietnamese **nít** (#1016 ***kdiit**). Khasi **khyndit** 'a little, few', from an infix form, establishes the initial.—See also 195.

(Chest register) see 100-1.

Contrast with 93-4 ***kdiit** > Khmer **kdɔt** 'anus', 87; ***tiik** > **ɔrk** 'to lead...', 98; and with 95 ***t-riip** > **trɔp** 'floating mat of vegetation', 104; ****cnriit** > **cɔŋrɔt** 'cricket', 207. It would be possible to account for these exceptions by postulating isolated short-vowel variants (***ktit**, etc.; as in 86). But in view of the doublets in 101 dialectal divergence followed by interdialectal borrowing cannot be ruled out in all cases.

The South Bahnaric split is wider in its incidence, and is almost certainly complicated by dialect borrowing. The 'shifted' reflexes are Chrau, Bunör, Biat **e**, Central Rölöm **u**: (Blood reconstructs Proto-Mnong ***e**: in these cases, opposed to ***i**: in the set exemplified above). Stieng shows **i**: in some instances and **e**: in others; either the incidence of the split is different in Stieng (which is not improbable), or some items—but which?—are loans. The examples below are representative.

97. Stieng **chik** (!; Azémar 1886 **ci:k**), Sre **sii**, Chrau **se:c**, Bunör **se:k**, Central Rölöm **sɔ:k**, Biat **che:k** 'tooth' (#289 ***ciik**).

98. Old Khmer **tik**, Modern Khmer **ɔrk** 'to lead [animal], to cart' Stieng **te:k** (Azémar 1886 **ti:k**), Sre **tii**, Chrau **te:c**, Bunör **te:k**, Central Rölöm **tɔ:k** 'to lead by a rope' (#304 ***tiik**).

99. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **jri:ŋ**, Biat **jre:ŋ**, Kontum Bahnar **jri:ŋ** (and Sre **jiriŋ**; with secondary shortening?) 'wax' (#919a ***jriiŋ**; Bahnar has **jreŋ**, from a variant ***jriəŋ**).

100. Khmer **thli:ŋ** 'to hobble [animal]', Stieng (Azémar 1886) **gli:ŋ** 'elephant hobbles', Bahnar **kle:ŋ**, **gle:ŋ** (and Sre **kliŋ**; with secondary shortening?) 'to hobble' (#745 ***Tliiŋ**); and with nasal infix Khmer **tùənlɔ:ŋ** = Stieng, Biat **ŋle:ŋ** 'hobbles'. (For the initial cf. further, from a variant ***Tliəŋ**, Mon **kleaŋ** 'to bind', **kəneaŋ** 'bonds'.)

101. Mon **kəloŋ** 'myna'; Old Khmer **graliŋ**-[**graloŋ**], Modern Khmer **krəlɔ:ŋ**-[**krələ:ŋ**] (and **krələ:ŋ**-, Tandart) 'black-collared starling' (#757 ***k-rliiŋ**); (and Sre **bərliŋ** 'magpie-robin', with secondary shortening?) Bahnar **pəli:ŋ** 'grey dove' (***p-rliiŋ**). (For the connection cf. Mal. *chěmpərliŋ* 'starling', a loan from ***ciim prliiŋ**.)

102. Biat **et** ‘to confine, pack close together’ (#949 **c?iit*); **cn?iit* yields Kuy **ŋ?iit** ‘narrow’, Bahnar **jəŋi:t** ‘packed together’ (cf. further for the initial, with variant vocalism, Khmer **cəŋ?iət** ‘narrow, confined, cramped’).

103. Stieng (Azémar 1886) [**pe?**] **tre:t** ‘cricket’, (?) Sre **triit** ‘to whistle’ (#1068 **t₁riit*); Palaung **əkrit** ‘cricket’ reflects a prefixed form. If **t-* is to be reconstructed it is secondary here, cf. (with infix) Mon **kəret caŋrit** ‘cricket’; Khmer **cəŋrət** id. (**cnrit*, or by back-borrowing from Thai **cin riit?**); ‘Central Sakai’ **jarét** ‘variety of mole-cricket’.

104. Biat **re:p** ‘grass’; Praok **rip** (#1269 **riip*). From prefixed forms are Khmer **trəp** ‘floating mat of vegetation’, perhaps < **t-rip*) and Sre **səmprip** (Dournes_1950; correct to **-iip?**) ‘tall grass’.

105. Sre **tiil**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **te:l**, Central Rölöm **tul**, Bahnar **dəl** ‘footprint(s), tracks’; ‘Semang’ **tīl**, Sak. **dil** (#1733a **tiil*).

106. Stieng **bi:l**, Sre **biil**, Chrau, Bunör **be:l**, Central Rölöm **bul** ‘mat’, ‘Semang’ **pil**; and Biat **mbe:l** id.; Praok **bi** (Editor’s note: Shorto subsequently altered his analysis and in the light of Munda data reconstructed **[e]* (& **ee* ?) instead of **ii* for this etymon, see #1761.)

107. Stieng **ui:l** ‘to surround animal in order to capture it’, Biat [**da:k wac**] **we:l** ‘eddy’, Bahnar **wi:l** ‘round’; Palaung **vir** ‘to return’ (#1794 **wiil*); and with prefix inter alia Old Mon **tirwil** ‘to attend on’, Modern Mon **kəwi** [**kawaŋ**] ‘to be attended by’; (**p-wiil?*) Biat [**təl pac**] **pe:l** ‘spiral’. (Cf. 131 below for a short-vowel variant.)

In the following example the reflexes are mixed, and vowel lowering does not extend to the second infixed form except in Biat, which has doublets (by borrowing?):

108.¹¹ Bunör **per**, Central Rölöm **pur** ‘fence, wall’ (**piir*); Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pəni:r** ‘bamboo partition’ (and Sre **pəni:r** id. with secondary shortening?; **p[m]niir*); Bunör **mpir** ‘wall’, Central Rölöm **pir** id. (whence Chrau **pir** ‘fence, wall’ ?), Biat **mper** ‘fence, stockade’ (and **mpir** ‘wall, partition’, from Bunör?; **pmpiir*).

In the following the Biat lowering is perhaps a function of the nasal affix:

109. Sre **səkiŋ** ‘on one’s side, to one side’, Biat **ŋke:ŋ** ‘to lean over; on one’s side’ (#504 **jkii[ŋ]*); the simplex underlies Sre **kiŋ** ‘edge, direction’, Jeh **ki:ŋ** ‘edge’.

110. Sre **səmpit**, Biat **mpe:t** ‘stopper, cork’ (< #1098 **siit* by infixation).

111. Biat **nche:r** ‘to blow [nose]’; the simplex (#1680) **ksiir* in Sre **chir** ‘to blow nose’.

Cf. also 112-13.

Leaving aside 109-11, the South Bahnaric lowering has thus been noted following **t**, **r**, and **l**, as in Khmer; **p**, and **b** < **bp-*; **w**; **ø** (< **c?-*); and the correspondence from which **[]c[-]* was constructed in 97. There are some counter-examples.

(1) Following **t**: with 98, 105 contrast 81, 136. But the Mnong and Chrau vocalism in 81 parallels that from **pmpiir*, 108; Biat **nti:ŋ** may be borrowed from Bunör or Chrau. We do not know the Mnong or Chrau reflexes of 136. At worst, lowering is markedly more frequent in this context than the converse.

(2) Following **r**: with 99, 104 (and **kriiŋ* > Biat **kre:ŋ** ‘kind of bamboo’; **criit* > Biat **chre:t** ‘close together’), contrast 84, 95. Again, there is lowering in a majority of cases.

(3) Following (**)p*: with 106, 108, 110 contrast **pmpiik* > Biat **mpi:k** ‘class of small mammals’. So following **w**: with 107 compare **wiik* > Bunör, Central Rölöm **wi:k**

¹¹ [Editorial note: Shorto assigned this etymology to item 147 of the South Bahnaric Index.]

‘owl’. (Note that this last case may not be discrepant, since we have not Mnong reflexes of **wiil*—we have of the variant **wil*—or Biat of **wiik*.)

(4) Following **cʔ-* with 102 contrast 89. In the latter case we might reconstruct **sʔ-*, but a differential development would be a little surprising. If conceivably Biat *e:t* reflects **cɲiit* rather than **cʔiit*, 102 would be brought under the rubric of 109-11.

Bahnar also, as the reader will have noted, shows at least sporadic lowering. It is difficult to systematize and may be of dialectal origin in many cases. I have already cited *kle:ŋ*, *gle:ŋ*, 100 (though this may be borrowed from Khmer via Cham *klen*); *dəl*, 105; Rongao *je:k*, 79. *kətēt* ‘clitoris’ might tentatively be referred to **ktiit* ‘anus’, 83. In addition we have the following:

112. Bahnar *plēn* ‘fat’ (#1196 **[]liin*); cf. Sre *kəniin* ‘fat, robust’, Biat *ŋle:n* ‘fat’.

113. Sre *pəliin* ‘miracle, magic act’, West Bahnar *pəle:n* ‘to be wide-eyed, look startled’ (#1206 **pliin*).

114. West Bahnar *te:m* ‘to beat, hammer, forge’ (#1340 **t₁iim*); other languages reflect variant vocalism, e.g. (Palaungic **tiəm*) Palaung *teəm* ‘to hammer’, Praok *təm* ‘to hammer, beat out’.

115. Old Mon *wir* ‘husbandry’, Modern Mon *wi* ‘to raise, tendy; Bahnar *we:r* ‘to look after, tend’ (#1670 **wiir*).

See also 157 (**riiŋ > re:ŋ*)

To account for these phenomena Blood (1966) reconstructed distinct vowels **i:* and **e:* in both Proto-Mnong and Proto-South Bahnaric, reasonably enough on his limited canvas. I prefer to postulate splits of a Proto-Mon-Khmer **i:* in spite of the overlapping distribution of the reflexes. First, the multiplication of protophonemes would entail an improbably complex proto-system; the one we shall arrive at is complex enough. Secondly, the overlaps are not so extensive as to defy explanation given an average incidence of dialect borrowing in the languages concerned, which share a relatively high degree of contiguity and differentiation. The lowering is found predominantly in post-dental contexts. The case is thus parallel to that of the Palaung reflexes of **iə*, discussed below; where *eə* and *iə* are distinctive but have a low functional load, *eə* occurring mostly following dentals and *iə* mostly in other environments.

**i*. In reconstructing **i* we may consider, first, the reflexes in ‘vowel-length’ languages. Of these Sre, Bunör, Bahnar and Khmuic neatly enough have short *i* regularly. (But we have seen that Sre *i* by itself is not convincing testimony against **ii*.) Khmer has orthographic *i*, *i* in complementary distribution, realized as *ɿ*, *u̯*; it thus merges **i* and **ii* in head-register words. This backing of the vowel reappears in Central Rōlōm, which has regularly *u̯*; and Biat, which has *u̯* except following *ch*, when it has *i*.

The remaining vowel-length languages also have reflexes which differ according to context, so far as the rather limited material goes. (1) Stieng has *i* before *n*, *c* < **k*; *e* before *l*; *u̯* before *t*, *r*. (In Azémar 1887 we find *i:*, *e:*, *ə(:)*; but with slight differences of distribution—cf. e.g. 126, 130, below—which suggest that Azémar’s and Blood’s Stieng differ dialectally as well as historically.) (2) Chrau has *i* before **k*, *u̯* before *t*, *n*, *l*. (3) We find Jeh *è*, Halang *i* in 126, 130, but Jeh, Halang *e* in 125 and *i* (following *c*) in 135;

the differences being apparently conditioned by the initial (voicing?) rather than the final.

In non-vowel-length languages we find, first, Old Mon /**ø**/ (written usually *i*, *u*, *a*), whence usually Literary Mon *ui*, modern **a**, **à** before velars, **ɒ** **ə** before dentals and labials, **-ɒ -ə -ə** < /**ør øl**/; or as a result of the Middle Mon post-nasal split the same reflexes as for ***ii** following nasals other than **ŋ** < Old Mon /**ng**/, **m** < Old Mon /**mb**/.

Palaung and Riang-Lang have **e**. Praok has **-e** < PMK ***-il** in three instances, but firm evidence of the reflex before other finals is lacking; it must be left open whether Praok **i** represents short ***i** in some items. Khasi has *i* as from ***ii**. Vietnamese and Mường have **ê**, with the same lowering to a high mid vowel as Palaung and Riang-Lang

Examples follow.

116. Stieng **tiɕ**, Sre **tiʔ**, Chrau **tiʔ** (← Sre? cf. 117), Bunör **tik**, Central Rölöm **tuɕ** ‘deaf’ (# 303 ***tik**; Vietnamese *điếc* and Biat **tɔk** [**toɪ**] reflect variants ***tiək** and ***tək** respectively).

117. Sre **diʔ** ‘slavery’, Stieng **dic** (whence Chrau **dic**? cf. 116), Bunör **dik**, Central Rölöm, Biat **duɕ** ‘slave’ (#329 ***dik**; Mon and Bahnar reflect a long-vowel variant), see 132.

118. Palaung **leʔ**, Riang-Lang **lek**, (?) Praok **lik** ‘pig’; Sak. **lü**: (#417 ***lik** []; Old Mon *clik* etc., Modern Mon **kloik** is to be connected with a long-vowel variant).

119. Mon **kàŋ** ‘to row’; Khasi *king* (#507 ***giŋ**).

120. Mon **paŋ** ‘reservoir fish-trap of permanent type’; Old Khmer *piñ*, Modern Khmer **bɔŋ** ‘lake, pool, marsh’ (#602 ***piŋ**).

121. Sre **riŋ** ‘to be level, equal’ (#655 ***riŋ**). Various affixed forms underlie Biat **ndruŋ** ‘to make equal’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **kərpren** ‘to be equal’; Riang-Lang **tərkren** ‘equal amount’. (East Bahnar **ri:ŋ rə:ŋ** ‘equal’ is likely to reflect a long-vowel variant.)

122. Mon **dɔt** ‘to be powdered, composed of small particles’; Khmer **lɔʔt** (#952 ***lɔit**; Khmer **lɔ-**, for ****d-**, by levelling on caus. **lùmʔt** ‘to pulverize’). Khasi *lwit* ‘very finely broken or pounded’ is probably connected.

123. Khmer **kùt** ‘to think, consider’, Sre, Bunör **git**, Stieng, Chrau, CP, Biat **guɪt** ‘to know, understand’ (***git**).¹²

124. Mon [**doŋ**] **bɔt** ‘to be tired’; Vietnamese *mệt* (***lɔit**). (Editor’s note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.)

125. Khmer **chɔʔn**, Stieng, Sre, Bunör **sin**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **tsin**, Jeh, Halang **cen** ‘to be cooked’; Temiar **cet** (#1137 ***cin**; for final, and the long-vowel variants, see 134).

126. Stieng **sin** (Azémar 1886 **se:n**), Sre, Bunör **sin**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **təsin**, Jeh **tacən**, Halang **cəcin** ‘nine’ (#1144 ***dcin**; cf. Vietnamese *chín*, from a long-vowel variant; Old Mon Lph. *dincit*, Modern Mon **həcit** suggests a construction ***dciit**).

127. Old Mon **tin**, Modern Mon **tɔn** ‘to go up, come up’; Vietnamese **đến**, Mường **tênh** ‘to arrive (at), come (to), reach’ (#1153 ***tin**[?]).

128. Sre (B.), Bunör **lip**, Central Rölöm **luɪp** ‘to spread on, spread out’ (#1285 ***lip**).

¹² [Editorial note: this etymology is missing from the etymological dictionary, and it is possible that Shorto abandoned it on the basis that it may be a borrowing of Sanskrit *gita*.]

129. Sre, Bunör **gir**, Stieng, Central Rölöm **guur** ‘to fish with fish-basket’ (***gir**).¹³

130. Stieng **jel** (A. **ji:l**), Sre **il**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **ju:l**, Bunör, Biat **jil**, Jeh **jəl** ‘barking deer’, Halang **jil** ‘small kind of deer’ (#1780 *[y]il; Bahnar has **ji:l** ‘kinds of deer’, with isolated long vowel).

131. Khmer **vùl** ‘to turn round, return’, Sre **will** ‘circle’, Bunör **wil**, Central Rölöm **wul** ‘round’; Praok **ve** ‘coil’; Temiar **wel** ‘to turn; again’ (#1794 ***wil**; short-vowel variant of 107). Bahnar **kəwil** ‘large and bent’ reflects a prefixed form.

See also 133, 135-6.

Length variation. Variation between ***i** and ***ii** may conveniently be dealt with at this point. We have already noted ***wi** ~ ***wiil** ‘to go round, turn round’ (131/107). Other examples follow.

132. ***ɗik** ‘slave’, see 117. (#329)

***ɗiik**: Old Mon **ɗik** etc., Modern Mon **doik** id.; Bahnar **ɗi:k**.

133. ***ɕiŋ**: from prefixed form Palaung **əbeŋ** ‘spider’. (#630)

***ɕiŋ**: Khmer **pì:ŋ**[pì:əŋ] id.; and from prefixed form **rəpì:ŋ**, **ləpì:ŋ** ‘edible spider’.

134. ***cin** ‘to be cooked’, see 125. (#1137)

***ciin?**: Middle Mon, Modern Mon **cin** id.; Khmu’ **siin** ‘to cook’, Theng **sin** ‘to be cooked’; Palaung **sin**, Riang-Lang **ˀsin** ‘to be cooked, to be ripe’; Vietnamese, Mường **chín** ‘cooked’.

Khmer **chʔɿn**, cited at 125, might in fact reflect either variant.

135. ***cim**: Bunör **sim**, Central Rölöm **sum**, Jeh, Halang **cim** ‘bird’; Temiar **cɛp**. (#1324)

***ciim**: Mnong Chil **se:m**, Sre, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan **siim** id.; Palaung, Praok **sim**, Riang-Lang **ˀsim**; Vietnamese, Mường **chim**.

Khasi **sim** may reflect either variant.

136. ***til**: Old Mon **til**, Modern Mon **tɔ** ‘to plant (a seed of)’. (#1733¹⁴)

***[s]n-tiil**: Sre **səntiil**, Biat **ntiil** ‘seed, seed-grain’.

***iə**. The correspondences from which ***iə** is reconstructed are of diphthongs, with a high (or rarely high mid) front starting-point moving to a relatively low, usually central position in at least some cases in almost all languages other than Mon and Bahnar (the Aslian reflexes await determination). Thus we have regularly Khmer orthographic **iə**, realized as **iə**, **iə**; Sre **ia**; Stieng, Central Rölöm **iə**, Chrau **iə**, following ***ʔ** or ***h** realized as **yɛ**. In many comparisons we find Bunör **ya** (and **nia-** < **niə-**, a special case); **ia** in Biat, Khmu’, Khmu Yuan, Khasi; Riang-Lang **ie** (and **ˀyɛ-** < ***ʔiə-**); and Vietnamese **iê** etc. /**iə**/. Palaung and Praok show secondary split. Palaung has, in a proportion of cases, **iə**, **ɛə**: **ɛə** chiefly following dental, **iə** chiefly in other environments (the overlap presumably resulting from interdialectal borrowing: Shorto 1960). Praok has similarly short and long diphthongs **ia**, **iia**, but the origin of the distinction is obscure.

Mon: Old Mon has regularly /**e**/, written **e**, whence modern **ea**, **èa** before velars, **e**, **è** elsewhere. (It cannot be shown that Old Mon /**e**/ was not diphthongized at least in

¹³ [Editorial note: this etymology does not appear in the etymological dictionary.]

¹⁴ [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction from ***i** to ***ə**.]

some environments, as the modern reflexes before velars suggest; cf. further the reflex of **-iəl*, below.)

Bahnar: *ɛ*, less frequently *ɛ*, can probably be taken as the normal reflex in Bahnar. Most of the cases in which we find *ie*; *ie* can be attributed to secondary palatalization resulting from the initial. *ɛ*, *ie* are likely to result from secondary shortening, sometimes clearly due to remodelling on variants which reflect **i* to fit words into a sound-symbolic system of word-play.

In some languages the reflexes before **-1* differ slightly from those specified above as a result of the vocalization of the final; they are indicated in their place below.

Contextually conditioned splits are to be inferred in Bunör, Biat, Jeh, Halang, Khmuic, Northern Mon-Khmer, Khasi, and Vietnamese. Except for Jeh-Halang the ‘shifted’ reflex is a low mid front vowel similar to the normal Bahnar one; i.e. Bunör, Biat *ɛ*, Khmu’ *ɛɛ*, Palaung, Riang-Lang, Praok *ɛ*, Vietnamese and Mường, Khasi *e* (and in one instance *ie*, probably by secondary lengthening). But since Khasi *e* also reflects **ə*, we cannot certainly exclude a variation **iə* ~ **ə* as the explanation of such cases; the partial assignment of *e* to **iə* rests on a balance of probabilities.

For Jeh-Halang we find variously Jeh *ɛ*, Halang *ea*; Jeh, Halang *ia*; and (**-iər* >) Jeh *-i:l*, Halang *-iar*.

**iə* as reconstructed shows a high frequency of occurrence, the instances being roughly equal in amount to those of **i* and **ii* combined.

I give examples first of the ‘straightforward’ reflexes.

137. Stieng **chiək**, Sre **bəsia**, Bunör **syak**, Central Rölöm **siək**, Biat **chiak** ‘to cough’; ‘Semang’ **yik** ‘slight cough’ (#298 **[p]ciək*). Chrau **nsiə?** ‘to cough’ reflects a form with nasal infix.

138. Mon **kəreak** ‘to split, slit open’; Khmer **cəŋriək** ‘to split (into slats etc.)’ (#402 **cnriək*).

139. Palaung (Milne 1931) **hleə?**, Riang-Lang **riək** ‘to be hoarse’ (B 39 **[s][l]iək*).

140. Khmer **iəŋ** ‘out of the vertical’; (?) Vietnamese **hiếng** ‘to have a squint’ (#494 **lʔiəŋ(?)*) From a nasal-infix form are Mon **həeəŋ** ‘to be out of the vertical’; Vietnamese **nghiêng** id.

141. Khmer **sbiəŋ** ‘supplies, provisions, food for journey’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pieŋ**, Sre, Biat **piəŋ**, Chrau, Central Rölöm **piəŋ**, Bunör **pyəŋ** ‘cooked rice’ (#617 **[s]piəŋ*).

142. Old Mon **wəi** ‘to avoid, to turn aside’, Modern Mon **wəəŋ** ‘to avoid’; Khmer **vəiəŋ** ‘way round, bend’, Bahnar **wəŋ** ‘to surround, to hold in crook of arm; curving round, winding round’ (x **wiəŋ** ‘curve, eddy’, from a variant); Palaung (Milne 1931) **viəŋ** ‘to move aimlessly’ (#765 **wiəŋ*). From a prefixed form are Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** ‘curving, winding’; Palaung **kəwəəŋ** ‘coil; to be coiled, to coil’; Khasi **khyrwiang** ‘to go round’.

143. Stieng **rəhiəŋ**, Sre **rəhiəŋ**, Chrau **riyəŋ**, Bunör **rəhyəŋ**, Central Rölöm **hiəŋ**, Biat **rhiaŋ**, Bahnar dialects **hʔrè:ŋ** (etc.), Jeh **re:ŋ**, Halang **reəŋ** ‘hundred’ (#792 **rhiəŋ*).

144. Mon **təŋet** ‘to crush in mill etc.’; Sre **səŋiat** ‘to crush, compress’ (#977 **c[n]ŋiət*).

145. Mon **[pòk] pèn** ‘to be fat, plump’; Khasi **pian** ‘short and stout’ (#1169 **biən*).

146. Mon **krep** ‘to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped’; Khmer **triəp** ‘packed close together’, (?) West Bahnar **jəre:p** ‘to wedge between two props’ (#1279 ***triəp**). Bahnar **kəmrə:p** ‘to be crushed’ reflects an infixed form.

147. Sre **iam** ‘onion’ (#1300 ***[k]ʔiəm**). ***[k]ʔiəm** underlies Jeh **kadiam**, Halang **gədiām** id.

148. Jeh, Halang **liām** ‘good’ (#1401 ***liəm**). Sre **niam** ‘good, well’ reflects ***[l]nliəm**.

149. Stieng, Central Rölöm **ʔiər**, Sre, Biat **iar**, Chrau **ʔyer**, Bunör **ʔyar**, Bahnar **yər**, **iər**, Jeh **ɪl**, Halang **iar**, Khmu Yuan **[hə]yiar** ‘fowl’; Palaung **iər**, Riang-Lang **yer**, Praok **ia**; Khasi **iar** (#1552 ***[]ʔiər**).

150. Theng **pier** ‘to blow’; Riang-Lang **piər** ‘winnowing-tray’ (#1638 ***cpier**). Vietnamese **nia** ‘winnowing-basket’ reflects a nasal-infix form.

Bahnar **ie:** etc. in the following items can be ascribed to a preceding palatal or secondarily palatalized consonant (including one subsequently lost):

151. Sre **tiaŋ**, Stieng, Chrau, Central Rölöm **tiəŋ**, Bunör **cyəŋ**, Biat **ciaŋ**, Bahnar **kieŋ** (most dialects; also **tiəŋ**, **təŋ**, etc.), Jeh **teŋ**, Halang **teaŋ** ‘tail’ (#542 ***t̪iəŋ**).

152. Bahnar **miət** ‘to stop up’ (#1039 ***[c]ʔiət**; cf. with variant vocalism Palaung **kənbət** ‘to block’, and from the simplex e.g. Khmer **bət** ‘to cover, close’, Riang-Lang **bit** ‘id., to stop up’).

Note also Bahnar dialects **təkie:n**, **tətie:n** etc. ‘ring’, with Old Khmer *cancyan*, Modern Mon **cəŋciən**, **cùəŋciən** probably a loan from Austronesian (cf. Malay *chinchin*); otherwise ***cnciən** [] (#1145) and cf. 181.

The effect extends to the context following **h**, where we may assume the laryngeal to have been accompanied by constriction in the palatal region.

153. Sre **hian** ‘asthma, tuberculosis’, Biat **hian** ‘asthma’, Bahnar **hien** (and dialects **sien** inter alia) ‘to cough’; Vietnamese **[bɪnh] hen** ‘asthma’ (#1215 ***hiən**).—Cf. also, dialects **hrieŋ** beside **hərè:ŋ** < ***rhiəŋ**, 143.

The last two instances are perhaps dialectal in origin:

154. Sre (Blood 1966) **klyəŋ**, Bunör **kleŋ**, Central Rölöm **tlieŋ**, Biat **[ndra:ŋ] kleŋ**, Bahnar dialects **klieŋ**, **kleŋ**, Jeh **kleŋ**, Halang **kleaŋ** ‘forehead’ (#731 ***[k]liəŋ**). Sre **biŋlian** id. is connected, but obscurely.

155. Stieng **ləpiət** (Azémar 1886; Blood 1966 has **pəlpiaət**), Sre, Biat **mpiat**, Chrau **ləpiaət**, Bunör **mpyat**, Central Rölöm **piət**, Bahnar dialects **rəpiaət**, **ləpiaət**, **həpiaət**, Jeh **lapiat**, Halang **rəpiaət** ‘tongue’ (#1075 ***l-mp-iət**; the simplex in Palaung (Milne 1931) **leət**, Riang-Lang **liət**, Praok **lēt** ‘to lick’).

The monophthongized reflexes in Bunör and Biat appear to be coincident, so far as our evidence goes. They have been noted in a variety of contexts, broadly similar to those associated with the South Bahnaric lowering of ***ii:** following nasals; liquids and **w**; **nt-**; **r(ə)d-** < ***rd-**; **p**; **kh-**. The items are listed below.

156. Stieng, Bunör, Biat **nə:t**, Central Rölöm **niət** ‘comb’ (#1097 ***s-n-iət**; cf. with variant vocalism Khmer **snət**, Chrau **səni:t**; and Khmer **sət** ‘to comb’). Stieng **nə:t** may be a loanword, as **wər** is assumed to be in 162. Azémar (1886) has **cər** ‘to blow [nose]’, presumably < ***[k][s]iər** ~ ***[k][s]iir**, 111; but this may be a special development following **c-**.

157. Biat **mɛ:ŋ** ‘edge, margin’ (#656 ***r-m-iəŋ**; cf. the simplex in Old Mon *reñ* ‘to arrange’, Modern Mon **rɛaŋ** ‘to form a row, to place in a row’; Khmer **rɪəŋ** ‘continuously, in succession’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **riəŋ** ‘perpetually’; Khasi **riang** ‘in order, in a row’; and for this sense, with variant vocalism, Sre **reŋ**, Bahnar **re:ŋ** ‘to skirt’).

158. Khmer **mɪən** ‘ring, circle’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **mien**, Biat **mɛ:n** (whence Sre **meen**?) ‘ring round haft of dah etc.’ (#1182 ***m[]iən**, perhaps ***m-wiən**, ad ***wiən** 178; Sre then perhaps from a variant ***m-wiin**).

159. Central Rölöm **riək**, Bunör, Biat **rɛ:k** ‘to reap’; Khasi **riah** ‘to pluck [e.g. herbs]’ (#390 ***riək**) .

160. Sre [**daa**] **liəŋ**, Biat **le:ŋ** ‘waterfall’ (#710 ***liəŋ**).

161. Biat **lɛ:r** ‘to jut out, project’; Palaung **liər** ‘to protrude (v.i.t.)’; Vietnamese **lè** ‘to stick [tongue] out’ (#1663 ***liər**; Sre has **liu** ‘to stick out’, from an assimilatory ***liəl**). Riang-Lang **ṭliər** ‘to protrude’ reflects a prefixed form.

Cf. also Bunör, Biat **klɛ:ŋ** < ***[k]liəŋ**), 154.

162. Khmer **vɪə** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Bunör **wɛ:r**, Central Rölöm **wiər** ‘taboo’, Biat **wɛ:r** ‘unlucky’ (whence, or from Bunör, Stieng **wɛ:r**, Sre **wer** ‘taboo’), Bahnar **wɛ:r** ‘to go aside, avoid’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **viər**, Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **viia** id. (#1669 ***wiər**). From prefixed forms are Biat **kwɛ:r** ‘bend’; and Khasi **tawiar** ‘to go round and round’.

163. Mon **həte** ‘to lament’; Biat **ntɛ:r** ‘to cry out, (#1622 ***[g]ntiər**); and from a homophonous nominal formation Middle Mon *gater* ‘long-drawn-out intonation’; Biat **ntɛ:r** ‘cry’. The simplex ***[g]tiər** perhaps in Bahnar **tɛ:r** ‘[lightning] to strike; thunderclap’.

164. Bunör **rədə:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **diəŋ**, Biat **rde:ŋ** ‘to cart’ (#590 ***rdiəŋ**; Palaungic has a variant ***rdiŋ**, for which cf. e.g. Palaung **deŋ** ‘road’).

165. Khmer **biət** ‘to press against, be close to’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **piet** ‘to get one's fingers pinched’, Biat **pɛ:t** ‘to press, squeeze’, West Bahnar **pɛ:t** ‘to squeeze with fingers’; Riang-Lang **ṭpiet** ‘to squeeze, massage’ (#1020 ***piət**). ***[p]mpiət** underlies Biat **mpɛ:t** ‘to press with hands’; Praok **biat** ‘to extract by pressing’.

166. Biat **khɛ:r** ‘burnt [food]’ (#1688 ***khɪər**; cf. Vietnamese *khê*, < ***khɪr**).¹⁵

The Bunör-Biat monophthongization is regular following liquids and **w**, and following nasals if Bunör **ɲiar** ‘top layer of bamboo floor’ is borrowed from Central Rölöm **niər** (#1632 ***tniər**) also following **d**, 164, on the evidence of that single case. Monophthongization following **nt-** (163) does not extend to ***t** in the absence of a nasal affix, which is palatalized in both languages; cf. e.g. 151 ***tiəŋ**, 181 ***tiər**. 165 is anomalous in the light of 141 ***[s]piəŋ**, 155 ***lmpiət**; is Biat **pɛ:t** a loan from Bahnar, and thence by levelling **mpɛ:t**? 166 is equally isolated: contrast 143 ***rhɪəŋ**, and Biat **nchiəŋ** **ka:ŋ** ‘to chew the cud’ ad ***khɪəŋ**.

For Khmuic the evidence is limited; it suggests monophthongization following **k** (velars?) and **h**.

167. Mon **kep** ‘to pinch, grasp with claws’; Khmer **kiəp** ‘to nip, pinch’, Khmu’ **kɛɛp** ‘to grasp with tongs’ (***[c]kiəp**; distinguish ***giəp**, 185). From an infixed form are Middle Mon *sakep*, Modern Mon **həkep** ‘tongs’; Khmu’ **srkɛɛp**; while Bahnar **nɛp** id. shows secondary infixation.

¹⁵ [Editorial note: Shorto revised the reconstruction to derive both Biat and Vietnamese from ***kh[ee]r**.]

168. Khmu' **hɛɛm** 'younger sibling of same sex', Khmu Yuan **hɛɛm** 'younger sibling' (Khmuic ***hiəm**; ~ ***ʔiəm**, > Stieng (Azémar 1886) **iem** 'elder sibling'; Vietnamese *em* 'younger sibling').

Khmu Yuan **ɛt** 'few' is likely to be borrowed from Mường *ét* 'a little' (183) in view of **həyiar** 'fowl' < ***kuən ʔiər** (cf. 149).

Monophthongal reflexes in the Northern Mon-Khmer languages are not necessarily coincident. In particular Praok is apt to show a monophthong where the other two do not, though in some of these cases we ought perhaps to assign Praok to a variant in ***ə**.

For Palaung we have one, seemingly discrepant, instance.

169. Khmu' **hriən**, Khmu Yuan **riən** 'intestines'; Palaung **rɛŋ** (#708 ***[s]riə[ŋ]**). Contrast Palaung **hreən**, Riang-Lang **riən** 'straw', < ***.riən** (Editor's note: ***.riən** appears to related to #693, although it appears that the analysis had changed).

For Riang-Lang we have two.

170. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **siet** 'to cut up [meat]', Sre **siat** 'to cut, sever', Biat **chiat** 'to cut up', West Bahnar **cēt** 'to chop [edibles etc.] obliquely'; Riang-Lang **set** 'to cut, gash' (#981 ***ciət**). This might be attributed to absorption of **i** following the palatal, ***ciət** > ***c'iet** > **set**; there are no counter-examples.

171. Palaung **miəm**, Riang-Lang **məm** 'tea' (prima facie ***miəm**; but Riang-Lang may conceivably reflect a variant ***məəm**).

Praok disagrees with other languages in two instances: **let** 'to lick' < ***liət** (Palaung **leət**, Riang-Lang **liət**; see 155); and **tem** 'to hammer...' < ***tiəm** (Palaung **teəm**; see 114). Palaung or Riang-Lang comparisons are not available in two other items.

172. Praok **ɲet** 'to listen (to), obey' (#942 ***[ɲn-ʔiət]**; the simplex in Stieng (Azémar 1886) **iet** 'to listen to, obey', Sre, Biat **iat** 'to listen to', Chrau **ʔyət**, Bunör **ʔyat**, Central Rölöm **ʔiət** 'to listen, hear').

173. Mon **ken**, **təken** 'finger, toe'; Praok **gen** 'finger' (#1128 ***ŋkiən[]**).

Both these involve earlier prenasalized forms. Contrast, therefore, e.g. Praok **biat** < ***[p]mpiət**, 165.

Instances in which Khasi *e* might be assigned to ***i-** are the following:

174. Old Mon **ckem** 'to grasp, pick up; handful', Modern Mon **kem** 'to grasp'; Khasi **skhem** 'firmly, securely', [**shi**]-**khem** 'handful' (**shi** 'one'); Vietnamese **kém** 'pincers, tweezers' (#1312 ***ckiəm**).

175. Khasi **syrdeng** 'fence, plank partition' (#578 ***t₂-r-diən**; cf. for the simplex Old Mon **taden** 'screen, railing', (in part) Modern Mon **hətəən** '(wall of) twilled bamboo').

176. Mon **kret** 'to creak'; Khmer **kriət** 'creakily'; Khasi **khret-khret** 'grating' (#1064 ***kriət**; a metathetic ***rkiət** underlies Sre **rəkiat**, Biat **rciat** 'to grind, creak, gnash').

177. Khmer **phliən** 'rain, to rain', Tolo Bahnar **ple:ŋ** 'sky'; Khasi **bneng** id.; Mnar **phuyan** (#930 ***[p]liən**).

178. Mon **kəmən** 'cripple'; Khasi **lymmen** 'digitless extremity' (#1208a ***lm-wiən**; the simplex in Mon **wən** 'to be crooked, deformed'; Khmer **viən** 'to curl up tight'; other affixed forms in Bahnar, Vietnamese, Aslian). A variant ***-wənʔ** is attested by Vietnamese **quán** 'to be rolled round, to roll round', but the closest semantic parallel is with the Mon form.

Khasi *ie* in one instance suggests secondary lengthening of *e*:

179. Mon **kəlem** ‘to taste’; Khasi *jylliem*, ‘[dog] to lick lips’, (*[c]rliəm?; the simplex in Bahnar **lə:m** ‘to lick one’s fingertips’; Vietnamese *liếm* ‘to lick’, if not from AnCh. *liam).

The conditions are obscure, and suggest shortening following certain complex initials.

Vietnamese has usually *-e* < *-iər, the only exception being *nia* ‘winnowing-basket’ < *pniər (150). Cf. besides *lè* ‘to stick tongue out’ < *liər, 161:

180. Vietnamese *che* ‘to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter’ (#1592 *ciər; ~ *cir, > Old Mon **cir** ‘to ward [off]’, Middle Mon *cuiw* ‘to screen’, Modern Mon **cɜ** ‘to cover over, to wall’).

181. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **thier** (!), Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** ‘to forge’, Bahnar **tiər**, **tər** ‘to hammer to an edge’; Vietnamese *đe* ‘anvil’ (#1610 *tiər).

182. Riag-Lang **chier** ‘to tear’; Vietnamese *xé* id. (*chiər?).

Before other finals Vietnamese *e* has been noted following laryngeals, velars, and

1. We have besides *em* ‘younger sibling’ < *ʔiəm (168), *bình hen* ‘asthma’ < *hiən (153):

183. Mường *ét* ‘a little’ (whence probably Khmu Yuan *èt* ‘few’; #939 *ʔiət; ~ *-i(i)t, > Sre **it** ‘a little’; Vietnamese *ít*).

184. Vietnamese *ghen* ‘to be jealous, envious’ (#1125 *kiən? Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kien**, Sre **kian**, Biat **cian** ‘to gnaw’).

185. Khmer **kìəp**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **giep**, Bahnar **gɛ:p** ‘to grasp with tongs’; Palaung **giəp** id.; Vietnamese *kẹp* ‘to press, squeeze’ (#1239 *giəp; distinguish *[c]kiəp, 167).

186. Vietnamese *lèn* ‘to stuff, cram in’ (#1197 *liən; *[l]nliən underlies Palaung **niən** ‘to strangle, throttle’, Mon also ‘to roll [rice] into a ball’).

187. Vietnamese *trét* ‘to smear, to caulk’ (#1076 *[k]pliət; cf. for the simplex Old Mon **let**, Modern Mon **lèt** ‘to smear on’; Khmer **liət** [bɔt] ‘to plaster’; and for *k-liət Mon **klet** ‘to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive’; Palaung **kleət** ‘to be smooth, slippery’).

The only obstacles to regarding Vietnamese *e* as regular in these environments are *hiếng* ‘to have a squint’, a slightly suspect derivation from *liəŋ(?) (140, #494); *kiết* [ly] ‘dysentery’ (#960 *[t]kiət; ~ *[t]kiit, > Mon [nɛa] **kit** ‘to have dysentery’, and with infix **həkít** ‘dysentery’); and *liếm* ‘to lick’ ad *[c]liəm? (see 179), perhaps a Chinese loan.

Jeh has **e:**, Halang **ea** in *tiəŋ, 151; *[k]liəŋ, 154; *rhiəŋ, 143. Both have **ia** in *lmpiət, 155; *[k]liəŋ, 147; *liəm, 148. Jeh has **-i:l**, Halang **-iər** in *ʔiər, 149; note further Halang **priəl** (and Jeh **pri:l**, unless from a variant) ‘ice, hail’ < *priəl, 200. It is thus possible that these alternants are conditioned by the nature of the final.

*-iəl. Sre and Biat reflexes of this rhyme presuppose a vocalization of the final similar to that attested in Vietnamese (in monophthongization contexts) *-eo*. We have already referred Sre **liu** ‘to stick out’ to a variant *liəl of *liər (165). Biat has **-i:u**, (in monophthongization context) **-ɛ:u**.

Mon has **-ea**, **-əa**, written **-ey**. Unfortunately the Old Mon reflex of this rhyme is not recorded; but by analogy with Old Mon /i:l/ > Middle Mon **-i** > modern **-ɛe**, **-i**, **-i** it seems likely that **-l** has been lost and that the modern reflexes preserve the ancient

diphthong via Old Mon. (Mon shows distinct reflexes of PMK **-iəw* and **-ew*, the latter corresponding to Old Mon /*ew*/; it is therefore possible that the Old Mon orthography masks a distinction between /*eə*/ and /*e*/ which we have failed to infer.)

Khasi has usually *-ia*, with loss of **-l*, elsewhere reflected as *-n*. In 191 it may have *-ew*, with monophthongization corresponding to that suspected in 174-8.

In the same item Vietnamese has *-êu*, apparently corresponding to *-iê-* in other contexts.

188. Mon *ea s'ey* 'to wither, become withered, dry up'; Jølong Bahnar *yəl* 'poor harvest'; Vietnamese, Mường *héo* 'to wilt, dry up, wither' (#1697**[c]ʔiəl* []).

189. Biat *rʔi:u* 'to become rancid'; Khmu Yuan *pə'ial* 'smell of fish' (#1698 **prʔiəl*).

190. Mon *rəa rey* 'to cut up'; Khasi *ria* 'small, broken' (#1786 **riəl*).

191. Mon *krea* 'sarus crane'; Khmer *kriəl*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) [*peʔ*] *kriəl*, Biat [*kla:ŋ*] *kre:u* 'crane'; Vietnamese *sếu* id. (#1788 **kriəlʔ*; conn. probably Khasi *sarew* id., with obscure initial).

Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. In addition to instances already noted in passing, some illustrative examples follow. The simple vowel may be long or short, or both.

192. **priiŋ* 'oil, fat', see 95.

**priəŋ*: Palaung *preəŋ* 'fat, to be delicious', Riāng-Lāng *ṽpriəŋ* 'to be delicious'. Khasi has *phniang* 'oil-seed', perhaps by metathesis from a nasal-infix form.

193. **pliŋ*: Rōngao *pliŋ* 'sky'; Palaung *plen*, Riāng-Lāng *ṽplen* id. (#930)

**[p]liiŋ*: Jēh, Halang *pli:ŋ* id.; Temiar *balik*.

**[p]liəŋ*, see 177.

194. *kdiit* and *kdiət* 'small', see 96. (#1016)

**kdiət*: Khmu' *liat*, Khmu Yuan *liət* 'to be short'; Palaung *diət* 'to be small'; Mường *đét* 'small'. From an infixed form are Riāng-Lāng *ṽkəndiət* 'to be small'; Khasi *khyndiat* 'a little, few' (= *khyndit*, ad var.); and by contraction Vietnamese *nhất* 'to be small'.

195. **krit*: Bahnar *krit* 'creakily'; and **kriit*: Khmer *kre:t* id. (Tandart; not Vacananukram Khmer). (#1064)

**kri-t*, see 180.

196. **sliŋ*: Vietnamese *lên*, Mường *lênh* 'to go up'. (#1207)

**sliəŋ*: Khmu Yuan *lian* 'to go out; out'; and with secondary prefixation Praok *klian* 'to lift'.

197. **bciip*: Mon *cip* 'to be set edge to edge'; Bahnar *ji:p* 'joined edge to edge'. (#1245)

**bciəp*: Palaung (Milne 1931) *siəp* 'to pile neatly, to lay one thing on another in a pile'; Khasi *bsiap* 'to put between two things, to insert', *siap* 'to insert'.

198. **ci(i)m* 'bird', see 135. (#1324)

ciəm*: Kuy *səem*, Bahnar *sə:m* id.; and by contraction from **kuən ciəm* Old Mon *kiñcem*, Modern Mon *həcem* id. (Biat has *chium*, for expected *chiam*.)

199. **wir*: Khmu Yuan *wer*[*kaay*] (!) 'to turn (v.i.)'; Vietnamese *về*, Mường *wêl* 'to return'. Bahnar *rəwir* 'to stir' is from a prefixed form. (#1669)

***wiir**: Bahnar **wiir** ‘to twist’. Vietnamese *vi*, in compounds, ‘to surround; circumference’ is from a prefixed form. Praok **vi** ‘to visit’ and Khasi **wir** ‘astray’ may reflect either of these two variants.

***wiər** ‘to turn aside, avoid, go round’, see 166.

200. ***pril**: Khmer **prùl** ‘hail’ (x ***brii?** ‘rain’); Praok **pre** id. (#1791)

***priəl**: Bahnar **prəl** id., Hal **prial** (and probably Jeh **pri:l**) ‘ice, hail’; Palaung **preər** ‘hail’, Khasi **phria** ‘hailstone’.

201. ***wil** ‘to turn round...’, see 131; and ***wiil** id., see 107. (#1794)

***wiəl**: Khmer **viəl** ‘to dig round, cut round, to enlarge [hole]’; Riang-Lang **viəl** ‘to turn round’; Vietnamese *vẹo* ‘to be twisted, crooked, distorted’. Note among reflexes of prefixed forms Bahnar **kuəl** ‘enclosure’; **kəwəl** ‘small and bent’, probably cognate with Palaung **kərvilər** ‘to encircle, surround’.

Back Vowels before -h and -s

***-uh** ***-uuh** ***-uəh**. Although ***-uh** and ***-uuh** are merged in Khmer and probably North Bahnaric and Aslian, distinct reflexes have been noted for most other languages. A straightforward length distinction is found in Stieng, Chrau and Sre, and the South Bahnaric languages as a whole show characteristic reflex sets:

	* -uh	* -uuh
Stieng	-oh	-o:h
(Azémar	-uh	-u:h)
Sre	-uh (-oh)	-u:h
Chrau	-uh	-u:h
Cent. Rələm	-əh	-uh
Bunör	-uh (-oh)	-oh
Biat	-oh (-uh)	-uh

***-uh**. For South Bahnaric see above. old Mon has /**uuh**/ (merging ***oh**: below), whence modern **-əh -əh** (merging Old Mon /**əh**/ < ***əəh**; /**əs**/), by post-nasal split **-uh -ùh**. Khmer has **-oh -ùh**, written *-uh*; in the spoken language merging with *-us* < ***-us** as well as with ***-uuh**. Kuy has **-uh -ùh**.

North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-o:h, -u:h**, Jeh and Halang **-uh, -ùh**; Bahnar vowel height and Jeh/Halang register are not consistently correlated. The origin of the variation (further discussed below) is obscure. It might be attributed to length variation; from ***-uuh** we find only Bahnar **-u:h**, Jeh, Halang **-ùh**. Khmuic has **-uh**, following dental **-oh**.

The Palaungic reflexes are difficult to codify. Riang-Lang in two instances has **-o**; but more often **-u**, as < ***-uuh**. Riang-Lang **-a** < ***-ah** suggests that this may result from normal compensatory lengthening following the loss of ***-h**. Palaung has variously **-uuh, -oh, -əh, -uh**. If we assume **-uh** always to reflect (variant) ***-uuh**, and the two instances of **-əh** variant ***-uəh**, the remaining reflexes appear as contextually determined: **-oh** following dental, **-uuh** otherwise. Similarly, if Praok **-u** reflects variant ***-uuh** and **-ə** variant ***-uəh**, **-o** is left as the regular reflex of ***-uh**.

Khasi has *-ut* /**ut**/; Vietnamese *-ô* with *hỏi* or *ngã* tone. Finally, in Aslian we note variously Northern **-uh**; Southern **-ɔh**, **-uh**; Central **-əh**, **-uh** (and in Temiar **-əh**, with seemingly automatic lengthening).

Examples:

202. Sre **tuh**, Biat **toh**, Bahnar **tu:h** ‘to pour out’; Mường *tổ*, Vietnamese *đổ* ‘id., to spill’; Temiar **təh** ‘rain’ (#2003 ***tuh**).

203. Khmer **pùh** ‘to boil, bubble’, Bahnar **bu:h** ‘welling up’ (#2038 ***buh** &c.); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer **pəpuh** ‘foam’; ‘Central Sakai’ **buboh** ‘id., froth’; (ii) Mon **həbɔh** id. (< ***brɔh**; —> Cham **parapə:h**); (iii) Stieng (Azémar 1886) **səmbuh**, Biat **mbuh**, East Bahnar **kəmu:h** id. Vietnamese *mủ* ‘pus’ reflects a long-vowel variant, as Khmer, Bahnar, and Aslian may do.

204. Old Mon *moḥ* &c. /**mu:h**/, Modern Mon **mùh** ‘nose’; Kuy **mùh**, Stieng (a.), Sre, Chrau **muh**, Central Rölöm **məh**, Bunör (← ?), Biat **moh**, Bahnar **mu:h**, Jeh, Halang **mùh**, Khmu’ **muh** id.; Khasi *’mut*; Temiar **məh** (#2045 ***muh**); and from a prefixed form Khmer **crəmoh**, Stieng **trəmoh** (Azémar 1886 **trəmuh**) id. Palaung (Milne 1931) **muh** presumably reflects a long-vowel variant (as Khmer, Kuy, Bunör, and North Bahnaric also may do), Vietnamese *mũi* (***muus**).

205. ‘Central Sakai’ **loh** ‘perforated’ (#2069 ***luh**; add perhaps Riang-Lang **lu** ‘hole, pit’; Vietnamese *lỗ* ‘hole’); prefixed formations include (i) Mon **klɔh** ‘to penetrate’ (~ Old Mon *kirloḥ* /**kərlu:h**/ id.; cf. also ii); Khmer **khloh**, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kluh** ‘to pierce bullock’s nose’; (ii) Mon **klɔh** ‘to be penetrated’ (if ≠ ‘to penetrate’, i); Khmer **thlùh** ‘to be pierced through’; (iii) Sre **bluh** ‘hole, perforation’, Biat **bloh** ‘having a hole in’, ~ Bahnar **bəlo:h** ‘hole, perforation; to make a hole in’; (iv) Bahnar **hlo:h** ‘perforated, open’; Temiar **səluh** ‘to shoot with blowpipe’. Cognate with (i), (ii) or (iv) is Riang-Lang **lo** ‘to pierce, penetrate’ (~ Palaung **kərlhɔh** ‘to penetrate’, with presumed variant vocalism), and with (ii) or (iv) Khasi [*pei*] *syllut* ‘clean through’.

Variant reflexes: South Bahnaric. Sre has **-oh** following (*)nasal + glottalized consonant, in **səndoh** ‘to jump’ < ***[s]-n-ɗuh** (~ Khmer **stùh**); and probably sometimes following **r**. Biat has **-uh** only in **mbuh** < ***sn-ɗuh** (no. 203 above), i.e. in the same context as Sre **səndoh**; the Stieng cognate militates against assuming length variation here. Bunör **-oh** is attested only in **moh** (no. 204), against four instances of **-uh**, and is probably to be explained either by borrowing from Biat or by length variation.

North Bahnaric. If the divergent reflexes in North Bahnaric are to be attributed to length variation, which is formally possible, an unusually high frequency of variation must be assumed; the hypothesis seems *prima facie* unlikely. The divergence does not appear to be contextually conditioned. Bahnar **tu:h** < ***tuh** (no. 202) contrasts with **to:h** ‘to hit, beat’ < ***tuh** (: Palaung **toh**, Riang-Lang **tu** ‘to pound’), while the same root ***btuh** (#2008) yields the Bahnar doublets **do:h** ‘to explode’, **du:h** ‘pus; to suppurate’. Note also the divergence in reflexes of ***ruh** (#2051) and its prefixed formations: Bahnar **ru:h**, Jeh, Halang **ruh** ‘to fall’; Bahnar **pro:h** ‘to gush out’, beside West Bahnar **pru:h** ‘to squirt from mouth’; Jeh **kadrùh** ‘to jump down’, Halang **gədrùh** ‘to fall’. (The simplex correspondence here should be contrasted with that in no. 204 above.)

***-uuh.** Khmer has ***-uh**; Old Mon has /**uh**/, whence modern **-aoh -uh -ùh**. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-u:h**, Jeh and Halang **-ùh**. Khmuic: Khmu Yuan has apparently **-ɔh -ɔ̃h**. In Palaungic Palaung has **-uh**, Riang-Lang **-u**; Praok **-u** may reflect variant ***-uuh** (above). Khasi has **-ud** /**u:t**/; Vietnamese **-u** with *hỏi* or *ngã* tone.

Kuy and Aslian reflexes are unknown. Note that North Bahnaric and Riang-Lang are, probably, ambiguous as between ***-uh**, ***-uuh**.

Examples:

206. Riang-Lang **ṽu** ‘[dogs] to howl’; Khasi **ud** ‘to groan, complain, [insect] to whine. (#1959 ***-uuh**).

207. Khmer **kəpəcùh kañjuh**, West Bahnar **rəyuh** (→ Jar. **rəyuh**) ‘to shake’; Vietnamese **giũ** ‘to shake [dust, water] off’ (#1995 ***[r]njuuh**). ***-uuh** rests on Vietnamese Mon **kəyòh** ‘to shake off’ reflects a variant ***[r]njuəh** or ***[r]njəh**.

208. Mon **taoh** ‘to rub, scrub, scour’; Khmer **doh** *tus*: ‘to rub, polish’ (#2004 ***t₁uuh**); and from an affixed form Khmu Yuan **həntəh** ‘to rub’. Thai **thúu** confirms Khmer ***-h** in spite of the spelling.

209. Stieng **to:h**, Chrau **tu:h**, Bunör **toh**, Central Rölöm, Biat **tuh**, Jeh, Halang **toh** ‘bean’ (#2002 ***t₁uuh**). Bahnar **tə:h** probably reflects a variant ***təh**.

210. Bahnar **tru:h** ‘to arrive at, reach’, Jeh **trùh** ‘to come, arrive’, Halang **trùh** ‘to arrive’; Palaung **hluh** id., Riang-Lang **ṽtru** ‘to come’ (#2079 ***t₁luuh**). Here ***-uuh** rests on Palaung

Length variation. Isolated or perhaps isolated long-vowel variants were noted in nos. 203, 204 above. Some further illustrations follow.

211. ***guh**: Palaung (Milne 1931) **guh** ‘to open, to swell’, Praok **go** [gluŋ] ‘to swell’; ~ ***guuh**: Mon **kùh** ‘to swell up’; Palaung (Milne 1931) **guh** = **guh**. (#1976)

212. ***buh**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **buh** ‘ash’; from affixed forms (i) Mon **həpəh** ‘dust, powder, spoil’; (ii) Stieng (Azémar 1886) **nbuh** ‘ash’, Sre **kəmbuh** ‘powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy’; ~ ***buuh**: Sre **buh**, Biat **buh**, Khmu Yuan **pəh** ‘ash’. (#2034)

213. ***khuh**: Sre **khuh**, Biat **khoh** ‘to boil (v.i.)’; ~ ***khuuh**: Sre **khuh** (Blood 1966, ~ **khuh**), Bunör **khoh**, Central Rölöm **khuh** id.

***-uəh.** Constructions of ***-uəh** are relatively infrequent, and are usually variants of other finals. The following are probable reflexes: Old Mon /**oh**/, whence modern **-uh**; following consonant cluster usually /**ɔh**/, whence modern **-ɔh**; Khmer **-oh**, written *-uh*; perhaps also, or in complementary distribution, (**-ɔh**?) **-ùəh**, written *-oh*; Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **-ɔh**, Sre **-oh**, **-uəh**; Bahnar **-u:ah** (and dialectally **-u:əh**, **-ɔ:ah**), **-ɔ:h**, Jeh (and Halang?) **-oh**; (Palaung **-ɔh**, p. **uh** 2), Praok (**-ɔ**, ib.; **-ua**?).

Isolated variants were noted in nos. 205 and perhaps 207 above. I add here:

214. Khmer **doh** *duh* ‘to grow, germinate’, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **təh**-[mat] ‘germ of cereal, bud’ (# ***tuəh**).¹⁶

215. Stieng **təh** ‘to explode’, Sre **toh** ‘cutaneous eruption’ (#2008 ***bt₁uəh**); and from infixed forms (i) Chrau **ntəh** ‘to explode’; (ii) Sre **bərtəh**, Bunör **rətəh**, Central

¹⁶ [Editorial note: this comparison was deleted in the author’s revision of the comparative lexicon.]

Rölöm **təh**, Biat **rtəh** id. Khmer **phtùh phduh** ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’ may rather reflect the variant ***btuh** (also in Mon, Bahnar, Palaungic).

216. Bahnar **prə:h** ‘outflow’ (***p-ruəh**); with a different prefix Sre **səkrəh** ‘to shake down’ (***[s]p-ruəh**). Praok **phrua** ‘to sprinkle’ may be cognate with Sre, or, with **khrua** ‘to shake off’, **grua** ‘to drop, fall away’, be assignable to an ***s-** suffix formation attested by e.g. Khmer **prùəh bruəs** ‘to squirt from mouth’ (with which Mon **pruh proh** id. is probably cognate). Variant of ***ruh** &c. (#2051).

217. Khmer **soh suh**, Sre **soh** ‘empty’, East Bahnar **sə:h** ‘empty, stripped’ (#2088 ***suəh**); and from an affixed form Jeh **sasoh** ‘idle’ (and Halang **səsoh** ‘only’?). Biat **chə:i:h** reflects ***suəs** (< ***suəh-suəh**?).

***-us** &c. Even in languages in which PMK ***-s** is not preserved as such, reflexes distinct from those of ***-h** occur following back vowels in most cases. There is thus relatively little difficulty in discriminating between the two finals in reconstruction.

***-us**. The following are considered to be reflexes of ***-us**: Old Mon /**ø̄s**/, whence modern **-əh -əh**; Khmer **-oh**, written **-us**; Kuy **-ùh**; Sre **-us, -os**, Biat **-uih**; Palaung **-ur, -or**, Riang-Lang **-əs, -os**; Praok **-aw**; Khasi **-ut**; Vietnamese **-ôi** with *hỏi* or *ngã* tone. The low frequency of the rhyme compared with ***-uus** may reflect the development of the latter from earlier suffixed forms in some cases: ***-uus** < ***-uh-s**, &c. All instances of ***-us** noted are variants (except perhaps no. 223 below); it is therefore possible that some of the Bahnaric and Aslian forms reconstructed with long vowel in fact reflect ***-us**.

Variant reflexes: Sre has **-os** following **r**, **-us** elsewhere. The conditioning of the Palaungic reflexes is unclear; within the limited material Palaung **-ur** corresponds to Riang-Lang **-əs**, Palaung **-or** to Riang-Lang **-os**.

Examples will be found in the sections on variation below; I note here:

218. Palaung **kror** ‘paddy-storage basket’, Praok **kraw** ‘granary’ (***krus**). Bahnaric has an apparent variant in ***-h**: Sre **krüh** ‘small kind of carrying-basket’, Bahnar **krə:h** ‘special large kind of carrying-basket’.¹⁷

***-uus**. Old Mon has /**us**/, whence modern **-uh -ùh**. Khmer has **-ù:h**, written **-ūs**; **-aoh**, written **-os**; Kuy has **-u:h**.

South Bahnaric: Sre has **-ous**; Bunör and Central Rölöm have **-uih**; Stieng, Chrau, Biat have **-uih, -oih**. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-uih, -oih**, Jeh and Halang **-uyh**.

Palaungic: Palaung has **-ur**, Riang-Lang **-us**; Praok **-u** in one instance reflects ***-uus** or less probably ***-uuh**, **-ə** in another may reflect ***-uus** or ***-uəs**. Khasi has **-ud**. Vietnamese **-ũi** is presumed to reflect ***-uus** in no. 204 above.

In Aslian I have noted Northern **-os**; Central (Temiar) **-ōs, -ūs**.

The splits in Khmer and Biat are compatible with those found before other non-laryngeal finals. Those in Stieng and Chrau are difficult to interpret for paucity of evidence.

Again, virtually all instances involve variation; examples should be sought in the relevant sections.

¹⁷ [Editorial note: Shorto subsequently revised the reconstruction to ***[k]ruh** (#2054).]

Length variation. Examples:

219. ***pʔus**: Vietnamese *ô* ‘guava tree’; ~ ***pʔuus**: Sre **pə’ous** id. (#1876)

220. *[**r**]kus: PalMon [**i**]kur ‘porcupine’; from an infix form Riang-Lang **rəŋkəs** id.; ~ *[**r**]kuus: Temiar **kūs** id. Khasi *dyngkhied* reflects a variant in *-**iəs** (as Danaw **təŋkiet** suggests), or one in *-**əs** with secondary lengthening. (#1883)

221. ***ʔus**: Mon **bəh** ‘to boil (v.t.)’; ~ ***ʔuus**: Palaung **bur**, Riang-Lang **bus** ‘foam, froth’; Temiar **būs** ‘bubbles’. (Earlier ***ʔuh-s**; for ***ʔuh** see no. 203 above; *-**s** causative is assumed in Mon) (#2038)

222. ***t-p-rus**: Khmer **proh prus** ‘male’ (Danaw **pʔrəh** is a loan, probably from an unattested Riang-Lang form); and ***t-m-rus**: Old Khmer *tamrus*, Kuy **ntrūh** id.; ~ ***truus**: Old Mon *trūs* &c. /**trus**/, Modern Mon **kraoh** id.; Khmer **traoh tros** ‘male, ungelded [animal]’; and with **p**-infix Khmer **praoh** ‘male’. (#1940)

In the following instance it is possible that only a short-vowel form should be reconstructed, since the Stieng and North Bahnaric reflexes of *-**us** are not known.

223. ***mus** or ***muus**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **mu:ih**, Sre **mus**, Biat **mu:ih** ‘to clear [forest]’, Bahnar **mu:ih** ‘clearing of forest’, Jeh, Halang **mu:yh**. (#1922)

*-**uəs**. Old Mon has /**os**/, whence modern **-uh**; following consonant cluster usually /**ɔs**/, whence modern **-ɔh -òh**. Khmer has **-ù:əh**, written *-uas*.

South Bahnaric: the following are considered to be normal reflexes: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **-u:əh**, **-o:əh**, **-oəh**, Sre **-oas**, Biat **-ɔ:ih**. North Bahnaric: Bahnar has **-ɔ:ih**, Jeh and Halang **-uayh**. Khmu’ has **-ueh**, Khmu Yuan **-uas**.

us 4

Palaungic: Palaung has **-uər**, Riang-Lang **-uas**. Praok has **-ua**, **-uua**; **-ɔ** is a contextually determined reflex of either *-**uus** or *-**uəs**. Vietnamese has **-oi** with *hỏi* tone.

Aslian: I have noted Che’ Wong (Northern) **-əwas**; Semai (Central) **-ɔs** may reflect *-**uəs** or perhaps *-**uus**.

Examples:

224. ***t₁uəs**: Old Mon *tos* /**tos**/ ‘to utter, proclaim’; with nasal infix (***tntuəs**) Praok **dua** ‘to assert’. (#1899)

225. ***puəs**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **poəh** [jə:ŋ], Jeh, Halang **puayh** ‘calf of leg’; Palaung **puər** [grɔŋ]. (The Stieng short vowel is exceptional.) (#1913)

226. ***kruəs**: Khmer **kru:əh** *kruəs*, Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kro:əh** ‘gravel’; Vietnamese *sỏi* ‘pebble, gravel’. Mon **kreh** reflects a front-vowel variant. (#1936)

227. ***[ts]uəs**: Sre **yoas** ‘dah’; Palaung [bot] **suər**, Riang-Lang **chuas**, **tsuas** ‘knife, dagger’. (#1953)

In the following instance Bahnaric shows variants in *-**uəs**, *-**was**; the latter is probably secondary.

228. ***r[]uəs**: Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ru:əh**, Jeh, Halang **ruayh** ‘elephant’. ***rwas**: Stieng **rwe:ih**, Sre **rəwas**, Chrau **rəwe:ih**, Bunör, Biat **rweh**, Bahnar dialects **ruo:ih**, **rə:ih**, **roə:ih** id. Bahnar **ro:ih**, dial. **ru:ih**, reflects ***ruus**, which is less readily explained if ***rwas** is the primary form; while Vietnamese *con voi* may be evidence for a metathetic ***swuər** (from earlier ***ruw[a]s**?). (#1930)

Variation between simple vowel and diphthong. Examples:

229. ***ʔus:** Khmer **oh** *us* ‘firewood’; ~ ***ʔuus:** Kuy **ʔu:h**, Sre **ous** ‘fire’; Temiar **ʔōs** id.; ~ ***-uəs:** Middle Mon **’oh** /**ʔoh**/, Modern Mon **uh** ‘firewood’. (#1872)

230. ***ɲus:** Praok **[sin]** **ɲaw** ‘wealth’; ~ ***ɲuus:** Old Mon **nūs** &c. /**ɲus**/, Modern Mon **ɲùh** ‘price’; ~ ***ɲuəs:** Palaung **ɲuər** id. Praok **ɲɔ** id. reflects ***ɲuus** or ***ɲuəs**. (#1886)

231. ***puus:** Sre **nus** ‘heart’; ~ ***p-n-uus:** Stieng **[pi]nu:h**, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **nu:h** id.; Khasi **’nud** ‘liver, heart, mind’; ~ ***p-n-uəs:** Palaung **nuər**, Rieng-Lang **[kə]nuas** ‘heart’; and with **-m-** infix Old Mon **pumas** /**pəməs**/ id., Modern Mon **[kətaŋ]** **kəmɔh** (beside **kon kəmɔʔ**, by s.p.). Semai **nōs** ‘liver’ may reflect ***pnuus** or ***pnuəs**. (#1912)

232. ***t₂puus:** Old Khmer **pos**, Modern Khmer **baoh** *pos* ‘to sweep’ (with vocalism by levelling on **ɔmbaoh** ‘broom’), Stieng **po:h** (Azémar 1886 **pu:h**) id.; and from affixed forms (i) Bahnar dialects **hapu:h** &c. id.; (ii; ***t₂puus** > ***t₁mpuus** by metath. > ***p₁muus** >) Chrau **bo:h** id.; ~ ***tpuəs:** Middle Mon **twah**, Modern Mon **kwɔh** id. (or ***tpəs**, for which cf. e.g. Sre **pəs**); and with secondary infixation Stieng (Azémar 1886) **brənu:h** ‘broom’. (A front-vowel variant ***t₂piis** is seen in Palaungic: Palaung **pir**, &c., and in Bunör **mpih** ‘broom’.) (#1916)

***-ɔh.** No differentia have been found for ***-ɔh**, ***-ɔɔh**. I write ***-ɔh** in all cases, which should be understood as subsuming the strict formula ***-ɔ(ɔ)h**.

Differentia for ***-ɔh**, ***-oh** have been found so far only in Mon, Biat, and (inferentially and on scanty material) in Kuy. Old Mon has /**ɔh**/ < ***-ɔh**, /**uh**/ < ***-oh**; Biat respectively **-ɔh**, **-oh**. Kuy ***-ɔh** < ***-ɔh** contrasts with **-o:h**, which in no. 240 below reflects either a variant in ***-oo**h or else ***-oos** < ***-oh-s**. (Further differentia will be proposed for ***-oh** ≠ ***-oo**h.)

The reflexes of ***-ɔh** in other languages are Khmer **-ɔh** **-ùəh**, written **-oh**; Sre **-oh**, all other South Bahnaric languages **-ɔh**; Bahnar **-ɔ:h**, **-ɔh**, Jeh and Halang correspondingly **-oh**, **-uh**; Khmuic **-oh**; Palaung **-oh**, Rieng-Lang **-ɔ**; Khasi **-ot**; South Aslian **-uh**, Central **-oh**. Praok and Vietnamese reflexes have not been determined.

Examples:

233. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **ɔh** ‘younger brother’, Sre **oh**, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔɔh**, Biat **ɔh**, Bahnar **ɔ:h**, Jeh, Halang **oh** ‘younger sibling’ (#1957 ***ʔɔh**).

234. Stieng (Azémar 1886) **kɔh** ‘to cut, lop’, Sre **koh** ‘to cut (down, up)’, Biat **kɔh** ‘to cut (up, off)’, Bahnar **kɔ:h** ‘to cut’, Jeh **koh** ‘to chop’, Halang **koh** ‘to chop, cut’, Theng **koh** ‘to cut (up)’, Palaung **koh** ‘to cut (down, off)’, Semai **koh** ‘to cut’ (#1969 ***kɔh**); and from affixed forms Khasi **dkhot** ‘part, piece, member’; **lyngkhot**, **lyngkot** ‘piece’.

235. Old Mon **tohh** /**tɔh**/, Modern Mon **tɔh** ‘breast’; Old Khmer **toh**, Modern Khmer **dɔh** **doh**, Sre **toh**, Stieng (Azémar 1886), Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat, Bahnar **tɔh**, Jeh, Halang **tuh** id.; Mah Meri **tuh** (#1999 ***t₁ɔh**).

236. Sre **boh**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **bɔh**, Bahnar **bɔ:h**, Jeh, Halang **boh** ‘salt’ (#2037 ***bɔɔh**).¹⁸

¹⁸ [Editorial note: Shorto later revised his analysis to distinguish a long vowel in this case.]

*-ɔs, *-ɔʔs, *-ɔs is tentatively reconstructed in the two following cases; either might alternatively be reconstructed *-ɔs. (The Khmer vowel-shift does not operate before a spirant.)

237. Khmer **tùəh** *das'* (and *doh*) 'to dam' (#1902 ***[j]t[ɔ]s**); and from affixed forms (i) Khmer **thnùəh** 'fish-weir, fish-crawl, of branches'; (ii) Mon **hətəh** 'dry-dam fish-trap'.

238. Mon **kləh** 'to throw (at, away)' (#1948 ***cl[ɔ]s**); and from an infixed form Khmer **crələh** *cralas'* 'to throw, hurl'.

*-ɔʔs is reconstructed in the following case, on the assumption that the Biat vocalism before *-s parallels that before *-h.

239. Sre **loos** (and **los**), Biat **lɔ:ih** 'iron' (***lɔʔs**).

*-oh. The following reflexes of *-oh have been established (for the distinction from *-ɔh see above): Old Mon /**uəh**/ (as < *-uh); Khmer, Stieng, Sre as < *-ɔh, Biat **-oh**; Bahnar **-ɔ:h** (dialectally **-o:ih**), Jeh and Halang **-oh**; Praok **-o**; Vietnamese -ô with hỏi tone.

Only two certain cases are known:

240. Middle Mon **loh** /**luəh**/ 'to uncoil (v.t.)', Modern Mon **ləh** 'to come unwound'; Old Khmer **loh** 'to free', Modern Khmer **lùəh loh** 'to redeem, ransom' (#2067 ***loh**); and from prefixed forms inter alia (i) Old Mon **pluh** &c. 'to attain Buddhahood', Modern Mon **pləh** 'to come unwound, to unwind'; Stieng (Azémar 1886) **pləh** 'to peel off, skin', Sre **pləh** [bəs] '[snake's] slough', Bahnar dialects **plɔ:ih**, **plə:ih** 'to open, undo, undress'; Praok **plo** 'to rise in baking'; Vietnamese **trổ** 'to shoot forth, sprout'; (ii) Bahnar **klɔ:ih** '[scab] to come away'. Bahnar dialects **plə:ih** = **plɔ:ih** reflects a form with *-s suffix (***pləh-s** > ***pləʔs**; → Achinese **plə:ih** 'to unfasten, unroll, take off'); Kuy **plə:ih** 'to swell' perhaps more probably a long-vowel variant.

241. Biat, Jeh, Halang **loh** 'to go out'; Palaung **ləh** 'to go, come' (#2068 ***loh**).

Items for which no reflexes from criterion languages are available are reconstructed with *-**[ɔ]h**.

*-ooh. The reconstruction of *-ooh is supported by two items, one of them tentative. The reflexes are Old Mon /**oh**/ (as < *-uəh); Khmer **-ɔh** (as < *-ɔh, *-oh); Palaung **-oh** (?), Praok **-o**; Vietnamese -o with hỏi tone.

242. Old Mon **poh** /**poh**/, Modern Mon **puh** 'to shoot with pellet-bow'; Khmer **bəh** *poh* 'to throw, to gin [cotton]'; Praok [ak] **po** 'bow' (***pooh**); and from an infixed form Mon **nuh** 'pellet-bow'; Khmer **phnəh** 'bow for beating cotton'; Vietnamese **nỏ** 'crossbow'.

243. Middle Mon **thəbəh** /**təbəh**/ 'cake of rice-flour', Modern Mon [kwaiŋ] **həbuh** 'rice-flour'; (?) Palaung (Milne 1931) **kərbəh** 'airborne dust, to be dusty' (***t[ɪ]bəh**). Though the Palaung comparison is tentative, there is support in Munda for the reconstruction.

No reconstructions of *-os, *-oos are made apart from the suffixed variant (Bahnar dialects **-o:ih**) under no. 240.

[End of manuscript—Eds.]

Part 2 Consonantism

We reconstruct the following consonant system for PMK:

*/	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	b	d	j	g	
	ɓ	ɗ			
	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	w	r l	y		
		s		h	/

Final consonants have already been treated in Part 1¹; neither voiced plosives nor glottalized *ɗ, *ɓ are reconstructed in final position. Here we shall consider first the reflexes at C₁ in forms with the structure *CVC. All the above consonants may be reconstructed in this position.

1 STRUCTURE *CVC

1.1 Voiceless plosives: *k *c *t *p

*k, *t, *p are preserved in most of the languages compared. The main exceptions are that (i) in Khasi they are reflected by voiceless aspirates **kh**, **th**, **ph**; (ii) in Khmer and Vietnamese (but not in Mường) *t, *p are glottalized: **ɗ**, **ɓ** in the Khmer transcription, **đ**, **b** in the Vietnamese. Vietnamese /k/ is written *c* or *k* according to the following vowel. (For divergences in the Biat and Lawa reflexes of *k, *t see below.)

In Mon, Khmer and Khmu Yuan (not in some other Khmuic dialects) words with these initials have head register, unmarked in the transcriptions. In Riang-Lang they have high tone, and in Vietnamese and Mường tones of the ‘high’ series: ngang, sắc, hỏi.

These reflexes are illustrated in the following examples:

‘Fish’: Old Mon *ka(ʔ)*, Modern Mon **kaʔ**, Khmer **ka:-[moŋ &c.]** (in specific names), Sre **ka**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:**, Theng, Palaung **ka**, Riang-Lang **kaʔ**, Praok **ka**, Lawa **kaʔ**, Khasi *ʔkha* (~ *dohkha*), Mường, Vietnamese *cá*, Temiar **ka:ʔ** (16 *kaʔ).

‘Child’: Old Mon *kon*, Modern Mon **kon**, Khmer **ko:n**, Sre **kon** (loanword?), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kɔ:n**, Jeh **ko:n**, Halang **koan**, Khmu Yuan **kɔ:n**, Palaung **kuən**, Riang-Lang **kuan**, Praok **kɔn**, Lawa **kuan**, Khasi **khun**, Mường, Vietnamese *con*, Temiar **kəwɔt** (#1127 *kuun, *kuən).

¹ [Editorial note: the typescript of Part 1, as it came to us, lacked a discussion of final consonants, so that we are left with what can be surmised from the reconstructions presented in the comparative lexicon (Part 3).]

‘To pluck, break off, cut’: Khmer **kac** ‘to break [rigid object]’, Sre **kac** ‘to harvest [hill paddy]’, Biat **kac** ‘to strip [grain from ear]’, Bahnar dial. **kɛ:c** ‘to cut with scissors, strip [leaves, grain], harvest’, Riang-Lang **kac** ‘to break (v.i.), to tear (v.t.)’, Khasi **kheit** ‘to pluck, gather’, Mường **cách**, Vietnamese **cắt** ‘to cut up’ (#800 ***kac**).

Cf. for ***k-** also #18, #278-#281, #317, #495-#506, #779-#803, #889-#893, #956-#963, #1125-#1129, #1231-#1238, #1308-#1313, #1442-#1447, #1564-#1573, #1702-#1712, #1814-#1820, #1967-#1973.

‘Hand, arm’: Old Mon **tey**, Modern Mon **toa**, Khmer **day**, Sre **ti**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ti:**, Khmu Yuan **ti?**, Palaung **ti**, Riang-Lang **ti?**, Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tai?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **te?**, Temiar from nasal-suffix form **ti:k** (#66 ***t₁ii?**). Khasi has **ti** by levelling on the prefixed form **kti**, where **-t-** is regular (see below). Mường **thay**, Vietnamese **tay**, < #244 ***sii[?]**, are not cognate.

‘To weave, plait, twill’: Mon **tan**, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ta:n**, Jeh, Halang **ta:n**, Khmu Yuan **ta:n**, Riang-Lang **ta:n**, Praok **ta:n**, Lawa **ta:n**, Khasi **thaiñ**, Mường **tanh**, Vietnamese **đan**, Temiar **ta:c** (#898 ***ta:n**).

‘Breast’: Old Mon **tohh**, Modern Mon **tōh**, Khmer **dōh**, Sre **toh**, Chrau **tōh** (in **da:?** **tōh** ‘milk’), Biat, Bahnar **tōh**, Jeh, Halang **tuh**, Praok **tu** (?), Lawa Umpai **taus**, Lawa Mae Sariang **tauh** (#1927 ***t₁ōh**).

‘To bury’: Old Mon **tīp**, Modern Mon **tōp**, Chrau **tōp**, Biat **tōp**, Rōngao **tə:p** ‘to bury’, Jeh **tàp** ‘to set in ground’, Halang **tōp** ‘to put in ground’, Khasi **thep** ‘to entomb [bones]’ (beside **tep** ‘to bury’, which is unexplained: #1252 ***t₁ə(ə)p**).

Cf. for ***t-** also #64-#75, #303-#323, #542-#568, #812-#815, #896a-#899a, #998-#101, #1153-#1156, #1250-#1257a, #1340-#1353, #1463-#1458, #1610-#1624, #1733-#1738, #1825-#1828, #1899-#1903, #1996-#2009.

‘To shoot’: Old Mon **pañ**, Modern Mon **pōn**, Khmer **ba:n**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pa:n** ‘to shoot’, Bahnar **pə:n** ‘to beat cotton with bow’, Jeh, Halang **pe:n**, Khmu Yuan **pīn**, Palaung **pīn**, Riang-Lang **pū:n**, Mường **pánh**, Vietnamese **bắn** ‘to shoot’ (#905 ***pa:n?**).

‘Four’: Old Mon **pan**, Modern Mon **pōn**, Khmer **bu:ən**, Sre **puan**, Chrau **puən**, Biat **puən**, Bahnar dialects **pua:n**, Jeh, Halang **puan**, Riang-Lang **pōn**, Praok **pon**, Lawa Bo Luang **paun**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **paun**, Mường **pốn**, Vietnamese **bốn** (#1127 ***pun?** &c.). Palaung has **phon** by counting deformation on **phən** ‘five’, < #1214 ***m-sən**.

‘To fly’: Mon **pɔ**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **par**, Jeh **pal**, Halang **par**, Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **pər**, Praok **po**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəu**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **peu**, Mường **pāl**, Vietnamese **bay** (#1633 ***par**).

‘You (pl.)’: Palaung **pe**, Riang-Lang **pe?**, Praok **pe**, Lawa Bo Luang **pai?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **pe?**, Khasi **phi** (#99 ***pi?**).

Cf. for ***p-** also #98-#106, #345-#355, #602-#618, #823-#825, #905-#907, #1020-#1030, #1162-#1168, #1371-#1372, #1478-#1481, #1633-#1640, #1752-#1760, #1833, #1908-#1918, #2021-#2031.

In Biat ***k**, ***t** are palatalized to **c-** before **-iaC** (< ***-iəC**). The same development is found in the closely related Bunör (and also in Preh: see Blood 1966:21) in corresponding contexts. Thus we have Mon **kit** ‘to bite’, Sre **kiat**, Chrau **kiət** ‘to itch’, Biat **ciat** ‘to sting, smart’, Bunör **cyat** ‘to itch’ (#957 ***kiit** &c.); Sre **kiaw**, Biat **ciau**, Bunör **cɛ:w** ‘left-hand’ (1814 ***kiəw**, ***giəw**); Sre **tian**, Chrau **tiən**, Biat **cian** Bunör **cyan**, Jeh **te:ŋ** ‘tail’ (#542 ***t₁iən**); Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** ‘to forge’, Bahnar **t(i)ɛ:r** ‘to hammer to an edge’ (and

Vietnamese *đe* ‘anvil’; #1554 ***tiər**).

Palatalization does not occur before an undiphthongized high front vowel, nor generally before **-ɛ:C** < ***-iəC**. It is, however, found in Sre **tias** mat, Biat **cəh** mat ‘blind’. (Contrast in *C()CVC structures e.g. Biat **tɛ:t** ‘parakeet’ < #1010 ***gtit**, ***gtiət**; **nteh** ‘noise’ < #1900 ***kt₁as²**; whereas before **-iaC** in these contexts there is palatalization as above.) The development is likely to be recent.

A somewhat similar palatalization is found in one item in Lawa Umpai: Khmer **keh** *keh*, Lawa Bo Luang **kaih**, Lawa Umpai **cəs** ‘mountain goat’ (#1967 ***k[i]i[h]**, ***kiə[h]**).

The palatal term of the voiceless plosive series, ***c**, may be presumed to have been—or to have given rise to—an affricate in all the languages. The affricate is preserved in Mon, Khmer, Rōngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese and Mư̄ng (orthographic *ch-*), and Aslian. In most of South Bahnaric, Khmu, Northern Mon-Khmer, and Khasi the plosive element has been lost and the reflex is **s**. Biat has **ch**; but it should be noted that this is also the reflex of ***s-** (> Sre &c. **s**, §1.6), so that Biat differs phonetically rather than systemically from the main part of South Bahnaric. The phonetic direction of the merger may reflect the proximity of North Bahnaric. Finally, variant reflexes are found in Stieng (**s**, **c**) and Bahnar (**s**, **ts**, **c**); they will be discussed in detail below. Thus we have:

‘Louse’: Mon **coa**, Khmer **cay**, Stieng **si:h**, Sre **say**, Chrau **si:**, Biat **chi:**, Bahnar **si:**, Khmu Yuan **se?**, Palaung **si**, Riāng-Lāng **ˀsi?**, Lawa Bo Luang **səi?**, Lawa Umpai **se?**, Lawa Mae Sariang **səi?**, Khasi **’si** (~*ksi*), Vietnamese *chí, chấy*, Temiar **cə?** (#39 ***cii?**).

‘Grandchild’: Old Mon *cow*, Modern Mon **cao**, Khmer **cau** ‘grandchild’, Stieng **so:u** ‘grandson, nephew’, Sre **saw** ‘grandson’, Chrau **saw** ‘child’s spouse’, Biat **kə:n chau** ‘descendants’, West Bahnar **so:u**, Eastern **sa:u**, Jeh, Halang **caw**, Palaung **su**, Praok **saə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **so?**, Khasi **’siew**, Vietnamese *cháu* ‘grandchild’ (#43 ***cuu?**).

‘Cooked’: Mon **cín**, Stieng **si:n**, Sre **sin**, Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Bahnar **tsin**, Jeh, Halang **cen**, Theng, Palaung **sin**, Riāng-Lāng **ˀsin**, Mư̄ng, Vietnamese *chín*, Temiar **cət** (#1137 ***ciin?** &c.). Khmer has **chʔn** by metathesis.

‘Bird’: Stieng **cu:m**, Sre **si:m**, Chrau **sum**, Biat **chium**, Bahnar **se:m**, Jeh, Halang **cim**, Khmu Yuan **si:m**, Palaung **sim**, Riāng-Lāng **ˀsim**, Praok **sim**, Lawa Bo Luang **sain**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **saim**, Khasi *sim*, Mư̄ng, Vietnamese *chim*, Temiar **cəp** (#1324 ***cim** &c.).

Cf. also v. #39-#48, #289-#299, #520-#535, #807-#810, #981-#989, #1137-#1145a, #1243-#1246, #1324-#1329, #1591-#1599, #1725-#1726, #1821-#1821a, #1887-#1896, #1982-#1990.

The discrepant Stieng and Bahnar reflexes with **c** (in three items: #981, #1243a, #1324) may tentatively be attributed to clusters arising from prefixation, and thus eliminated. Stieng **s** and **c**, and Bahnar **s** and **ts**, occur with nearly equal frequency. It is thus not very likely that the divergences can be attributed to borrowing, nor can they readily be accounted for by reference to the vocalism or other contextual factors. We may note, however, that Stieng **s** corresponds to Bahnar **s**, and Stieng **c** to Bahnar **ts**, in three-quarters of the cases where both languages show cognates, against a random expectation of one-half: (Stieng, Bahnar **s**) 39 (‘louse’, above), #40, #43 (‘grandchild’, above), #514, #947 (Jölong **s-t** beside **c-t**), #950; (Stieng **c**, Bahnar **ts**) #286, #288, #781; (others)

² [Editorial note: in the first draft the reconstruction was ***k/n/tiəs**.]

#1137, #1324 ('cooked'; 'bird', above), #1539. This degree of agreement, between languages at opposite ends of the Bahnaric area, may be significant. I shall not use it to postulate an additional protophoneme, the nature of which would in any case be obscure. But it may be a relic of an early split the conditions of which are difficult to discern.

1.2 Voiced plosives: *g *j *d *b

All four voiced plosives are preserved in Bahnaric, Khmuic other than Khmu Yuan, Palaung, and Aslian; but in Chrau the dental and labial terms (written *d*, *v*) have both plosive and fricative allophones. Khasi preserves *j*, but for the other three terms has plain voiceless reflexes: **k**, **t**, **p**. The older voiceless-voiced contrast is thus maintained, under one form or another, in the relevant consonant systems of all the above languages; and, partly, in Khmer.

In Mon, Khmer, and seemingly Khmu Yuan the reflexes are **k**, **c**, **t**, **p** and are accompanied by chest register, marked by grave accent in the transcriptions. (The marking of chest register in Lindell 1971 is not wholly consistent if the above formulation is correct.) The Khmer dental and labial terms remain distinct from the glottalized reflexes of ***t**, ***p**.

In the three tone languages the reflexes fall together with those of the voiceless series, except that in Riang-Lang ***j** yields a dental affricate [ts], here transcribed **c**. They are accompanied by low tone in the case of Riang-Lang and by tones of the 'low' series - *huyền*, *nặng*, *ngã*—in that of Viet-Mường (note that Mường *nặng* tone corresponds to Vietnamese *nặng* and *ngã*, Mường lacking the second of these).

Finally, in Praok and the Bo Luang and Mae Sariang dialects of Lawa the reflexes of ***g**, ***d**, ***b** fall together with those of the voiceless series without register or tonal distinction, but with differences in vocalism which testify to the register stage through which Waic is presumed to have passed. In Lawa Umpai the reflexes are aspirates or **h**-clusters: **kh**, **th**, **ph** (for contextual palatalization see below). As with Riang-Lang, ***c** and ***j** remain distinct, the latter yielding Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **c**, Lawa Umpai **ch**, Lawa Mae Sariang **c** ~ **ch**.

Fewer items with these initials have a general MK distribution than was the case with their voiceless counterparts. Hence it will be necessary to illustrate them with more numerous but more limited examples.

'Those, they': Khmer **kè:** 'one, someone, he, they', Sre **gə** indefinite pronoun (weak form), Rōngao **ge:**, **ge:**, weak form **ga:** 'he, she', Khmu Yuan **ki:** (!) 'this', Palaung **ge**, Riang-Lang **_kə?** (weak form), Praok **ki** 'they', Lawa Bo Luang **ke?** 'he, she', Khasi **ki** 'they' (#27 ***ge[e]?**).

'To grip, squeeze': Khmer **kìəp**, Stieng **giəp**, Bahnar **gɛ:p**, Palaung **giəp** 'to grip with tongs', Vietnamese **kép** 'to press, squeeze' (#1239 ***giəp**).

'Fit(ting), sufficient': Old Mon **gap** 'to be fit for, fit to ...', Modern Mon **kòp** 'to suffice, (—**kò**) ought, to be fit to', Khmer **kə̀əp** 'fitting', Stieng **ga:p** 'to suffice', Biat **ga:p** 'suitable, enough', Bahnar **gap** 'just enough', Halang **gap** 'enough', Jeh **gap** 'adequately', Palaung **guəp** 'enough', Praok **kup** 'to suffice' (#1240 ***gap** &c.).

'To winnow': Mon **kùm**, Chrau, Biat, Theng **gum** 'to winnow', Palaung **gum** 'to clean [rice] by tossing' (#1317 ***gum** &c.).

'House': Khmu Yuan **kà:ŋ**, Palaung **gaŋ**, Riang-Lang **_kaŋ** (#509 ***ga[a]ŋ**).

'To enter': Khmu Yuan **kù:t**, Riang-Lang **_kut** 'to enter', Khasi **kot** 'to reach' (#968

***guut, *gu[ə]t).**

Cf. for ***g-** also #281a-#284, #507-#518, #804-#805, #964-#972, #1130-#1134, #1239-#1242, #1314-#1320, #1574-#1584, #1713-#1721, #1820a, #1884, #1974-#1980.

‘To break ground for cultivation’: Old Mon *jik*, Modern Mon **còik** ‘to harrow, to cultivate’, Khmer **cì:k** ‘to dig’, Sre **ji:**, Chrau **ji:ʔ**, Biat **ji:k** ‘to grub up weeds’, Rōngao **je:k** ‘to plough; cultivated field’, Jeh, Halang **jìak** ‘ricefield’, Praok **ciak** ‘to dig’, Lawa Bo Luang **cuuk**, Lawa Umpai **chuuk**, Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)ik** ‘irrigated field’ (#300 ***jiik**, ***jiək**).

‘Foot, leg’: Old Mon *juri*, Modern Mon **càŋ**, Khmer **cə:ŋ**, Sre, Chrau **jəŋ**, Biat **jəŋ**, Bahnar **jə:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **jò:ŋ**, Khmu Yuan **cəaŋ** (!), Palaung **juŋ**, Riang-Lang **_cəŋ**, Praok **caŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuəŋ**, Lawa Umpai **chuaŋ**, Temiar **juk** (#538(I) ***juŋ** &c.).

‘To sew’: Old Mon *jiri*, *jĩrĩ*, Modern Mon **còin**, Sre **jin**, Chrau **jip**, Biat **juŋ**, Palaung **jin**, Praok **cap**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuŋ**, Lawa Umpai **chin**, Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)in** (#894 ***jip**, ***jiip**).

‘To descend’: Chrau **juur**, Biat **jur**, Bahnar **ju:r** ‘to descend’, Jeh **jòl**, Halang **jur** ‘down’, Khmu Yuan **cu:r** (!) ‘to descend’, Palaung **jur** ‘valley’, Riang-Lang **_cur** ‘to descend’, Praok **ci:a** ‘to fall, be shed’, Lawa Bo Luang **co**, Lawa Umpai **chua** ‘to leak’, Khasi *jur* ‘descent’, Semai **jə:r** ‘to fall’ (#1606 ***jur** [] &c.).

‘Moist, swampy’: Mon **cim** ‘to be swampy’, Khasi *jum-jum* ‘full of juice’, Vietnamese *chìm* ‘to sink, be submerged’ (#1330 ***jiim** &c.).

‘Quick, to run’: Sre **jar** ‘quick, urgent’, Mường *chăl*, Vietnamese *chạy* ‘to run’ (#1602 ***jarʔ**).

Cf. for ***j-** also #300-#302, #535a-#540, #811, #990-#996, #1146-#1150, #1247-#1249, #1330-#1338, #1461-#1462, #1600-#1608, #1727-#1731, #1822-#1823, #1897-#1898a, #1991-#1995

‘To run away’: Old Mon *dow*, Modern Mon **təa** ‘to run away’, Khmer **təu** ‘to go (away)’, Sre **douʔ**, Chrau, Biat **du:**, Khmu Yuan **tùʔ**, Palaung **du** ‘to run away’, Temiar **doʔ** ‘to run’ (#84 ***duuʔ**).

‘To block, dam’: Khmer **tùp** ‘to block, dam’, Chrau **dəp** ‘to dam’, Riang-Lang **_tap** ‘to stop, dam’, Vietnamese *đập* ‘dam’ (#1219 ***dəp**).

‘To lodge for the night’: Old Mon *dum*, Modern Mon **təm** ‘to lodge ...’, Khmer **tùm** ‘to perch’, Rōngao **dɿ:m** ‘to camp out’, Jeh **dàm**, Halang **dəm** ‘to sleep away from home’, Khmu’ **duum** ‘to stay overnight’, Palaung **dəm** ‘to lodge’, Praok **tum** ‘to lodge, alight’ (#1357 ***dəm**, ***duum**). Khasi has *dem* ‘to alight, to lie down’, perhaps by the attraction of *pdem* ‘to incubate’, < #1356 ***dəm**, ***duum**.

‘Vicious’: Riang-Lang **_tam tak** ‘gur (palm syrup)’, Vietnamese *đặc* ‘to be viscous, to coagulate’ (#326 ***dak**).

‘Flower’: Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tia**, Lawa Umpai **thia**, Lawa Mae Sariang **tuai** ‘flower’, Vietnamese *đài* ‘calyx’ (#1469 ***daay**).

Lawa Mae Sariang *tu*, Mường *tôi*, Vietnamese *đồi* ‘hill’ are to be compared either with Old Mon *dal*, Modern Mon **tə** (see #1741 ***dul**) or with Sre **dor**, Halang **doar** (see #1626 ***[d][o]r**).

Cf. for ***d-** also #322-#328, #569-#580, #816, #900-#902, #1010a-#1012, #1157, #1258-#1259, #1354-#1359, #1469-#1471, #1625-#1629, #1739-#1745, #1829, #2010-#2012. Khasi *t-* is attested in #325 (**teh** ‘to bind, fasten’: Mon **tək** ‘to

tie, tether, link...') and #570 (**tong** 'to draw [water &c.]': Khmer **tùəŋ** 'to pull back and forth', &c.).

'To bind': Mon **pàk** 'to put [waistcloth] round', Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **puk**, Lawa Umpai **phuk** 'to tie, bind', Mường **puộc**, Vietnamese **buộc**, Temiar **bəg** 'to bind' (#357 ***bək** &c.).

'Belly': Mon **pəŋ**, Khmer **pùŋ**, Bahnar **buŋ**, Khmu Yuan **pə:ŋ** (!), Vietnamese **bụng** (#624 ***buŋ** [], ***buuŋ**?). Khasi has *poh* ~ *kpoh*, with a final variation of a type found in a few other items; perhaps attributable to the final cluster.

'Pedestal dish': Mon **pàn**, Khmer **pì:ən** 'pedestal dish', Palaung **ban** '(pedestal) tray', Mường **pàn**, Vietnamese **bàn** 'table' (#1170 ***baan**).

'Friend': Palaung **bu** 'friend', Praok [**paw**] **pu** [**pɛ**] 'associate', Lawa Bo Luang **pu?** **hməu**, Lawa Umpai **phu?** **hmeu**, Lawa Mae Sariang **pu?** **hmeu**, Vietnamese **bầu** 'friend' (#109 ***b[oo]**?).

'Ash': Sre **bu:h**, Chrau **vu:h**, Biat **buh**, Khmu Yuan **pəh** (#1960 ***buuh**).

Cf. for ***b-** also #107-#119, #356-#366, #619-#629a, #826, #908, #1031-#1037, #1169-#1176, #1482a-#1488, #1641-#1646a, #1761-#1763, #1834-#1835, #1920-#1921, #2032-#2035.

In Lawa Umpai the reflex of ***g** is palatalized before a high front vowel, or diphthong with that starting-point (cf. the palatalization of ***k** noted previously). Thus we have Riag-Lang **_kit** 'to scratch', Praok **kiat**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **kiat**, Lawa Umpai **chiat** 'to bite' (#964 ***giit**, ***giət**); and the Waic items Praok **kac**, Lawa Bo Luang **kik**, Lawa Umpai **chiaic**, Lawa Mae Sariang **kuic** 'ashamed' (sc. ***gaac**) and Praok **ki**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **kih**, Lawa Umpai **chis** 'salt' (sc. ***giis**). Evidence is lacking as to a Biat palatalization corresponding to that of ***k**, ***t**.

In Chrau, Bahnar (possibly North Bahnaric generally), Riag-Lang and Khasi there are isolated instances of a semivowel corresponding to reflexes assigned to ***j-** elsewhere. The majority occur before (original or secondary) high vowels. We shall generally treat them as a sporadic development and reconstruct ***j-**, though some may reflect clusters arising from affixation. Thus we find (i) Chrau **iun** 'to give' (~ **niun** 'to hand over') but Old Mon **jin** /**jən**/ 'to make over, hand over', Khmer **cù:n** 'to offer', Sre **jun** 'to bring', West Bahnar **je:n** 'to bring, convey', Semaq Beri (South Aslian) **jon** 'to give' (#1148 ***jun**, ***juun**; contrast Chrau **juur** < ***jur** 'to descend', #1606);

(ii) Bahnar **yɔ:ŋ** 'important, great' (~ **kəju:ŋ** 'high, long, big'), Sre **jo:ŋ** 'long, high, tall', Khmu Yuan **coŋ**, Central Nicobarese **cəŋ** 'high' (#537 ***j[o]**ŋ, ***j[oo]**ŋ); Bahnar **yi:m** 'like, thus, so', Riag-Lang **_cəm** 'in order to', and from an affixed form Praok **jəm** 'manner, action, condition' (#1332 ***jəm**, ***jəəm**; contrast Bahnar **jə:ŋ** < ***jəəŋ** 'foot, leg'); Bahnar **yun** 'to stand up', Jeh **yuaŋ** 'to get up', Halang **yuaŋ** 'to stand' < ***juŋ** (#538II, cf. iv below). But Bahnaric **y-** in these cases may reflect forms with nasal affix; **yi:m** would then parallel Praok **jəm**.

(iii) Riag-Lang **_yel** 'to buy', Khmer **cù:əl** 'to buy', Praok **juur** 'to buy' (#1729 ***j[u]**l, ***jiəl**; contrast Riag-Lang **cər** 'row' < #1605 ***[j]iər** []).

(iv) Khasi **iəŋ**, Palaung **jəŋ**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **juək** 'to stand' (#538II ***jəŋ**; cf. with variant vocalism Bahnar **yun**, &c.; connected with 'foot, leg', p. 2.10). Contrast Khasi **um-jeŋ** 'dew' < #1344 ***jar** or ***jər**.

Note that similar, but differently distributed, mixed reflexes are provisionally assigned to ***y-** (see below).

1.3 Glottalized consonants: *ɗ, *ɓ

Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi and Viet-Mường show two distinct sets of correspondences to the reflexes associated with *ɗ and *ɓ elsewhere. (So too do Kuy and, for the dental term only, Central Nicobarese.) One set has been described in the last section: Vietnamese *đ, b*, Mon etc. *t, p*, with chest register or low tone as appropriate. The other set comprises Mon (glottalized) *ɗ, ɓ*,³ accompanied by head register; Riang-Lang *ɗ, ɓ*, normally with high tone; Khasi *ɗ, b*; Vietnamese *n, m* and Mường *đ, b*, both with tones of the high series. From correspondences involving the second set we reconstruct PMK glottalized *ɗ and *ɓ.

*CVC examples which demonstrate the coherence of the criterion languages are few, especially for the labial term; though they are bolstered by those involving more complex structures. We may cite the following.

Reflexive pronoun: Old Mon *deh*, Modern Mon *deh* 3rd person pronoun, Riang-Lang *ɗe?* reflexive pronoun, Khasi *[la]de* ‘self’; and Chrau *de:* ‘belonging to’, Bahnar *de:* indefinite pronoun, Khmu Yuan *te:* (!) general pronoun, Palaung *de*, Praok *ti* reflexive pronoun, Lawa Bo Luang *te?*, Lawa Umpai *te?* (!) ‘self’ (#87 **de?*, **deh*).

‘Crushed to bits’: Literary Mon (*p*)*ɗut* ‘to be broken, bruised’, Riang-Lang *ɗuc* ‘to be ground to powder...’, Mường *đách*, Vietnamese *nát* ‘to be broken, crushed’ (#818 **[ɗuuc]*, **[ɗaac]*).

‘To cover’: Riang-Lang *ɗup* id., Vietnamese *nấp, núp* ‘to hide’; and Khmer *tùp*, Sre *ɗəp* ‘to cover’, Biat *[kəp] ɗəp* ‘to lie in wait for’, Bahnar *ɗə:p*, Palaung *ɗəp*, Praok *təp* ‘to cover’, Lawa Bo Luang *tuap* ‘to shut’ (#1261 **ɗəp* &c.).

‘To have ...’: Riang-Lang *ɗəy* future prefix (with phrasal low tone), Khasi *dei* ‘must’; and Chrau *di:-* ‘(in order) to’, Biat *ɗə:i* ‘to be [un]able to’, Bahnar *de:i* ‘to have, possess’, Palaung *di* future prefix, Praok *ti* ‘(in order) to’ (#1472 **ɗəəy*, **ɗəy*).

‘Bean, small weight or coin’: late Old Mon *bāy* ‘1/32? tical’, Modern Mon *boa* ‘bean, pea, 1/16 tical’, Riang-Lang *bay* (!) ‘bean’; and Khmer *pèy* ‘obsolete small coin’ (#1489 **bay*, **baay*).

‘Askew, out of shape’: Mon *bea*, Vietnamese *méo* (#1764 **biə[ɿ]?*).

‘To bubble, boil’: Mon *bəh* ‘to boil (v.t.)’, Riang-Lang *bus* ‘foam, froth’; and Khmer *pùh* ‘to bubble, boil’, Bahnar *bu:h* ‘welling up’, Palaung *bur* ‘foam, froth’, Temiar *bu:s* ‘bubbles’ (#2038 **buh* &c.).

But most reconstructions of *ɗ- and *ɓ- rest on the evidence of one criterion language only; thus the next two examples depend on that of Mon.

‘Ripe(coloured)’: Literary Mon *pɗuim* ‘to be pale red’, Khmer *tùm*, Chrau *dum* ‘ripe’, Sre *dum* ‘id., (-rəmi:t) yellow’, Biat *dum*, Bahnar *du:m*, Jeh *dùm*, Halang *dù:m* ‘ripe, red’, Praok *tum*, Lawa Bo Luang *tum*, Lawa Umpai *thum* ‘ripe’ (#1362 **dum*, **duum*).

‘Two’: Old Mon *bār*, Modern Mon *ba*, Khmer *pì:*, Sre *bar*, Chrau *va:r*, Biat, Bahnar, Halang *ba:r*, Jeh *ba:l*, Khmu Yuan *pa:r* (#1562 **baar*, **[b]ir*).

Cf. also for *ɓ- #367-#375, #630-#637, #827-#831, #909-#910, #1038-#1044,

³ [Editorial note: here the symbols *ɗ, ɓ* are as used as in Shorto’s 1962 spoken Mon dictionary—the IPA values they indicate are the implosives (‘glottalized’) *ɗ, ɓ*, for which OUP typesetters substituted *ɗ, ɓ*. The same applies to modern Khmer notations. Spoken Mon *hw* corresponds to IPA *ɸ*.]

#1177-#1180, #1373-#1377, #1489-#1493, #1646b-#1648, #1764-#1771, #1921a, #2036-#2043.

The citation of ‘two’ raises a point of principle which should be mentioned here. The Pre-PMK reconstruction of this root was made to account for unexpected dialectal variants in PMK: Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường and Nicobarese apparently reflect **ʔaar*. On the evidence so far presented it might therefore be argued that the eastern languages—Khmer and Bahnaric—had not developed glottalized consonants at the PMK stage and that the latter have a merely dialectal status there. However, besides the distinct reflexes in Kuy (closely related to Khmer), most South Bahnaric languages show a distinctive development following a nasal in **(C)CCVC* structures (see below). We need not, then, doubt the PMK status of **ɗ* and **ɓ* although there are certain irregularities in their distribution.

Ambiguous reconstructions. Where no reflex is found in any criterion language, reconstructions remain ambiguous between **d-* and **ɗ-*, **b-* and **ɓ-*. In such cases I note **[d]*, **[b]*, except where factors other than the direct comparison of cognates (probable relationship with other roots, loan forms in non-MK languages) favour the alternative reconstruction. Cf. for **[d]-*, #79, #84a, #569, #1259, #1354, #1357, #1626, #2012; for **[b]-*, #107, #109, #111, #119, #356, #360-#361, #366, #629a, #1031, #1034-#1035, #1484, #1641, #1920.

This notation is a matter of convenience, not statistical probability. In **CVC* structures, assured reconstructions of **d-* indeed outnumber those of **ɗ-*, while those of **b-* and **ɓ-* are of nearly equal frequency; but in **CCVC* structures those of the glottalized consonants are markedly more frequent.

1.4 Nasals: **ŋ* **ɲ* **n* **m*

Four nasals corresponding in points of articulation to the two plosive series are for the most part preserved in the languages compared, with chest register or low tone where appropriate. They are infrequent initially in **CVC* structure except for the labial term, which accounts for some five-eighths of the listings. I shall illustrate it first.

‘You (singular)’: Sre *mi* sing., Chrau *ma:y*, Biat *mai* masc., Khmu Yuan *me:* (!) masc. sing., Palaung *mi*, Riang-Lang *_mi?*, Praok *may*, Lawa Bo Luang *mai?*, Lawa Umpai *mi?*, Khasi *me*, Vietnamese *mày* sing. (#128 **mi[i]?*).

‘Mother’: Middle Mon *mi*, Modern Mon *mì?* ‘mother’, Khmer *mè:* term of address to old women, Sre, Chrau *me:*, Biat *mɛ:*, Bahnar *mɛ?*, Khasi *mei*, Mường *mê*, Vietnamese *mẹ* ‘mother’ (#131 **mee?*, **?mee?*).

‘Mother’: Jeh, Halang *ma:* ‘aunt’, Khmu Yuan *mà?*, Palaung *ma*, Riang-Lang *_ma?*, Praok *mɛ*, Lawa *ma?* ‘mother’ (#132 **ma?*).

‘To emerge’: Old Mon *mok* ‘to appear’, Modern Mon *mòk* also ‘to emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax’, Khmer *mò:k* ‘to come, come near, approach’, Bahnar *mɔk* ‘[paddy] beginning to form grain’, Mường, Vietnamese *mọc* ‘[plant, hair, nails] to come up, grow, [sun] to rise’ (#378 **mɔk*, **mɔɔk*).

‘Eye’: Old Mon *mat*, Modern Mon *mòt*, Chrau, Biat *mat* ‘eye’, Sre, Jeh *mat* ‘eye, face’, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan (!) *mat*, Khasi *’mat* ‘eye’, Mường *mặt* ‘eye, face’, Vietnamese *mặt* ‘face’, Temiar *mad* ‘eye’ (#1045 **mat*).

‘Nose’: Old Mon *moh*, Modern Mon *mùh*, Sre, Chrau *muh*, Biat *moh*, Bahnar *mu:h*, Jeh, Halang, Khmu Yuan *mùh*, Palaung *muh*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sarian

mauh, Lawa Umpai **maus**, Khasi 'mut, Mường, Vietnamese *mũi*, Temiar **mə:h** (#2045 ***muh** &c.).

Cf. for ***m-** #127-#149, #376-#382a, #638-#646, #832-#835, #911-#912, #1045-#1052, #1181-#1189, #1378-#1380, #1494-#1499, #1649-#1655, #1772-#1779, #1922-#1923, #2044a-#2047.

Examples of the remaining nasals are of limited incidence. We may note for the velar: 'to bow head, nod': Khmer **រុំ:k** 'to bend over and look, to nod off', Rongao **ru:k** 'to incline head, bow head', Khasi [*koh*]nguh 'to nod...' (#287 ***ruk** &c.).

'To be extinguished, to extinguish': Chrau **រុត** v.t., Riang-Lang **ruat** v.i.t. (#973 ***rut**).

'Hungry': Biat [ji:] **ru:t** 'hunger, to be hungry', Riang-Lang **ruat** 'to starve, to be hungry' (#975 ***rut**, ***ruat**).

'Eye': Bahnar [*kɔ:n*] **ru:i** '[pupil of] eye', Palaung, Praok **ruy**, Riang-Lang **ruy** 'eye, face' (#1453 ***[ruay]**).

'To nod head, to sway': Bahnar **ru:l** 'to shake head', [*ru:*] **ru:l** 'to sway', Riang-Lang **ruil** 'to nod', Vietnamese *ngheo* 'to tilt [head] to one side' (#1722 ***ruil** &c.).

'Price': Old Mon *nūs*, Modern Mon **ruh**, Palaung **ruar**, Praok **ru**, Lawa Bo Luang **ruah**, Lawa Umpai **ruas**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ruoh** (#1886 ***rus** &c.).

A South Bahnaric platalization before high front vowel is assumed in the following item (see below for the parallel development in *CCVC structure).

'To swallow, drink': Middle Mon *rit*, Modern Mon **rit** 'to swallow', Stieng **riət**, Biat **ri:t** 'to drink', Palaung (Milne 1931) **rit** 'to swallow'; and with back vocalism Khasi *nguid* id., Semai **ru:t** 'to drink' (#806 ***[ruuc]** &c.).

'Morinda sp. (kind of tree)': Khmer **ru:**, Vietnamese *nhàu* (!); #61 ***ru?**).

'To suck up, drink': Sre **ru** 'to drink [spirits]', Praok **ruə**, Lawa **ru?**, 'to drink', Semai **-ru?** 'to suck' (#63 ***ruu?**).

'Larva': Riang-Lang **ruaŋ** 'caterpillar', Khasi *riang* 'worm, insect' (#541 ***ruaŋ**).

'To receive, suffer': Old Mon *riin* passive auxiliary, Theng **ruin** 'to receive', Riang-Lang **ruən** 'to bear, endure', Vietnamese *nhận* 'to receive' (#1151 ***ruən?**, ***ruən[]**).

In the next example Theng has **y-**, perhaps a special development in weak position (contrast the last and following ones). 'Person': Old Mon *riah*, Modern Mon **rih** id., Theng **ru?** 'him', Riang-Lang **ru?** 'who, anyone', Jah Hut (Central Aslian) **ruh** 'who?' (#63 ***ru?**, ***ruh**).

In the next, Bahnar has **y-**, dialectally **ru-**, perhaps the regular reflex; the status of Khmu Yuan **n-** is uncertain in the absence of comparanda. 'Small': Middle Mon *rii*, Modern Mon **ri?** 'to be small in quantity', Bahnar **ru?**, West Bahnar also **ru?**, Khmu Yuan **ri?**, Theng **ru** 'small' (#59 ***ru[ee]?**).

For ***ru-** 58a-63, 541, 997, 1151-1152, 1339, 1609, 1732.

The dental term presents no irregularities. We note 'this': Mon **-ru?** 'this', Khmer **ruh** 'that, there', Chrau **ru?** (!) 'there near at hand', Bahnar dialects **ru:u** &c. 'here, this', Vietnamese *nó* 'this' (#92 ***ru?**, ***ruh**).

'This': Khmer **neh**, **nih** 'this', Stieng **ne:i**, **ni:** 'this, here', Sre **ne** 'there', Khmu Yuan **ni?** (!) 'that', Riang-Lang **ni**, Khasi *-ne*, Mường *nì* (!) 'this' (#91 ***ni?**, ***nih**).

'To know': Khmu Yuan **ri:ŋ** 'to know', Khasi *nang* 'to be able, to know' (#592 ***[ri[əə]ŋ]**).

'Urine, to urinate': Khmer **ri:m** n.v., Stieng **nu:m**, Chrau, Bahnar **no:m** v., Khmu

Yuan [ò̃m] **nu:m** (!) n., Riang-Lang **_num**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **naum** n.v. (#1365 ***n₁uum**). Khmu Yuan perhaps rather reflects a sandhi-form in ***kn-**, cognate with Palaung **hnum** and Mon **nɔm**.

‘Sun, day’: Stieng, Chrau **nar**, Biat, Bahnar **na:r** (#1630 *[**lnar**, *[**lnaar**).

Cf. for ***n-** #91-#97, #342-#344, #591-#601, #1365-#1370, #1475-#1477, #1749-#1751, #1832, #1905-#1907, #2017-#2020.

1.5 Liquids and semivowels: ***y** ***r** ***l** ***w**

We shall consider the liquids first. ***r** and ***l** are the most frequent of all protophonemes in this position, as in prenuclear position generally; though as the roots in question show a high incidence of prefixation this frequency is not correspondingly reflected in the overall distribution of *CVC forms.

***r-** is preserved in the majority of languages. In Lawa Mae Sariang it is reflected as a uvular fricative, noted **ɣ**. The Vietnamese reflex is /z/; properly written **r**, but in about one-third of cases we find **gi-**, which is homophonous in northern Vietnamese. Of the two Mường correspondents noted, one is written with **r-**, one with **gi-**. These reflexes, as with all consonants of this group, are accompanied by chest register or low tone where appropriate.

‘To pull out, pull up, reap’: Mon **ròt** ‘to reap’, Khmer **rò:c** ‘to pull out, draw out’, Palaung **ruit** ‘to pull out’, Praok **rut** ‘to pull apart, away’, **ruuc**, Khasi **rat** ‘to uproot’, Vietnamese **giật** ‘to pull forcibly, snatch’ (#1058 ***rut** &c.).

‘To tighten, constrict’: Khmer **rù:t** ‘to draw [e.g. curtains] together’, **rù:ət** ‘to seize round the top or neck’, Sre **ri:t** ‘tight’, Chrau, **re:t** ‘to squeeze’, Biat **re:t** ‘to tighten’, **ro:t** ‘to shrink, become tight’, West Bahnar **re:t** ‘to draw tight, to gird, to strangle’, Khmu Yuan **riat** (!) ‘to tie together’, Palaung (Milne 1931) **rut** ‘to draw in with drawstring’, Riang-Lang **_rut** ‘to draw in’, Praok **rət** ‘to gird’, Temiar **rəyəd** ‘to squeeze’ (1061 ***ruut** &c.).

‘To help, to lend’: Old Mon **rim** [*bāñ*], Modern Mon **rēm** ‘to help’, Riang-Lang **_rɔm** ‘to lend, borrow [money]’, Palaung **rəm** ‘to borrow [money]’, Lawa Bo Luang **ram** ‘to borrow’, Khasi **ram** ‘debt, loan’, Vietnamese **giùm** ‘to help’ (1390 ***rum** &c.).

‘Fly’: Mon **rùi**, Khmer **rùy**, Stieng **ruəi**, Chrau **rəwəy**, Bahnar **rə:i**, Jeh **ro:y**, Halang **roay**, Khmu Yuan **rò:y**, Riang-Lang **_ruay**, Lawa Bo Luang **roi**, Lawa Umpai **rua**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yuaì**, Vietnamese **ruồi** (1534 ***ruy** &c.).

‘Root’: Mon **rəh**, Khmer **rùh**, Stieng **riəh**, Sre **rias**, Biat **rəh**, Bahnar **rə:h**, West Bahnar **re:h**, Jeh **riayh**, Halang **riah**, Khmu Yuan **rias** (!), Palaung **riəh**, Riang-Lang **_ries**, Praok **ria**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəh**, Lawa Umpai **res**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yəh**, Vietnamese **rễ**, Semelai (South Aslian) **res** (#1927 ***ris** &c.).

Cf. for ***r-** #160-#161a, #390-#397, #655-#670, #837-#844, #1055-#1063, #1269-#1275, #1383-#1391, #1500-#1506, #1785-#1787, #1840-#1842, #1924-#1932, #2050-#2053.

***l-** is preserved in all languages. Quotable examples, however, have limited distributions.

‘To take’: Palaung **le**, Riang-Lang **_le?**, Mường **lê**, Vietnamese **lấy** (!) (#188 ***li?**).

‘To try, test’: Khmer **lò:ŋ**, Biat **lò:ŋ** [**uaŋ**], Stieng, Sre, Jeh **lo:ŋ** id., Bahnar **lò:ŋ** ‘to be tested’, Lawa Bo Luang **lan**, Lawa Umpai **lɔŋ** ‘to try, test’ (#723 ***lɔŋ**).

‘Penis’: Sre **loc**, Bahnar **lɔ:** (!), Khmu Yuan **lòk**, Khasi **loh** (#855 ***lɔc** &c.).

‘To slip’: Old Mon **lot**, Modern Mon **lòt** ‘to fall prone’, Khmer **lùt** ‘to slip away, to let go of’, Chrau **lac** ‘to fall out through hole’, Biat **lɔt** ‘to abort (v.t.)’, Palaung **lut**, (Mon also) **luit** ‘to take off [clothes &c.]’, Khasi **loit** ‘to take off, untie, detach’, Vietnamese **lọt** ‘to slip or fall into’, **lột** ‘to strip off, to slough’ (#1081 ***lut** &c.).

‘To pass, to exceed’: Middle Mon **l(w)on** ‘to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed; exceedingly’, Modern Mon **lòn** also ‘to go past’, Khmer **lùən** ‘excessive(ly)’, Sre **lin** ‘to exceed’, Biat **lan** ‘past, ago’, Praok **luan** ‘to go past, to pass, escape’, Lawa Bo Luang **loan**, Lawa Umpai **lɔn** ‘very’, Vietnamese **luồn** ‘to pass, slip through or under’ (#1200 ***lun** &c.).

‘Again’: Riang-Lang ***ləy** (!) ‘more, longer, else’, Praok **lay** marker of continuous or habitual action, Mường **lê** (!), Vietnamese **lại** ‘again’ (#1511 ***l[]ay[?]**, ***l[]aay[?]**).

Biat has exceptionally **r-** in **rwan** ‘to swallow’: Sre loan, &c., < #1201 ***luən**, perhaps by levelling on the affixed form **rɣuan**. Bahnar **da:h** ‘or’ < #2065 ***lah** is likely to represent a special development in weak position.

Cf. for ***l-** also #188-#196a, #417-#432, #710-#729, #924-#927, #1075-#1084, #1195-#1202, #1401-#1404, #1511-#1517, #1662-#1666a, #1853-#1856, #1941-#1945a, #2062-#2072.

The normal reflexes of ***w-** in all languages fall within the categories of bilabial or labiodental semivowel or fricative. They are noted as **v-** in Khmer, Palaung, Praok and Vietnamese; in Vietnamese ***w-** merges with the reflex of earlier intervocalic ***b** (i.e. PMK ***b** at C₃ in ***CCCVC** structure: see below). In Riang-Lang Luce notes variously **w-** and **vw-**, here rewritten **v-**; sometimes as alternatives; suggesting the sort of allophony found in Palaung (Shorto 1960, 547; there between bilabial and labiodental fricative). Jeh and Halang reflexes are not known; the remaining languages have **w-**, except that for Stieng Azémar notes **u-**, and in two instances before high front vowel (variant) **vu-**. Thomas has Chrau **u-**, in place of **w-**, in one instance.

‘Crooked, bent round’: Mon **[wèn]** **wòk** ‘to be crooked, deformed’, Riang-Lang **wɔk** ‘curved, slightly bent’, Praok **[kɔk]** **vɔk** ‘crooked’, Khasi **woh** ‘to (fasten with) hook’ (458 ***wɔk**).

‘To go round...’: Khmer **vì:t** ‘to turn boat by paddling’, Stieng **ua:t** ‘to wag [tail]’, Chrau **wɛ:t** ‘to turn round’, Bahnar **wa:t** ‘circular, to encircle’, **wēt** ‘to turn [e.g. collar] back’, Riang-Lang **_viət** ‘to wring [clothes]’, Praok **vət** **[vɛ]** ‘to change direction’, Lawa Bo Luang **wiat** ‘to turn’, Temiar **wē:d** ‘giddy’ (1090 ***wiət** &c.).

‘To go, turn, round’: Old Mon **wūr** ‘round, around’, Khmer **vìə** ‘to go aside, avoid’, **vò:** ‘to go wrong...’, Stieng **vui:r** ‘to avoid’, Sre **wər** ‘to stir round’, Chrau **wər** ‘to stir...’, Biat **wɛ:r** ‘unlucky, taboo’, Bahnar **wi:r** ‘to twist’, **wé:r** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Khmu Yuan **wer** **[ka:y]** ‘to turn (v.i.)’, Palaung (Milne 1931) **viər**, Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **vi:a** ‘to go aside, avoid’, Khasi **wir** ‘astray’, Mường **wề**, Vietnamese **về** ‘to return’ (1609 ***wir** &c.).

‘To turn’: Khmer **vùl** ‘to turn (round)’, **vìəl** ‘to dig or cut round...’, Sre **wil** ‘circle’, Chrau **we:l** ‘to beat [game]’, Biat **[da:k wac]** **we:l** ‘eddy’, Bahnar **wi:l** ‘round’, Palaung **vir** ‘to return’, Riang-Lang **_viel** ‘to turn round’, Praok **ve** ‘coil’, Vietnamese **vẹo** ‘twisted, crooked...’, Temiar **wəl** ‘to turn’ (1794 ***wil** &c.).

Other reflexes of *w-. In two items, both with final ***c**, where Palaungic and Khasi appear to call for the reconstruction of ***w-**, Temiar has **ʔ-**. In the first of them this consonantism is found in all three branches of Aslian. In the second, where Temiar appears to reflect a secondary back vocalism, Semai has **y-** and Southern dialects the

normal **w-**, while most Northern ones have **w-** with an anomalous final nasal; two have **h-**, perhaps from a distinct etymon. In both cases we shall reconstruct ***w-**, assuming a rule of ‘de-dissimilation’.

‘Stomach’: Palaung **veʔ**, Praok **vac** id., Riang-Lang **_vac** ‘bowels, entrails’, Lawa **wiak** ‘belly’, Khasi [*’nier*]-*wait* ‘entrails’, Kensiu (North Aslian), Temiar **ʔej**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **ʔoʔəc** ‘belly’ (#837 ***wəc**).

‘Knife, sword’: Riang-Lang **_vac**, **_wac**, Praok **vac**, Lawa Bo Luang **wik**, Lawa Umpai **wiaic**, Lawa Mae Sariang **wuic** ‘sword’, Khasi *wait* ‘dao’, Temiar **ʔəwəj**, Semai (Central Aslian) **yəj**, Semelai (South Aslian) **wəj** ‘knife’ (#864 ***wac**, ***waac**). Cf. in North Aslian: Mendriq **wəj**, &c.; Kensiu, Kintaq Bong **haj**.

A similar development involving final ***j** is seen in Waic if Praok **inj** ‘to go back, return’, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔəinj**, Lawa Umpai **ʔəinj**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ʔəinj** ‘to come, return’ are cognate with Khmer **vəj** ‘back (again)’, &c., < #931 ***wij** &c.

Cf. for ***w-** also #233-#236, #454-#458, #765-#769, #862-#866, #1090-#1091, #1529-#1531a, #1669-#1672, #1794-#1798, #1950-#1951, #2080a-#2081

***y-** is of low frequency and rather more troublesome. The normal reflex appears to be /y/ in the majority of languages; in Khasi written *i-*, in Stieng *i-* and in two instances before high back vowels (variant) *j-* (cf. **u-**, **vu-** < ***w-**). It appears from the third example below that the Viet-Mường reflexes may be Mường *gi-*, Vietnamese *nh-*. The Temiar reflex has not been noted.

‘Grandmother’: Mon **yài** ‘mother’, Khmer **yì:əy** term of address to old woman, Stieng **ia:i**, Bahnar **yā** ‘grandmother, female ancestor’, Jeh, Halang **yaʔ**, Khmu Yuan **yàʔ**, Palaung **ya**, Praok **ye**, Lawa **yuaʔ** ‘grandmother’, Riang-Lang **_yaʔ** ‘id., wife’ (#151 ***yaʔ**, ***yaʔ-yaʔ** > ***yaay**).

‘To take’: Khmer **yð:k**, Bahnar **yək** id., Khasi *ïoh* ‘to obtain, receive, have’ (#v384 ***yək**, ***yək**).

‘To lift’: Old Mon **yuk**, Modern Mon **yàk** ‘id., to carry in arms’, Khmer **yùək** ‘to lift up’, Chrau **yə:ʔ** ‘to take off, lift’, Stieng **ju:k**, Sre **yə:**, Praok **yaok**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **yuak** ‘to lift’, Palaung **yuuʔ** ‘to rise, to raise’, (?) Mường *giắc*, Vietnamese *nhấc*, *nhấc* ‘to lift, raise’ (#385 ***yuk** &c.). But Viet-Mường may well reflect an affixed form in view of the sắc tone.

‘To weep’: Old Mon **yām**, Modern Mon **yèm**, Khmer **yùm**, Khmu Yuan **yà:m**, Palaung **yam**, Riang-Lang **_yam**, Praok **yem**, Lawa **yuum**, Khasi *iam* (#1337 ***yaam**).

With ***y-** affricate reflexes occur sporadically—or appear to—in other Bahnaric and Palaungic languages beside Stieng, before original or secondary high back vowels. Similar mixed reflexes are assigned to ***j-**. In determining which protophoneme should be reconstructed the evidence of languages which show no variation—notably Mon and Khmer—is given most weight. In Bahnar at least, which figures in both variant sets, hypercorrection may play a part.

Thus we find Biat **jual** ‘to carry on head’, Bahnar **jɔ:l** ‘to raise higher than oneself, hold out’ beside Old Mon *yil* ‘to place on one’s head’, Modern Mon **yè** ‘to support or carry on head, to lift’, West Bahnar **yūil** ‘to hold out’ (#1781 ***[y]uəl**, ***yəl**; contrast Bahnar **yɔ:c** ‘fault, offence’ < #836 ***yuəc**; dialect borrowing between Biat and Bahnar may be in question); and Bönöm Bahnar **jɔ:k** ‘in good health’ beside Mon [*thot*] **yək** (#386 ***yuuk**). Note also 1780 ***[y]il** ‘barking deer’, a speculative reconstruction; perhaps rather ***ʔil**.

Cf. for *y- also #150-#154, #383-#387, #647-#648, #1053, #1190, #1266a-#1268, #1381, #1656-#1657, #2048.

1.6 Spirants and glottal stop: *s *h *ʔ

*s- is preserved in Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Biat, Jeh, Halang and Aslian. Biat has **ch-**, Bahnar variously **ts-**, **s-**; the latter in about one item in three (it may reflect borrowing from Jeh-Halang). In Khmuic and Palaungic **s-** has shifted to **h-**. In Viet-Mường we find Mường *th-*, Vietnamese *t-*; suggesting as an intermediate stage a shift to a voiceless dental fricative [θ] (found also in Danaw and, perhaps more relevantly, as a stage in the history of Cham). Finally, in Khasi we find *s-* [s] in two instances and *sh-* [ʃ] in one. *sh-* (which cannot reflect *c-) has been taken for the regular reflex; the distribution over all positions is complex and has undoubtedly been affected by analogy and back-formation; but remains in many respects obscure.

As do other consonants of this group, *s- gives rise to head register or high tone where these are applicable.

The Khmuic-Palaungic shift results in merger between *s- and *h-. In South Bahnaric and in most dialects of Bahnar, on the other hand, *s- merges with *c-. Fully distinctive reflexes are found only in Mon, Khmer, Rōngao, Jeh, Halang, Vietnamese, and Aslian; but unambiguous reconstructions can be made whenever Khmu or a Palaungic language has a cognate in South Bahnaric or Bahnar. (Occasionally Palaung post-dental vocalism may favour the reconstruction of *s- even in the absence of these criteria; I then note *[s]-.)

‘Hair’: Old Mon *sok*, Modern Mon **sok**, Khmer, (→ ?) Chrau **sək**, Sre **soʔ**, Biat **chək**, Bahnar **tsək**, Jeh **su:k**, Halang **sok**, Palaung **huʔ**, Riang-Lang **ʔhuk**, Praok **haək**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sariang **hauk**, Lawa Umpai *hauk*, Mường *thắc*, Vietnamese *tóc*, Temiar **so:g** (#467 ***suk** &c.).

‘Fruit, meat’: Old Mon **sac**, Modern Mon **sət** ‘fruit’, Khmer **sac** ‘flesh, meat’, Bahnar **tsec** ‘lean meat’, Temiar **sej** ‘meat’ (#871 ***sac**).

‘To bale out’: Mon **sat** ‘to bale’, Khmer **sa:c** ‘id., to throw from bucket’, Sre **sa:c** ‘to empty with bucket’, Chrau **sa:c** ‘to bale out fish-dam’, Riang-Lang **ʔhac** ‘earth cast of land-crab etc.’, Vietnamese *tát* ‘to irrigate, bale out’ (#872 ***sac**, ***saac**).

‘To sting’: Khmer **soc** ‘small kind of mosquito’, Sre **souc** ‘to prick, sting’, Biat **cho:c**, Bahnar dialects **tsuc**, **tso:c**, Khmu Yuan **hu:c**, Riang-Lang **ʔhuc**, Praok **huuc** ‘to sting’ (#873 ***suc** &c.).

‘Sharp, to sharpen’: Sre **sout**, Chrau **so:t**, Biat **cho:t** ‘sharp’, Khasi *shut* ‘to sharpen’ (#1100 ***suut**).

Khasi *san* ‘five’: Riang-Lang **ʔhan** id., Mon [cəh] **sən** ‘fif[teen]’ (#1214 ***suun** &c.) may have **s-** by counting deformation on *saw* ‘four’. But there is no such explanation for *sum* ‘to bathe, wash’: Mường *thắm*, Vietnamese *tắm* (#1417 ***samʔ**, ***sum** []).

Cf. for *s- also #243-#245, #463-#468, #777-#780, #870-#873, #1098-#1101, #1211-#1214, #1417-#1419a, #1537-#1538, #1675-#1678, #2084-#2088.

We come now to the two laryngeals *h *ʔ. It must be noted first that in a proportion of cases these alternate giving rise to doublets, as in other positions including final position. It does not appear that the alternances can be explained by any such theory as Dyen proposed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian; at least at the present stage of inquiry. We shall accordingly treat first the invariable correspondences, and note the other

cases at the end of the section.

***h-** is preserved in all languages, being consequently merged with ***s-** in Khmuic and Palaungic.

‘To open [mouth]’: Mon **ha** (!), Khmer, Stieng, Sre (!) **ha:**, Chrau **ha:ʔ** (!), Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:**, Vietnamese *há* (#251 ***haʔ**).

‘Finished’: Khmu Yuan **ho:c** particle of completed action, Riag-Lang **hac** ‘all, to exhaust’, Praok **huac** ‘to have finished; perfect auxiliary’, Lawa Bo Luang **hawuk**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **hɔic** ‘finished’, Temiar **hɔj** ‘already’ (#875 ***huc** &c.).

‘To suck, drink’: Khmer **hot** ‘to suck up, swallow in a gulp’, Stieng **hu:t** ‘to inhale, to suck up last of drink’, Sre **huc**, Chrau **hu:c**, Halang **hu:t** ‘to drink’, Bahnar **hu:c** ‘to drink from spoon’, Jeh **hut** ‘to drink, suck’, Vietnamese **hút** ‘to suck, inhale’, Temiar **huj** ‘to sip’ (#1106 ***hut** &c.).

‘Place, at’: Old Mon *han*, Sre **hə** locative particle, Khmu’ **haʔ** ‘to, at’, Palaung **ha** ‘place’, Riag-Lang **ha** (!) ‘id., where, at, on, to’, Khasi **ha** ‘place, at’ (#1217 ***ha[a]n**, weak forms).

‘Finished’: Khmer **havy** ‘finished, already’, Stieng **hə:i** perfect particle, Biat **hə:i** ‘already’, Bahnar **hɛ:i** ‘just now’, Palaung **huəy** ‘to have finished’, Praok **hry** punctuating particle (#1539 ***həy** &c.).

Bahnar has **djēp** beside **hiēp** ‘to suck, suck the blood of...’ < #1294 ***hiəp**, perhaps an expressive deformation.

Cf. for ***h-** also #250-#251, #470-#475, #783-#784, #1104-#1106, #1215-#1220, #1424-#1426, #1539-#1540, #1682-#1687, #1803a-#1804, #1868-#1869; and the forms with alternant cited below.

The reflexes of ***ʔ-** to be expected in most contexts are in Khmer, Lawa, and Temiar noted **ʔ-**, and in Old Mon **ʔ-**. In the remaining languages initial vowel is written. It is likely that in most or all of them a glottal articulation is present, as explicitly in Mon (Shorto 1962:xi) and Palaung (Shorto 1960:547). Khmu Yuan has, unexpectedly, low tone in half the relevant items.

‘Person, I’: Old Mon *ʔey*, Modern Mon **oa**, Khm **ʔaŋ**, Stieng **i:**, Sre **aŋ**, Chrau **aŋ**, **iŋ**, Bahnar **i:ŋ**, Rōngao **a:u**, Jeh, Halang **aw**, Khmu Yuan **oʔ**, Palaung **ɔ**, Riag-Lang **ʔoʔ**, Praok **aə**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaiʔ**, Lawa Umpai **ʔauʔ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **ʔauʔ** ‘I’, Khasi *i* ‘he, she, it’, Semai I **ʔiŋ** ‘I’ (#2 ***ʔiiʔ**) Some Aslian languages in all three branches have an isolated **y-** (Temiar **ye:ʔ**); this may be related to the developments before ***iə** noted below.

‘Wasp, hornet’: Biat **ɔ:ŋ** ‘hornet’, Sre **oŋ**, Chrau **ɔ:ŋ**, Jeh **o:ŋ**, Halang **oəŋ** ‘wasp’, Bahnar **o:ŋ** ‘hornet, wasp’, Khmu Yuan **ɔ:ŋ** ‘kind of wasp’, Palaung **ɔŋ**, Riag-Lang **uaŋ** ‘fossor wasp’, Vietnamese *ong* ‘bee, wasp’ (#485 ***ʔuŋ** &c.).

‘Upper garment’: Khmer **ʔa:v**, Biat **a:ɔ**, Sre, Chrau, Jeh, Halang **a:w**, Bahnar **a:o**, Mường, Vietnamese *áo* (#1813 ***ʔaawʔ**).

‘Fire, firewood’: Middle Mon *ʔoh*, Modern Mon **uh**, Khmer **ʔoh** ‘firewood’, Sre **ous**, Temiar **ʔo:s** ‘fire’ (#1872 ***[ʔus** &c.).

When ***ʔ** precedes ***iə** the initial element of the diphthong is consonantized in Chrau, Riag-Lang, and at least dialectally in Bahnar; yielding Chrau **ʔy-**, Riag-Lang high-tone **y-**, Bahnar **y-**.

‘Fowl’: Sre, Biat **iar**, Chrau **ʔyer**, Bahnar **ye:r**, **iɛ:r**, Jeh **i:l**, Halang **iar**, Palaung **iər**, Riang-Lang **ːyer**, Praok **i:a**, Lawa **ʔe**, Khs, **ˈiar** (#1552 ***[ʔiər]**). So we find Chrau **ʔyet** ‘to listen, hear’ < #942 ***ʔiət**. Bahnar has **ye:t iɾɔ:k**, **dje:t djɾɔ:k** ‘lesser coucal’ < #941 ***[ʔ]iət**; an uncertain reconstruction from reflexes compatible with those of #1780 ***[y]il**.

Riang-Lang has usually the corresponding development of high-tone **w-/v-** when ***ʔ** precedes ***uə** (but contrast **ːuan** ‘fossor wasp’ < ***ʔuən**, above); thus **ːvat**, **ːwat** ‘to wipe’ < #946 ***ʔuət**; **ːwe** &c. ‘three’: Palaung **uəy**, cf. #98 ***piʔ**.

Cf. for ***ʔ-** also #1-#6, #265-#268, #482a-#485, #794, #882-#885, #939-#946, #1115-#1121, #1224-#1225, #1297-#1299, #1434-#1438, #1552-#1556, #1694-#1696, #1813, #1871-#1873, #1956-#1959.

Variant constructions are not numerous in relation to those just surveyed; about one in eight of all laryngeal-initial items. In the larger group ***ʔ-** is to be regarded as the primary initial, and we take it first.

Some items are susceptible of special explanation. ***huh** &c. ‘to blow’ (Nicobarese, and affixed forms in Waic, Khs.) beside #1958 ***ʔuh** &c. (South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobarese) may reflect an earlier reduplication ***ʔuh ʔuh**. Contamination by ***hur** ‘to expose to heat’ (#1685; Bahnaric) may account for ***huul** &c. ‘to grill’ (Stieng, affixed forms in Biat, Bahnar) beside #1812 ***rʔuəl** (South Bahnaric, affixed (?) form in Khm.); note also #1501 ***ʔu(u)r** &c. ‘warm, (Stieng) to heat’. At least three items are grammatical words perhaps subject to special conditions of stress or junction. We find ***hiʔ** ‘we’ in Kuy, South Bahnaric, Aslian and Nicobarese beside ***ʔiʔ** in Khmu, Palaungic and Temiar (1); ***h[i]ʔ** deictic in South Bahnaric, North and South Aslian, and dialectally in Bahnar beside ***ʔiʔ**, ***ʔih** in Bahnar, Palaungic, Vietnamese, North Aslian, Nicobarese, and affixed form in Khmer (2); Riang-Lang **ːhnʔ**, Vietnamese **hấn** pronoun 3 sing. beside Palaung/Central Nicobarese **ən** id., Stieng **ə:n** interrogative pronoun, Riang-Lang **ːan** clause-subordinating particle (#1115 ***[ʔ]anʔ** &c.). Here we might also cite Mường **hal**, Vietnamese **hai** ‘two’ beside e.g. Palaung, Khasi **ar**, Central Nicobarese **ã:** (#1562 ***ʔaar** < Pre-PMK ***biʔaar**). Finally, expressive deformation might account for Palaungic ***hul[]** ‘to vomit’ beside #1695 ***ʔul[]** &c. ‘nausea’ (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Vietnamese).

In the remaining items the incidence of the **h-** form is more or less trivial. We have Biat **hok** ‘to spill’ but e.g. Sre **o:** ‘to empty [pot]’, Bahnar **u:k** ‘to pour out, empty out’, Riang-Lang **ːuk** ‘to pour away, to spill’ (#267 ***ʔuuk** &c.); Khmu Yuan **he:m** ‘younger sibling’ but Vietnamese **em** id., Stieng **iəm** ‘elder sibling’ (#1306 ***[sʔ]iəm**); Palaung **hɔʔ** ‘brains’ (and affixed form in Riang-Lang) but Vietnamese **óc** (#475 ***huək**, ***ʔuək**); and Mường, Vietnamese **hết** ‘to end, be finished...’ but e.g. Mon **ɔt** ‘to be exhausted...’, Khmer **ʔɔt**, **ʔɛt** ‘to be without’, Biat **ɔt** ‘to abstain from’, Bahnar **ət**, **ɛt** ‘[wind] to stop...’, Riang-Lang **ːət** ‘to cease’ (#943 ***ʔət** &c.).

In two cases the primary form is to be constructed with ***h-**. We have South Bahnaric ***ʔum** > Sre **um** ‘to bathe’, &c., but e.g. Mon **hum**, Bahnar, Semelai **hu:m**, probably (cf. ***sum[]** #1417) Palaung **hum** (#1426 ***huum** &c.; Khmu may reflect an affixed form in ***ʔ-**); and Lawa **ʔaup** ‘cooked rice, but Mon **hap** ‘to eat [rice]’, Khmer **ho:p** ‘to eat’, Sre **hup** ‘to lift [food-bag] to mouth’, Palaung **hap** ‘food, to eat’, Vietnamese **húp** ‘to slurp [rice-gruel]’ (#1295 ***haap** &c.).

We may note also the apparent connexion between ***huc** &c. (#875); ***həy**, ***huəy** ‘finished’ (#1539) and ***rʔuc** &c. (#798); and that between Palaungic, Khasi ***ʔim**

‘to live, be alive’ and affixed forms in **h* generally meaning ‘breath’, where variants are reconstructed (#1299).

The reflexes set out in this chapter are summarized in tables 3a, 3b, and 3c.

2 STRUCTURE **CCVC*

CCVC* forms comprise both simplexes containing **CCVC* roots, and affixed forms of **CVC* ones whether prefixed (C-CVC*) or infix (**C/C/VC*). Our discussion will be illustrated preferentially with examples of the first kind, where the possibility of disturbance due to morphological levelling is more remote. In many languages some **CC*-sequences are reflected as *C-*. The reconstruction of certain forms as **CCVC* will in consequence depend on the evidence of related affixed forms. At such points of the discussion we shall be thrown back on the evidence of more conservative languages (notably Mon, Khmer, Khasi, and also Aslian and Nicobarese), and sometimes on comparison of their patterns as well as that of strictly cognate forms.

All the consonants listed in the table on p. 2.1 may occur at C_2 in structures **CCVC*. Glottalized consonants, semivowels and **h* do not occur at C_1 . Of the nasal series we reconstruct a nasal homorganic with the following consonant (schematically **N*), and **m*; these two terms are distinctive only before liquids.

The **CC*- sequences attested in the corpus are collated in Table 4.

2.1.1. Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiceless

Sequences of two voiceless plosives are generally preserved in Mon, Khmer, Khasi and Aslian; the consonant reflexes being the same as initially in forms of **CVC* structure except where otherwise stated. In Aslian and modern Mon a vowel *ə* is found between the two plosives. The first plosive may be voiced, under conditions yet to be determined, in Aslian languages.

In Bahnaric, Khmu, Palaungic and Viet-Mường we shall for the moment assume that **C₁* in this type of sequence is regularly lost. Such forms as Bahnar *kətəŋ* ‘to hear’, ad #542 **ktəŋ*, which apparently preserve it, will then reflect related affixed forms (cf. with Bah. Sakai *gərtək*). (The possibility that this is an insufficient formulation of the rules is discussed at the end of this section.) Sắc tone in Mường and Vietnamese non-stop-final words may point to, though it cannot assure, the reconstruction of **CC-*.

Exceptions, however, are relatively frequent. Many of them can be plausibly explained from borrowing, analogy, or contamination. Where there is evidence for **CC-* from any criterion language I usually reconstruct it without reserve.

These general statements will first be exemplified from the reflexes of **kt-*, which is particularly well represented in the material. In this case we have an additional criterion: the sequence (like **kd-*, see below) is palatalized in Chrau, yielding *c-* or occasionally *ch-*. The first three items raise no difficulty.

‘Hot’: Mon *kətao*, Khmer *kdau*, West Bahnar *toʔ*, Eastern *tɔ*: (#70 **ktuuʔ*).

‘To manipulate with flat of hand’: Old Mon *ktāc* [*sumoh*] ‘to smooth, level, with hands’, Modern Mon *kətat* ‘to rub between palms’, Khasi *ktaid* ‘to rummage’ (#815 **ktaac*).

Table 3a: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

PMK	*ʔ	*h	*k	*g	*ŋ
Old Mon	ʔ	h	k	g	ṇ
Modern Mon	Ø ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Khmer	ʔ ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Stieng	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ~ɲ
Sre	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ
Chrau	Ø~ʔy	h	k	g	ṇ
Biat	Ø	h	k~c	g	ṇ~ɲ
Bahnar	Ø~y	h (dj)	k	g	ṇ
Jeh/Halang	Ø	h	k	g	
Khmu Yuan	Ø ^{1,2}	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Palaung	Ø	h	k	g	ṇ
Riang-Lang	Ø~y~w~v ¹	h ¹	k ¹	k ²	ṇ ²
Praok	Ø	h	k	k	ṇ
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	ʔ	h	k	k	ṇ
Lawa Umpai	ʔ	h	k~c	kh~ch	ṇ
Khasi	Ø	h	kh	k	ng
Mường	Ø ¹	h ¹	c~k /k/ ¹		
Vietnamese	Ø ¹	h ¹	c~k /k/ ¹	c~k /k/ ²	ng(h)/ṇ/ ²
Temiar	ʔ (y)	h	k		

Table 3b: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

PMK	*c	*j	*ɲ	*y	*t	*d	*ɗ	*n
Old Mon	c	j	ɲ	y	t	d	ɗ	
Modern Mon	c ¹	c ²	ɲ ²	y ²	t ¹	t ²	d ¹	(n ¹)
Khmer	c ¹	c ²	ɲ ²	y ²	d ¹	t ²	t ²	n ²
Stieng	s, c	j	i~j	t	d	d	n	
Sre	s	j	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Chrau	s	j (i)	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Biat	ch	j	ɲ	y (i,j)	t~c	d	d	n
Bahnar	s, ts	j (y?)	y, ɲ	y (j)	t	d	d	n
Jeh/Halang	c	j (y?)	y	t	d	d		
Khmu Yuan	s ¹	c ²	(n ²)	y ²	t ¹	t ²	t ¹ (?)	n ²
Palaung	s	j	ɲ	y	t	d	d	n
Riang-Lang	s ¹	c (y) ²	ɲ ²	y ²	t ¹	t ²	d ¹	n ²
Praok	s	c	ɲ	y (c?)	t	t	t	n
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	s	c ³	ɲ	y	t	t	t	n
Lawa Umpai	s	ch	ɲ	y	t	th	th	n
Khasi	s	j (i)	ɲi	i	th (t)	t (d)	d	n
Mường	ch ¹	ch ²	t ¹	t ²	ɗ ¹	n ²		
Vietnamese	ch ¹	ch ²	nh ²	ɗ ¹	ɗ ²	n ¹	n ²	
Temiar	c	j	t	d				

Table 3c: C_1 in *CVC reflexes

PMK	*r	*l	*s	*p	*b	*ɓ	*m	*w
Old Mon	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
Modern Mon	r ²	l ²	s ¹	p ¹	p ²	b ¹	m ²	w ²
Khmer	r ²	l ²	s ¹	b ¹	p ²	p ²	m ²	v ²
Stieng	r	l	s	p	b	b	m	u~vu
Sre	r	l	s	p	b	b	m	w
Chrau	r	l	s	p	v	v	m	w (u)
Biat	r	l (r)	ch	p	b	b	m	w
Bahnar	r	l (d)	ts, s	p	b	b	m	w
Jeh/Halang	r	l	s	p		b	m	
Khmu Yuan	r ²	l ²	h ¹	p ¹	p ²	p ¹ (?)	m ²	w ²
Palaung	r	l	h	p	b	b	m	v
Riang-Lang	r ²	l ²	h ¹	p ¹	p ²	b ¹	m ²	w v ²
Praok	r	l	h	p	p	p	m	v (Ø?)
Lawa Bo Luang /Mae Sariang	r ⁴	l	h	p	p	p	m	w (??)
Lawa Umpai	r	l	h	p	ph	ph	m	w (??)
Khasi	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s, sh</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
Mường	<i>r (gi)</i> ²	<i>l</i> ²	<i>th</i> ¹	<i>p</i> ¹	<i>p</i> ²	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>m</i> ²	<i>w</i> ²
Vietnamese	<i>r (gi)</i> ²	<i>l</i> ²	<i>t</i> ¹	<i>b</i> ¹	<i>b</i> ²	<i>m</i> ¹	<i>m</i> ²	<i>v</i> ²
Temiar	r	l	s		b	b	m	w (?)

¹ Head register; (Riang-Lang) high tone; (Mường, Viet.) ngang, sắc, hỏi tones.² Chest register; (Riang-Lang) low tone; (Mường, Viet.) huyền, nặng, ngã tones.³ Lawa Mae Sariang **c(h)**. ⁴ Lawa Mae Sariang **y**.

Table 4: PMK *CC- sequences attested in the corpus

*/												
	ck	tk	pk		jk	dk	bk	ŋk		rk	sk	
kc	cæc	tc	pc	gc		dc	bc	nc		lc	sc	?c
kt	ct		pt	gt	jt		bt	nt		rt	lt	?t
kp	cp	tp	pəp			dp		mp		rp	lp	sp
	cg	tg	pg			dg	bg	ŋg		rg	lg	sg
kj		tj	pj	gj			bj	nj		rj	lj	sj
kd		td	pd	gd	jd		bd	nd		rd	ld	sd
kb	cb	tb			jb	db		mb		rb	lb	sb
kɸ	cɸ	tɸ	pɸ	gɸ	jɸ	dæɸ	bɸ			rɸ		sɸ
kʙ	cʙ	tʙ		gʙ	jʙ	dʙ	bæʙ		mʙ	rʙ	lʙ	sʙ
kŋ	cŋ	tŋ			jŋ	dŋ			mŋ	rŋ	lŋ	sŋ
kɲ							bɲ				lɲ	sɲ
kn	cn	tn	pn	gn	jn	dn	bn		mn	rn	ln	sn
km	cm	tm		gm	jm	dm				rm		sm
												?m
ky		ty		gy		dy	by			ry		sy
kr	cr	tr	pr	gr	jr	dr	br	nr	mr			sr
kl	cl	tl	pl	gl	jl	dl	bl	nl	ml	rl		sl
kw	cw	tw		gw				ŋw		rw	lw	sw
ks		ts	ps			ds	bs			rs	ls	?s
kʔ	cʔ	tʔ	pʔ		jʔ		bʔ		mʔ	rʔ	lʔ	sʔ
kh	ch	th	ph	gh	jh	dh	bh		mh	rh	lh	
												/

‘Wart’: Mon **kətot**, Stieng **tɔ:t**, Chrau **cɔ:t**, Biat **tu:t**, Palaung **tot** (#1009 ***kt₁uut**, ***kt₁uət**).

Chrau **t-** in the next two items almost certainly results from borrowing.

‘Bitter’: Mon **kəteŋ**, Stieng, Chrau (!), Biat, Bahnar **taŋ**, Khasi *kthang*, Vietnamese *đắng* (#554 ***kt₂aŋ**; Khasi *-th-* probably by levelling, cf. *byrthang* id.).

‘Ear’: Old Mon *ktor*, Modern Mon **kəto**, Stieng **tu:r**, Sre **tour**, Chrau (!), Biat **to:r** (#1621 ***kt₂uur**, ***kt₂uər**; note Kuy **takɔ:l**, Khasi *shkor*, < ***tkuər** by metathesis).

In the next example the Riang form probably incorporates the small-animal prefix, originally a weak form of ***kuən** ‘child’; Khasi results from false division, assuming the same prefix!

‘Crab’: Khmer **kda:m**, Stieng, Sre **ta:m**, Chrau **ca:m**, Riang-Lang **kətam**, Lawa **tam**, Khasi *tham* (!) (#1348 ***kt₁aam**).

In the next, the Khmer form is attributed to contamination. From Khmer and Modern Mon it would be possible to construct ***ntu(u)ŋ**; it is the Middle Mon initial which, taken with Chrau, is clinching for the reconstruction.

‘Hole, pit’: Middle Mon *ktoŋ*, Modern Mon **kətaŋ** ‘hole in ground, mine’, Khmer **ʔəndo:ŋ** (!) ‘well, mine’ (contaminated by **ʔəndau** ‘ditch, hole, cave’ < #78 ***[h]ntuuʔ**), Chrau **chuŋ** ‘hole’, Palaung **tuŋ** ‘ditch’ (#557 ***kt₁uŋ**).

The final item is less satisfactory, in that Temiar and other Central Aslian languages show an unexplained apparent loss of ***C₁**. Although Nicobarese seems to confirm the implication of the Chrau form, I note the reconstruction as provisional.

‘Egg’: Sre, Biat **tap**, Chrau **cap**, Temiar **tab** (!), Shom Pe Nicobarese **ka:'te:əb** (#1253 ***[k]t₁ap**). Jehai (North Aslian), Semnam (Central Aslian) **kətəd** may show ***kt-** with assimilation of the final.

The examples of other voiceless plosive sequences below are illustrative rather than comprehensive.

***tk-**: ‘island’: Old Mon *tko*, Modern Mon **kɔʔ** (!), Khmer **kəh** (!), Stieng **kə:h** [**dà:k**], Biat **kɔ:u** [**da:k**] (#23 ***tkɔʔ**, ***tkɔ:h**; → Thai **kɔʔ**). For some sequences there is at least sporadic loss of ***C₁** in Khmer (cf. below ‘to plant’, ‘to calculate’, ‘to sweep’), so perhaps Khmer → Thai, whence Mon **k-** by contamination; but modern Mon loses **C₁** also in ‘flower’, below.

‘Cold’: Biat **kat** ‘cold’, Khmu Yuan **kat**, Palaung **kət**, Praok **kuat**, Lawa Bo Luang **koat**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sarian **kət** ‘cold [weather]’, Proto-Semai ***dkat** ‘cold’ (#962 ***tkat** &c.).

h following **C₁** in Khmer in certain sequences is prosodic (Jacob’s transcription reproduces the orthography preferred in *Vacananukram Khmer*, which is not absolutely consistent); so e.g. *phk-* transcribes /**pk**/. ***t**, ***p** at **C₁** are not glottalized as they are in ***CVC** forms.

***pk-**: ‘flower’: Old Mon *pkāw*, Modern Mon **kao** (!) (beside **pəkao** ‘floral decoration’), Khmer **phka:**, Stieng **ka:o**, Sre **bəka:w** (!) by back-borrowing ← Röglai, Biat **ka:ɔ**, Semnam (Central Aslian) &c. **bəkaw** (#1819 ***pkaaw**, ***pkaʔ**).

***pt-**: ‘Fungus’: Old Mon *ptis*, Modern Mon **pətəh**, Palaung **tir**, Riang-Lang **ˀtis**, Praok **ti**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sarian **taih**, Lawa Umpai **tas**, Khasi **tit** (!), Proto-Semai ***btees** (#1903 ***pt₁is**, ***pt₁iis**).

***p** following a plosive loses its occlusion and becomes *w* in Old Mon; then Old

Mon *tw-* > Modern Mon *kw-* except before high or high mid back vowel, when *-w-* is lost. **t* before plosive > Khasi *s*, *sh* (cf. ‘ear’, p. 2.42; and the similar development before nasal—also in Palaungic—below).

**tp-*: ‘to step’: Old Mon *twek* ‘to walk, pace’, Modern Mon *kwaik* ‘to walk’, Mường *pưôt*, Vietnamese *bước* ‘(to) step’ (#349 **t₁paak*).

‘To calculate’: (Old Mon **twok* >) Mon *tok*, Khmer *bo:k*! (#351 **tpuuk*, **tpuək*).

‘To bind round’: Mon *kwoiŋ* id. (with vocalism by contam. *həmoŋ* ‘to wind round...’), Khasi *spong* ‘turban, to put turban on’ (#613 **t₂p[oo]ŋ*).

‘Rice mortar’: Khmer *tbal*, Stieng *pa:l*, Palaung *pər*, Riang-Lang *pal*, Praok *pə* (#1757 **tpal*).

‘To sweep’: Middle Mon *twah*, Modern Mon *kwəh*, Khmer *baoh* (!), Stieng *pu:ih*, Sre *pəs*, Biat *pəh*, Jeh *pu:yh*, Khmu Yuan *pəʔ*, Palaung *pir*, Riang-Lang *pis*, Praok *pi* id., Proto-Semai **pɿrs*: ‘to wipe’ (#1916 **t₂puus* &c.; **tp-* is supported by affixed forms in Riang-Lang and North Aslian).

**c* following a plosive retains its affrication in South Bahnaric, Khmu Yuan, and Riang-Lang; at least dialectally in Bahnar, and under conditions yet to be determined in Palaung (whereas in *CVC forms **c-* > Stieng *s*, *c*, Biat *ch*, Bahnar *s*, *ts*, Sre, Chrau, Khmu Yuan, Palaung, Riang-Lang *s*). These clusters are the main source of *c-* in the above languages apart from loans. Sre sometimes has *ch-* (see ‘to die’, ‘charcoal’); one instance of *ch-* in Chrau (‘charcoal’) may result from assimilation. Old Mon *kc-* > Modern Mon *ch-*, Literary Mon (properly) *khy-*; Old Mon *pc-* > Modern Mon *phy-*.

**kc-*: ‘to prick...’: Sre *cok* id., Biat *co:k* ‘to peck, [snake] to bite’, Bahnar *cə:k* ‘to cut a notch, (?)’, Palaung *cəʔ* ‘to prick’, Vietnamese *chọc* (!) ‘to pierce, puncture’ (#295 **kcok*, **kcook*; **k-* is established from a Khmer affixed form).

‘die’: Old Mon *kcit*, Modern Mon *chət*, Stieng *cə:t*, Sre *chət*, Chrau *cwt* id., Palaung *cuət* ‘[ghost] to leave the world’, Mường *chít*, Vietnamese *chết* ‘to die’ (#987 **kc[ə]t*). Biat has *khət*, perhaps by hypercorrection related to the palatalization of **kiət* &c.

‘Scattered’: Mon *chai* ‘to be separated, scattered...’, Khmer *khca:y* ‘to scatter, spread (v.i.t.)’, West Bahnar *cai* ‘to scatter...’ (#1460 **kcaay*).

‘Charcoal’: Mon, Sre, Chrau *chah*, Praok *sua*, Lawa Bo Luang *səih*, Lawa Umpai *səs* (#1824 **kcas* &c.; **k-* is established from affixed forms in Khmu Yuan and Riang-Lang).

**pc-*: ‘bitter, astringent’: Mon *phyəp* ‘to be astringent’, Khmer *cət* ‘bitter’, Stieng *cət* ‘bitter, astringent, sharp’, Bahnar *tsi:t* ‘bitter...’, Khmu Yuan *cet*, ‘Central Sakai’ *běchut* ‘sour’ (#989 **pcət*).

Old Mon *c* before plosive yields Middle Mon *s* and falls (with *s* < **s*) in modern Mon; **cp-* > Old Mon *cw-* > Modern Mon *hw-*.

**ck-*: ‘to grasp, hold’: Old Mon *ckem*, Modern Mon *kem* ‘to grasp’, Khasi *skhem* ‘firmly, securely’ (with *-kh-* by levelling on *shikhem* ‘(one) handful?’), Vietnamese *kém* ‘pincers, tweezers’, (?) Kensiu (North Aslian) *cəkam* ‘to hold’ (#1312 **ckiam* &c.).

**cp-*: ‘to pull sharp instrument across’: Mon *hwat* ‘to shred with a sharp instrument’, Khmer *pa:t* (!) ‘to trim or file down’, Stieng *pa:t* ‘to cut oneself on a sharp instrument’, Bahnar *pāt* ‘to whet’ (#1026 **cpaat*; note Mường, Vietnamese *phát* ‘to cut, trim’). The Khmer reflex is discussed below.

In three items **c-* has been speculatively reconstructed to account for unexplained aspiration in Stieng and/or Sre: note Stieng **phu:ŋ** ‘to wallow’ < #612 **[c]puuŋ*; Sre **khual** ‘to bark’, Stieng **kuə:l**, (Blood 1966) **khual** ‘to call’, < #1709 **[c]kuul* &c.; Stieng **phuə:l** ‘kind of gourd or melon’ beside **puəl** ‘kind of greenish cucumber’ < #1756 **[c]puəls*, **[c]pə[l]* []; Stieng **ghuŋ** ‘ladder’, Chrau **guŋ** id. < #515 **[c]guŋ* &c.

Reconstructions of sequences of like consonants are rare: one each of **cəc-*, **pəp-*, **dəd-*, **bəb-*. Only **bəbeʔ* ‘goat’, an onomatopoe, has a general distribution. The other three, one also an onomatopoe, are found in Mon and Khmer only and may belong to the post-PMK period of mutual influence between these two languages. In Mon they develop as disyllables, **C₁* yielding **h-**. We note in this section:

‘House lizard’: Mon **həcək**, Khmer **cəcək** (#297 **cəcak*, **cəcək*).

‘Skate’: Mon **[kaʔ] həpa** id., Khmer **bəbael** (beside **prəbael**) ‘skate, shark’ (#1760 **p[r]pail*).

Other reflexes. In four items where plosive sequences are or might be reconstructed we find Khmer unglottalized **t-**, **p-**. We have already cited **pa:t** ‘to trim down...’ < **cpaat*. From **taək** ‘gills’, **taək taək** ‘temples’: ‘Semang’, Sak. **pětök** ‘temples’ the reconstruction **ptəək* (#321) also seems assured. **taok** ‘spoonful’ (T.), ad #315 **[ʔ]tuuk* ‘to scoop up’, seems to require a prefixed form. A similar construction might account for **tək** ‘sound of dripping’, ad #314 **tuək* ‘to drip’, with several derivatives; but it may be a back-formation from **tətək** ‘to drip’, if that is a loan from western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Malay *titek* ‘drop...’).

These are obscure. We shall propose **ʔt-* as a possible source of Khmer **t-**. Borrowing from Stieng or another South Bahnaric language could account for them, but no obvious etyma are recorded.

In **khtə:t** ‘to cackle’: Mon **kətət** (974 **ktəət*) onomatopoeia sufficiently explains the anomalous reflex.

Cf. also (for **ck-*) #19, #801, #1236, #1237, #1970;

(**tk-*) #23, #505, #506, #961, #962, #1818;

(**pk-*) #1238, #1819;

(**kc-*) #47, #295, #296, #530, #987, #988, #1252a, #1460, #1597a, #1892, #1893;

(**tc-*) #531, #981, #982, #986;

(**pc-*) #299, #989, #1895;

(**kt-*) #70, #317, #554, #555-#557, #815, #988, #1007, #1008, #1009, #1252a, #1254, #1348, #1348a, #1620, #1621, #1735, #1736, #1825, #1826, #1900, #2005;

(**ct-*) #1351;

(**pt-*) #321, #1827, #1828, #1903;

(**kp-*) #611, #1025, #1167, #1914, #1915;

(**cp-*) #1026, #1638;

(**tp-*) #72a, #350, #351, #1757.

We have so far assumed that the loss of **C₁* in this type of sequence is regular in Bahnaric, Khmuic and Palaungic as well as in Viet-Mường (where of course all forms are reduced to monosyllables usually of CV(C) structure). This is without doubt true of South Bahnaric. Even in the case of the other languages such an assumption cannot be easily

disproved, inasmuch as any root may in principle be combined with an affix, and—as we shall see—formally most if not all disyllables in North Bahnaric etc. can be accounted for from affixed protoforms. Such arguments are most convincing when affixed forms are attested elsewhere. Thus in the case of ‘crab’ (#1348) Mon **hətam**, ‘Semang’ **kəntem** require the construction of an infixed ***k/n/taam**, and we refer Jeh **kata:m**, Bahnar, Halang, Khmu Yuan **kəta:m** to it. Similarly with ‘charcoal’ (#1892), where we have Rōngao **kəcaʔ**, Jeh **kacah**, Halang **kəcah**, infixed forms are attested in both Khmu Yuan (**kənsah**) and Riāng-Lāng (**kərc(h)as**).

It is less easy to see why an infixed form should be used for ‘to die’ (ib.) when we find Jeh **kaciāt**, even beside West Bahnar **kəcit** with the developed sense ‘to die miserably’. Again, Khmu Yuan **pətaʔ** ‘smoke’ may well reflect an affixed form vis-a-vis Riāng-Lāng **ṽtəʔ ɲal**, Praok **taw** (#1828 ***pt₁[əw]ʔ**); but we should prefer independent evidence. And in Riāng-Lāng at least, where reconstructible infixial elements all appear to have overt reflexes at any rate in some contexts—we cannot say that they are not generalized to others by analogy—there are difficulties in accounting for all simple two-plosive reflexes in this way. In discussing sequences of plosive + nasal or liquid it will be suggested that divergent reflexes in Palaungic especially are attributable to differences at V_1 in Pre-PMK ***CVCVC** structure. It is not beyond possibility that the same factor might result in the retention of two-plosive sequences in Palaungic and elsewhere. The question awaits further research (and above all more extensive lexica).

2.1.2 Two-plosive sequences: voiceless + voiced

In Old Mon we find clusters of voiceless + voiced plosive, **tg-** etc., which are taken to be reflexes of corresponding PMK sequences. Two other distinctive reflexes can then be established: Khmer cognates have head register, and Bahnar also Hre/Sedang (but not Jeh or Halang) have voiceless initial, implying in each case devoicing of the second plosive under the influence of the first. (The corresponding voicing of an originally voiceless plosive following a voiced one is recorded in the next section.)

C₁** is lost in Khmer in half the items in a rather short list, this limited evidence suggesting a tendency to preserve back consonants (k**, ***c**) and drop front ones (***t**, ***p**). Khasi loses ***C₁** in the two items recorded.

The one item recorded for Temiar (**taju:ʔ** ‘snake’ < #54 ***tjooʔ**) preserves the PMK sequence, as do cognates in both other Aslian branches.

Modern Mon forms have chest register. Some Old Mon forms have a vowel inserted following **C₁** (note **pdar**, **pudar** ‘to shade’); **C₁** then > Modern Mon **h**. Old Mon **kj-** > Modern Mon **c-**, Literary Mon **gy-**; Old Mon **pj-** > Modern Mon **py-** (cf. Old Mon **kc-** etc.). The Mon treatment of ***-b-** is irregular, presumably as a result of dialect borrowing; it is sometimes preserved, but usually becomes **w** with voicing of the preceding plosive. Note ***cb-** > Old Mon **jw-** > Modern Mon **hw-**.

Chrau has **j-** < ***kd-** (as **c(h)-** < ***kt-**) in **jə: pri:t** ‘plantain flower’ < #82 ***kdəʔ**.

Correlations between Mon and Khmer or Bahnar are seen in the following examples.

‘To take hold of’: Mon **pəkòŋ** ‘to yoke’, Literary Mon **bgan** also ‘to take hold of, come to grips’, Khmer **kan** ‘to hold’ (→ Stieng **kan** ‘to take, accept’) (#1134 ***pgan**).

‘Old’: Old Mon **pju**, Modern Mon **pyùʔ** ‘to be old, aged, dilapidated’, Bahnar **tsə** ‘old, antiquated, dilapidated’, probably Palaung **jo** ‘lifetime’ (#57 ***pjooʔ**).

‘Kind of yam’: Mon **kətət** id., Khmer **kda:t** ‘Arum indicum’ (#1011 ***kdaat**).

‘To rub’: Middle Mon **jwīt** ‘to pass one’s hand over’, Modern Mon **hwīt** ‘to stroke’, Khmer **bɿt** ‘to rub on, apply’ (#1036 ***cbiit**).

‘Hibiscus’: Mon [**kao**] **hwèa** id., Khmer **cba:** ‘Hibiscus rosa-sinensis’ (#1646 ***cbaar**).

Clusters of this type are reconstructed wherever there are voicing discrepancies between appropriate languages. The reconstruction of *C₁ may then depend on affixed forms, or in some cases be arbitrary. Thus:

‘Ladder’: Stieng **ghu:ŋ**, Chrau **gu:ŋ** id., Biat **gu:ŋ**, Bahnar **ku:ŋ** ‘ladder, stair’, Jeh, Halang **gùan** ‘house-ladder’ (#515 *[**c**]guuŋ). ***c-**, which probably accounts for the Stieng aspiration, is supported by an affixed form in Khs.

‘Kind of hornbill’: Khmer [**sat kaen**] **kə:k** (T.), Riang-Lang [**klan**] **_kok**, Khasi **koh-[karang &c.]**, Proto-Semai with voicing metathesis ***dkuuk** (#284 ***tgɔk**).

The next item assumes borrowing from Jeh to account for Bahnar **g-**. Mon shows the same sporadic loss of *C₁ as was seen in ***tkɔɔʔ** (#23), ***pkaaw** (#1819).

‘Fork, clamp, to clamp’: Mon **kèp** (!) ‘fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride’, Khmer **ka:p** ‘frame, cramp-iron, tongs, (beside **kì:əp** ‘to press, squeeze’ by levelling on der.), Stieng **ga:p** ‘to take in tongs, clamp’, Sre **gap** ‘to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]’, Jeh **ga:p** ‘to hold with slit stick’ (→ Bahnar **ga:p** ‘to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fix with clamp’), Palaung **gap** ‘to affix’, Vietnamese **cáp** ‘to edge mat; rim, edge’ (#1242 ***[t]gap**, ***[t]gaap**). The Sre short vowel is further evidence for *CC-.

Cf. also (for ***cg-**) #514, #515, #1237, #1449, #1581a;

(***tg-**) #248, #516, #517, #893a, #1242;

(***pg-**) #518, #1133, #1134;

(***kj-**) #52, #1335, #1461, #1608;

(***tj-**) #54, #895, #1336;

(***pj-**) #57, #1150, #1728;

(***kd-**) #82, #574, #576, #577, #1011, #1012, #1628, #1745;

(***td-**) #83;

(***pd-**) #84;

(***cb-**) #1036, #1485, #1646, #1742;

(***tb-**) #364, #907, #1646a, #1763.

(***kb-**) #1484.

2.1.3 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiceless

The opposite voicing discrepancy—Khmer chest register and/or Bahnar voiced initial against voiceless-initial reflexes in other languages—leads to the reconstruction of the third type of plosive sequence. *C₁ is preserved in Khmer in about one item in three, the evidence again suggesting a tendency—not a rule—to retain back consonants but not front ones; ***j** before plosive > Khmer **s**, **Ø**. The sequence is preserved in about half the items in Khs.; specifically ***dk-** > **dkh-**, ***bc-** > **bs-**, but ***dc-** > **s-**, ***dp-** > **ph-**; the occurrences are too few to be certain that these developments are regular. Note that ***d**, ***b** at *C₁, when retained, are not devoiced as in *CVC structure. So far as the evidence goes, these sequences are again preserved in Temiar (but not apparently always in all Aslian languages). A voiced plosive is lost before a voiceless one in Mon; ***p** at *C₂ is then preserved.

Reconstructions are straightforward where the sequence is directly attested in Khmer, Khasi or Aslian

‘White, clean’: Mon **koh** ‘to be white’, Khmer **skùh** ‘pure white’, Sre **kuh** ‘pale grey’, Bahnar dialects gu:ah ‘clean, white’ (#1971 ***jkuh**, ***jkuəh**).

‘To adjoin, adhere’: Old Mon **cap** ‘to adhere’, Modern Mon **cəp** id., **cip** ‘to be set edge to edge’, Khmer **cəp** ‘to adhere’, Sre, Biat **cap** ‘to fasten together’, Bahnar **ji:p** ‘joined edge to edge’, Palaung **siəp** ‘to pile neatly...’, Riang-Lang **sap** ‘to put in, on’, Khasi **bsap** ‘to mix with, to insert’ **bsiap** (beside **siap**; c.f., or by back-formation) ‘to put between two things, insert’, Vietnamese **chấp** ‘to join, assemble’ (#1254 ***bcap** &c.).

‘Snail’: Mon **taoʔ**, Temiar **gatūʔ** (#71 ***gtooʔ**).

‘(To) thunder’: Khmer **khtə̀** ‘to reverberate’, Stieng **tə:rh**, Chrau **tər** ‘thunder’, Biat **[tah] tər** ‘(to) thunder’ (#1622 ***gtər**; Bahnar **tə:r** ‘thunderclap; [lightning] to strike’ is likely to be a loan from Jeh/Halang, though the etymon is not recorded).

‘To burst, explode, pustulate’: Khmer **phtùh** ‘to crackle, to burst, explode’, Stieng **təh** ‘spark, to give off sparks; (in compounds) eruptive infection’, Sre **təh** ‘eruption’, Chrau **təh** ‘pimple’, Bahnar **do:h** ‘to explode’, **du:h** ‘pus, to suppurate’, (W.) **dəh**, Lawa Bo Luang **teh**, Lawa Umpai **thias** (!) ‘to give off sparks’, Palaung **teh** ‘[lightning] to strike, [gun] to go off’ (#2008 ***bt₁uh** &c.). The implication of earlier voicing in Lawa suggests borrowing from Bahnar (!); contrast Lawa Umpai **koʔ** ‘body’ < #20 ***jkooʔ**, **kəic** ‘hot...’ < #803 ***[b]kuc**, ***[b]kuuc**.

One widely distributed item causes difficulty. From Old Mon **piñ**, Modern Mon **pəiŋ**, Khmer **pəj** ‘(to be) full’, Sre **piŋ** ‘to overflow’, Bahnar **be:j** ‘full’, Khasi **phoiñ** ‘entirely’ it is possible to construct ***[d]pəj** &c. (#907). But Stieng **biʔi:ŋ**, Sre **bi:ŋ**, Chrau **ve:j**, Biat **be:ŋ**, Jeh **bij** ‘full’, Halang **bì:ŋ** ‘full of water, can be reconciled with this on the assumption of borrowing of this core item from Bahnar into Jeh/Halang and from Bahnar or Khmer into Proto-South Bahnaric. However, Temiar has **təbik**, with a consonantism consistent throughout Central Aslian. Rather it is preferable to assume doublets at PMK level in ***dp-**, ***tb-** by voicing shift (note Sre doublets: **piŋ**, **bi:ŋ**); and I do so.

Cf. also (for ***jk-**) #20, #504, #1817, #1971;

(***dk-**) #892, #1129, #1711, #1237, #1446, #1570, #1972, #1973;

(***bk-**) #803, #1571, #1712;

(***dc-**) #1144, #1329;

(***bc-**) #532, #1245, #1246, #1599;

(***gt-**) #71, #1010, #1622, #1623;

(***jt-**) #318, #558, #1257, #1902;

(***bt-**) #74, #562, #563, #1156, #1352, #1468, #1738, #2008;

(***dp-**) #907, #1027, #1028, #1168, #1468, #1759.

(***gs-**) #1102.

2.1.4 Two-plosive sequences: voiced + voiced

It follows from the last three sections that a sequence of two voiced plosives should be reconstructed when, given evidence of a plosive sequence as such, Khmer and/or Bahnar is in agreement with other languages in having a voiced-initial reflex. The four types of plosive sequence yield e.g. the following correspondences:

PMK	Mon	Khm.
voiceless + voiceless	head register	head register
voiceless + voiced	chest register	head register
voiced + voiceless	head register	chest register
voiced + voiced	chest register	chest register

*C₁ is preserved in Khmer more often than not; there are doublets, **k-** ~ **phk-**, &c., in about a quarter of the instances; *j before voiced plosive > Khmer **s-**. So far as the evidence goes, *C₁ appears to be preserved in Aslian. The case of Mon requires discussion.

*b following voiced plosive usually > Old Mon **w**, Modern Mon **w**, as following voiceless plosive. Correspondents reflecting other C₂ are hard to find unless we assume that the sequences were preserved in Old Mon with inserted vowel (actual Old Mon attestations are wanting). The Old Mon initial plosive whether voiced or voiceless would yield Middle Mon voiceless plosive (also in infixed forms) by a voicing distribution rule, thence Modern Mon **h-**. It cannot be proved that such Modern Mon forms do not always reflect affixed protoforms, but the development would be solidary with that of *Cb-. We shall adopt the hypothesis.

We may then cite:

‘Molar, jaw’: Khmer **thkì:əm** ‘molar’, Stieng **gɔ:m** id., **ga:m** ‘jawbone’, Biat **gam** ‘molar’, Vietnamese **cằm** ‘chin’ (#1318 ***dgam** &c.).

‘Stump, log’: Middle Mon **taguiw**, Modern Mon **həkə** ‘stump’, Khmer **kùəl** ‘id., floating log’, Biat **gəl** ‘log (nq.)’ (#1719 ***d₂gəl** &c.).

‘To emit smoke’: Mon **həkùì** ‘to smoulder, smoke’, Temiar **bəguy** ‘[smoke] to waft’ (#1450 ***bguy**).

‘Solid’: Khmer **cəp**, **khcəp** ‘solid, enduring’, Stieng **jap** ‘solid’, Bahnar **[kəjap]** **jap**, **yap** (with variant **y-** in juncture?) ‘very solid’ (#1248 ***gjap**).

‘Bad’: Kuy **cù:**, Rōngao **co:** (!), Palaung **jo**, Praok **caw**, Mah Meri (South Aslian) **bajaw** (#58 ***bjoo?** &c.; Khmer **cè:** ‘to rebuke, insult’ is connected with a front-vowel var.).

‘To gather together’: Khmer **cùm**, **phcùm** id., Stieng dial. **jɔ:m[ja:l]** ‘to meet (together)’, Vietnamese **chùm** ‘to assemble, join, gather’ (#1338 ***bjum** &c.). Jeh **yum** ‘to pick up in a bunch’, Halang **yu:m** ‘to gather together’ may be cognate or may reflect a nasal-infix form.

‘Hut, room’: obsolescent Mon **hətòm** ‘room’, Khmer **khtò:m** ‘hut, shelter’ (#1359 ***gdɔəm**).

‘Walling material’: Mon **hətəŋ** ‘(wall of) twilled bamboo’ Khmer **phtəŋ** ‘panel, leaf, partition’ (#580 ***bdaŋ**).

‘Paddy-bin’: Mon **kwàŋ** ‘large wicker basket for storing paddy’, Khmer **pò:ŋ** ‘paddy store under house’, Sre **boŋ** **[ko:y]**, Bahnar **buŋ** ‘paddy-bin in granary’, Palaung **buŋ** ‘receptacle’ (#627 ***gb[o]ŋ**; velar initial confirmed by loans in western Austronesian languages).

‘To climb, scale’: Old Mon **dwān** ‘to assault, march against’, Modern Mon **kwàn** ‘to climb’ (Literary Mon **dwān** also ‘to assault’), Khmer **pì:ən** ‘to climb, to march against’ (#1175 ***dbaan**).

But Literary Mon **bañ** **[bway]** ‘marshy pool’ reflects ***db-**, or perhaps ***tb-**, on the

evidence of affixed forms in Khmer and South Bahnaric with Lawa and Vietnamese cognates (#628 *[d]baŋ[] &c.).

Cf. also (for *bg-) #1320, #1450;

(*bj-) #58, #1338, #1823;

(*gb-) #627, #1645;

(*jb-) #363, #1173, #1174, #1486;

(*db-) #628, #629, #1175.

Ambiguous reconstructions, implying *b or *ɓ, are made in #1035 (*g[b]-), #1834 (*d[b]-).

2.1.5 Other consonant + plosive

In this section we discuss sequences of liquid; *s; nasal; and glottal stop, followed by plosive in each case. The order is one of convenience.

(a) **Liquid + plosive.** Sequences of this type are not very frequent, to which circumstance their observable liability to metathesis may well contribute. But the opposite metathesis of the high-frequency sequence type plosive + liquid is to be found especially in Bahnaric, where it is favoured by the pattern generated by related sequences + *r- infix.

*l appears to be lost in all languages least before voiceless plosive, except perhaps in Aslian. Such reconstructions then depend on the evidence of affixed and metathetic forms.

‘To be broken, split in two’: Old Mon *pāk* ‘to be shattered’, Modern Mon *paik* ‘to split’, Khmer *baek* ‘broken’, *bak*, Stieng *pak* ‘to break’, Sre *pa?* ‘id. (v.i.t.)’, [tam] *pa*: ‘to share out’, Chrau *pa:?* id., *pa?* ‘to snap, break off’, Rōngao *pak* ‘[cord &c.] to break’, Jeh *pa:k* ‘to split’, Theng *pāk* ‘to break (v.t.)’, Khasi *phiah* ‘to split,’ (#352 **lpak* &c.; note for **lp-* Old Mon *l/ur̥/pek* ‘either of two sides’, Khmu Yuan *tə-lpak* ‘to break (v.t.)’; Riang-Lang *pliek* ‘(to) crack’ may reflect a metathetic **pliək*).

‘To separate, pick’: Mon *pəh* ‘to be displaced’, Khmer *beh* ‘to pick, pluck’, East Bahnar *pə:h*, West Bahnar *pə?* ‘id., to strip, peel, scale’, Palaung *pəh*, Praok *pə*, Lawa Bo Luang *pəih*, Vietnamese *bề* ‘to pick, pluck’ (#2030 **lpiəh*; ~ **pliəh*, in Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric; note also from an infixed form Middle Mon *lapah* [ket] ‘to pick up’).

Kensiu *lätig* ‘tongue’ < #320 **ntaak* may reflect secondary **l* < **n*, attested also in Palaung and Nicobarese Cf. further (for **lt-*,) #322; (**lp-*) #352, #354, #616, #2030, #2030a.

**l* + voiced plosive is attested by simple forms only in #1921 **[l]baas*. (Old Mon, which preserves **r* in the parallel sequences, has one provisionally read instance of *lj-* in (*l*)*ja* ‘to halt, rest’.)

Sequences of **r* + voiced plosive are demonstrably preserved, as sequences, in Old Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Lawa and Khasi **r* then > Jeh, Khasi *l*; Proto-Waic **r* > Lawa Umpai *ra-*, Lawa Mae Sariang *ya-* (and BL *ʔa-*, Praok *si-*). Old Mon *r-* is lost in Modern Mon except that Old Mon *rj-* > Modern Mon *s-*, with chest register.

‘To shake’: Chrau *rəgu:*, Biat *rgu:* v.t., Lawa Umpai *rakhoh*, Lawa Mae Sariang *yakuh* v.i. (#30 **rguu?* &c.).

‘Cart’: Khmer *rətəh*, Stieng *rədəh*, Kontum Bahnar *rədə:h* (#2011 **rdeh*).

‘Firm, secure’: Old Mon *rbin*, Modern Mon *pən* id., Khasi *lpan* ‘stoutly’, Mường *pèn*, Vietnamese *bền* ‘durable’ (#1176 **rbin* &c.).

Riang-Lang has **_pat** ‘to fan, winnow...’ < #1037 ***rbət**, but the affixed form **_smpat** ‘flail, fan; to thresh, beat’ suggests an intermediate secondary ***tbət**.

Cf. also (for ***rg-**) 29, #1452; (***rj-**; by metathesis) #172; (***rb-**) #118, #1037, #1176, and ambiguously ***r[b]-** in #366.

For the treatment of ***r** + voiceless plosive the evidence is both patchier and less conclusive. It suggests that in Bahnaric and Waic, perhaps Palaungic generally, the sequences are normally preserved but ***C₁** lost in compounded forms.

Two metathetic items may be Bahnaric (or in the first case South Bahnaric) innovations. We have Sre **rəkiat**, Biat **rciat** ‘to grind, creak, gnash’ < #1064 ***rkiət**, ~ ***kriət**; and Chrau **rətīəŋ** ‘giant reed’, Bahnar dialects **rətē:ŋ** &c. ‘kind of reed’ < #693 ***rt₁iəŋ**, ~ ***tr₁iəŋ**.

To #1820 ***rk[aw]ʔ** ‘husked rice’ we must certainly refer Rieng-Lang **ʔkoʔ** id. and Khasi **khaw** ‘rice’. Lawa Bo Luang **ʔakauʔ**, Lawa Umpai **rakoʔ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **yakoʔ** cannot, and Palaung **rəko** probably cannot, be referred to the nasal-infix form attested by e.g. Praok **gaw** and Khmu Yuan **rəŋkoʔ**, and with reserve we refer them to the simplex. The relevance of compounding to the foregoing is seen in #2009 ***rt₁ah** ‘to explode’, with its Biat doublets: **rtah** ‘to burst’, **tah** [tər] ‘(to) thunder’, Bahnar **ta:ih** (contrast **rətē:ŋ**, above) ‘[lightning] to strike’, Praok **tu** ‘to flash’ (or < ***btuuh**), Lawa Bo Luang [taʔ] **təuh**, Lawa Umpai **təs** [taʔ], Lawa Mae Sariang **toih** [taʔ] ‘lightning’. Cf. further for ***rk-** #1446a, #1820, for ***rt-** #565, #693, #2009.

For ***rp-** we have two items which are difficult to interpret. In Old Mon *rwaw* ‘weapon’, Khmer **rəbəh** ‘thing, gear, tool...’ < #1917 ***rp[ɔ]s**, Old Mon may have *w* by analogy if ***rp[ɔ]s** is a nominal formation from an unattested verbal root ***r[ɔ]s**. #1918 ***rpuus** &c. apparently yields Mon **puh** [toa] ‘index finger’: Sre [ti] **poa**, Bahnar dialects [kɔ:n] **pɔ:ih** ‘fourth finger’; but **puh** may rather be a byform of **kəpuh** ‘index finger’ < Old Mon *r/wñ/pus* [tey].

(b) ***s + plosive**. ***s** is preserved before plosive in Old Mon and except before a palatal one in Khmer; in Khasi we have dialectal **shk-** < ***sk-** in one item, but before voiced plosive ***s** is lost. Old Mon *s-* is lost in Modern Mon except that (i) Old Mon *sc-* > Modern Mon *s-*; (ii) ***sp-** > (Old Mon *sw-* >) Modern Mon **hw-** /**ɸ**/. Khmer shows sporadic, not regular, devoicing of a voiced plosive following ***s** (cf. the treatment following voiceless plosive), issuing in head register.

In other languages, including Temiar, ***s** appears to be lost; except that ***sk-** yields Palaungic **kh-**, perhaps reflecting a regular metathesis. We do not find the corresponding development in other sequences of the type.

‘Companion, company’: Old Mon *sko* ‘company’, Stieng **kɔ:u** ‘together, with, and’, Synteng Khasi **shkaw** ‘spouse’ (24 ***skɔʔ**).

‘Chaff’: Mon, Theng **kam**, Palaung **kham**, Rieng-Lang **ʔkham**, Vietnamese *cám* (#1313 ***skaamʔ**). Khmer **ʔəŋka:m** suggests a reconstruction ***h/n/k-**, but is perhaps borrowed by an obscure route from Khmu (Khmu Yuan **həŋka:m**); ***s-** is assured by the loanword *səkam* in Malay.

‘Kind of millet’: Khmer **sku:əy** ‘Job’s tears’, Rieng-Lang [ʔkəy] **ʔkhuay** ‘Panicum millet’ (#1447 ***skuəy**).

‘To shine’: Literary Mon *sān* id., Khmer **caen** ‘shining’ (#535 ***scaen**; **sc-** does not occur in Khmer!).

‘Right-hand’: Old Mon *stūm*, Khmer *sdam*, Palaung [i]təm, Lawa Bo Luang [ka]tam, Lawa Umpai təm, Mường tām, Temiar təp (#1309 *st₁am &c.).

‘Thatching-grass’: Mon [nəm] hwp?, Khmer sbo:v (#106 *spu?; *s—rather than *c—seems to follow from Central Nicobarese fo ‘thatch’).

‘To be cut short, to cut’: Old Mon *sgūt* ‘to be interrupted, cut short’, Khmer *skat* ‘to interrupt, to take a short cut, (→ Biat *kat* ‘to decide judicially, to take a short cut’?), Theng *gūt* ‘to cut down’, Khasi *kut* ‘to come to an end’, Vietnamese *cụt* ‘to be too short, to be crippled’, Temiar *gəd* ‘to cut’ (972 *sguut &c.). Khmer has head register < *sb- < *sɓ- in 1493; contrast the register in the next item.

‘Drum’: Khmer *skə̀*, Biat *gər* id., Palaung *gər* ‘noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]’ (1584 *sgər; *s is assured by an Old Mon affixed form).

Cf. also (for *sk-) #24, #1313, #1447, #1572, #1573;

(*st-) #73, #75, #567, #1353;

(*sp-) #106, #618;

(*sg-) #972, #1584, #1721, #1980;

(*sd-) #1629;

Praok, Lawa Bo Luang *kh-* < *sk- are attested in #24.

Ambiguous reconstructions are relatively numerous, mainly owing to difficulty in determining whether *s or *c should be reconstructed at *C₁. Cf. (for *[s]t-) #75, #568; (*[s]p-) #602, #996; (*[s]j-) #1731; (*[s][d]-) #2012.

(c) *Homorganic nasal + plosive*. Reconstructions of nasal-plosive sequences are to be expected on general grounds, as the counterpart of similar sequences involving other classes of *C₂. They fit conveniently into Austric comparative theory as correspondents of Austronesian reduplicate bases of the type of *k’ink’in ‘ring’ (Shorto 1976b:97,102). However, there are difficulties, in a not copious inventory, in reconciling all the apparent correspondences. Different sets are to be stated for sequences with voiceless and those with voiced plosive; in the case of the latter there are further irregularities, which may call for the reconstruction of a different type of sequence in some items or perhaps reflect otherwise irrecoverable differences of articulation point of the original nasal.

The starting-point for all these reconstructions is the supposed Old Mon prenasalized plosives, represented variously by spellings of the type of ’b- ~ mb- ~ ’amb-. We begin with the voiceless-plosive set.

Sequences of homorganic nasal + voiceless plosive are preserved as such in Old Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric other than Stieng, Khmu Yuan, Waic, Aslian (on the evidence of Skeat and Blagden), and Nicobarese Old Mon voiceless prenasalized plosive yields Middle Mon *la-* + plosive, Modern Mon *kə-*, before *k tə-*, with occasional byforms without presyllable. Khmer has sequences of the type ʔənd- etc., Khmu Yuan correspondingly hənt- etc. (and Nicobarese preserves a first-syllable vowel). Proto-Waic prenasalized voiceless plosive loses its nasal element in Lawa Bo Luang, is voiced in the other two dialects, and is voiced with loss of the nasal element in Praok

The nasal is lost in Stieng and Rieng-Lang Vietnamese has the corresponding nasal with a high tone in one case and a low in another. Bahnar loses the nasal, Jeh apparently the plosive, but both develop initial *h* as in Khmu Yuan (so that common protoforms might be set up for North Bahnaric-Khmu). The Palaung and Khasi reflexes are not known.

‘Digit’: Mon **ken**, **taken** ‘finger, toe’, Praok **gen** ‘finger’, Lawa Bo Luang [ʔdɔih] **kəuŋ**, Lawa Umpai **ŋɡuən** [teʔ] ‘thumb’, Vietnamese *ngón* ‘finger, toe’ (#1128 ***ŋkiən**[] &c.).

‘(Kind of) owl’: Chrau **nko**: ‘screech-owl’, Stieng **kəu**, Sak. **ŋkō** ‘owl’ (#1816 ***ŋk[awʔ]**).

‘Ring’: Middle Mon *lacin*, Modern Mon **kəcin**, Khmer **ʔəŋciən** (→ Stieng **nciən**), Lawa Umpai **ŋjaim**, Vietnamese *nhẫn* (#1145 ***nciin**[] &c.).

‘Hole, pit’: Khmer **ʔəndau** ‘ditch, hole, cave’, Stieng **tù**: ‘deep ditch or hole’, Chrau **ntu**: ‘well, water-hole’, Biat **ntu**: ‘hole’, West Bahnar **hətū** ‘deep hole’, Khmu Yuan **həntuʔ**, Riang-Lang **tuʔ**, Praok **daə** ‘hole’ (#72 ***nt₁uuʔ**).

‘Tongue’: Mon **kətaik** (?), Khmer **ʔənda:t** (by assimilation), Khmu Yuan **hənta:k**, Riang-Lang **tək**, Praok **dak**, Lawa Bo Luang **tak**, Lawa Umpai, Lawa Mae Sariang **ndak** (#320 ***nt₁aak**; Mon perhaps reflects var. ***l/n/taak**, cf. Temiar **lenta:g**).

‘(To) dream’: Old Mon *‘ampo’* n., Modern Mon **kəpəʔ**, Sre **mpao** v., Bahnar **(h)apō** ‘prophetic dream’, Jeh **hmòʔ** ‘to dream’, Khmu Yuan **həmpoʔ**, Central Nicobarese **enfu:ə** n.v. (#105 ***mp[ɔ]ʔ**)

In #1327 ***ncim** &c. ‘to eat, to feed’ Mon and Khmer reflect ***nc-**, but Bahnaric and Palaungic similarly show reflexes associated with ***c-**; we reconstruct ***cuum** etc., ***cim cim** > ***ncim**. But it is conceivable that all the forms might be referred to a sequence ***mc-**.

Cf. for ***nt-** also #72, #320, #561.

What are presumed to be sequences of homorganic nasal + voiced plosive give rise to two distinct sets of reflexes in Khmer and South Bahnaric. So far as the evidence goes they are complementarily distributed; but it is hard to see how the difference might arise from the environment. In the attestations the sequences ***ŋg-**, ***nd-** are preserved; but the nasal element of ***nj-**, ***mb-** is lost.

For other languages the evidence is incomplete; we find the sequence preserved in Old Mon and Lawa; Old Mon /**ṅg**, **ṅj**, **ṁb**/ > Modern Mon **ŋ-**, **y-**, **m-** ~ **b-**, with chest register. The nasal is lost in North Bahnaric and Temiar. Vietnamese has usually the corresponding nasal, but with variant (South Vietnamese) /y/ from the palatal. Palaung has in one item **y-** < ***ṅj-**.

(Type 1) ‘to sit down’: Khmer **ʔəŋkùəy**, Sre **ŋguy**, Mường, Vietnamese *ngồi*, Semai **gə:y** (#1448 ***ŋguy**).

‘Eel’: Khmer **ʔəntùəŋ**, Stieng **ndhu:-**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **ndu-** (#579 ***nduŋ** &c.).

(Type 2) ‘sickness, to be sick’: Old Mon *ʔey* v. = *ʔāṇjey* n., Modern Mon **yòə** n.v., Khmer **chù:** (!), Chrau **ji:** v., Sre **ji** n., Biat **ji:** n.v., Bahnar **jiʔ**, Jeh **jì:ʔ**, Halang **jìʔ** v., Temiar **jiʔ** (#55 ***ṅjiiʔ**).

‘Dark in colour’: Mon **yòm** id., Khmer **cədəm** ‘discoloured, stained, bruised...’, Palaung **yəm** ‘black, swarthy’, Mường **giòm** ‘black’ (#1337 ***ṅjum** &c.).

‘Negligent’: Old Mon *ʔbāy*, Khmer **pì:əy**-[**ṇì:əy**] id., Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umpai **mbia**, Lawa Mae Sariang **mbuai** ‘to forget, leave behind’ (#1487 ***mbaay**).

Cf. also (for ***mb-**) #117, #365;

(***ŋg-**) #1448, #1591, #1720;

(***nj-**) #55, #56, #811, #1330, #1337;

(***nd-**) #579.

(d) **ʔ + plosive*. With the exception of **ʔb-*, for which we have reasonably coherent evidence, reconstructions of this type of sequence rest on evidence which is more or less anecdotal. We shall take **ʔb-* first.

**ʔb-* is reconstructed from (i) reflexes associated with **p-* in Khmer, South Bahnaric, and (with sắc tone) in Vietnamese; (ii) with **b-* in Riang-Lang but (iii) with **b-* in Khasi and probably Khmu Yuan, and with either in North Bahnaric, the rest of Palaungic, and Aslian; and (iv) with **mb-* in Mon (The occurrence of a glottal coarticulation in Old Mon prenasalized plosives is suggested both by the spelling and by the development of *b-* as a variant—perhaps originally sentence-initial, since it is found only in nouns and especially in those used as terms of address—from **mb-*.) We have three items.

‘Father’: Old Mon *ʔbaʔ*, Modern Mon *mèʔ* ‘father’, *bèʔ* peremptory term of address to males, Khmer *ba*: ‘father esp. of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation’ (→ Stieng *ba*: onomastic prefix for elder males?), Bahnar *baʔ*, (Röngao *maʔ*), Jeh *ba:ʔ*, Halang *baʔ*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Mae Sarian *puaʔ*, Lawa Umpai *phuaʔ*, Khasi *pa* ‘father’ (#112 **ʔbaaʔ*).

‘To suck at the breast’: Old Mon *ʔbow*, Modern Mon *mèa*, Khmer *bau*, Sre *pouʔ*, Chrau, Biat *pu:*, Jeh *buʔ* id., Khmu Yuan *pùʔ* ‘breast’, Palaung *bu*, Riang-Lang *ʔbuʔ* n.v., Vietnamese *bú* v., Che’ Wong (North Aslian) *buʔ* n.v. (#114 **ʔbuuʔ*).

‘To kneel’: Old Mon *ʔbār*, Modern Mon *mèa*, Khasi *par* id., Vietnamese *bái* ‘to bow, pay homage to’ (#1644 **ʔbaar*).

Two reconstructions involving voiceless plosives are made on the strength of variant spellings with *ʔ* in Old Khmer; to which can be added one where the closely related Kuy has *ʔat-*. In the first of these Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*c-* corresponds to Riang-Lang high-tone *c-*, as from **kc*.

‘Old’: Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*cas*, Modern Khmer *cah*, Stieng *ce:h*, Riang-Lang *ʔcaʔ* (#1891 **ʔcas* &c.).

Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*t-* > Modern Khmer *t-* (whereas **t-* > Khmer *d-*); in the other languages cited in the next item **ʔt-* merges with **t-*.

‘Male elder’: late Old Mon *ta*, Modern Mon *taʔ* ‘father’, Old Khmer (*ʔ*)*tā* ‘old man’, Modern Khmer *ta*: ‘grandfather’, Stieng *ta*: onomastic prefix for junior males, Khmu Yuan *taʔ*, Praok *ta* ‘grandfather’, Palaung *ta* ‘master, grandfather’, Riang-Lang *ʔtaʔ* id., ‘husband’, Lawa *taʔ* ‘grandfather, old man’, Temiar *ta:ʔ* ‘sir’ (#68 **ʔtaʔ*).

‘Afraid, to fear’: Kuy *ʔatu:ŋ*, Khasi *tieng* (Mnar *tyoŋ*), Temiar *tu:k* (#552 **ʔtuuŋ*; the unexpected Khasi vocalism may result from the initial).

In #529, #1987 **ʔc-* is tentatively reconstructed to account for correspondences of Khmer *c-* to *c-* in South Bahnaric (as from **kc-* etc.); cf. also #46. **t-* is tentatively reconstructed to account for Khmer *t-* in #550, #1346.

2.2.1 Voiceless plosive + glottalized consonant

Sequences involving glottalized consonants have a plosive as the first member in some eight-ninths of all instances; and in about three-quarters of these cases the plosive is a voiceless one. Generally, the reconstruction of **d̥* or **b̥* at *C*₂ depends on the same languages—Mon, Riang-Lang, Khasi, Viet-Mường—as at *C*₁ in **CVC* structures (section 1.3). Sequences **kd̥-* etc. are preserved as sequences in Old and Middle Mon (the initial consonant being lost in modern Mon) and normally in Khasi.

Such sequences are also to be reconstructed when evidence of a glottalized consonant in a criterion language coincides with evidence of a sequence in a language which merges glottalized consonants and voiced plosives: generally Khmer, in one instance Chrau (with **j-** < **kḍ-**); cf. section 2.1.2. Note that in Bahnar the reflexes of ***ḍ** ***ḍ**, unlike those of voiced plosives, are not devoiced following voiceless plosive. Distinctive evidence may also be derived from the South Bahnaric reflexes of related nasal-infix forms.

Mon and/or Khasi initial clusters are seen in the following examples.

‘Bamboo-joint’: Middle Mon *kḍon* ‘areca-nut container’, Modern Mon **ḍaŋ** ‘bamboo tube’, **ḍoŋ** ‘bamboo-joint used to hold liquids’, Sre **ḍiŋ**, Biat **ḍuŋ** (& Chrau (Blood 1966) **ḍiŋ** by interdialectal borrowing) ‘tube’, Stieng **ḍi:ŋ**, Bahnar **ḍi:ŋ**, Jeh **ḍiŋ** ‘bamboo tube’, Halang **ḍi:ŋ** ‘water-pipe’, Palaung **ḍiŋ** ‘bamboo container for liquids’, Khasi *’dong* ‘short pipe, betel-case’ (#903 ***kḍiŋ** &c.). Khasi here has a compounding form, therefore simple initial. Khmer **taoŋ** ‘cask’ is probably a loan from Malay *tong*.

‘To break, snap’: Mon **ḍek** [**pru?**] v.i., Khasi *kḍiah* v.t. (#331 ***[k]ḍ[ai]k**).

‘Span’: Middle Mon *cḍa*, Modern Mon **ḍa?**, Bahnar dialects **ḍā**, Khasi *ḍda* (#89 ***cḍa?**).

‘Wet’: Middle Mon *tḍek*, Modern Mon **ḍeak**, Khmer **tətùk** (#339 ***tḍiək** &c.).

‘Umbrella’: Old Mon *tḍon*, Modern Mon **ḍaŋ**, Khmer (!) **taŋ-**, **təəŋ-[yù:]**, Stieng **do:ŋ** [**iu:**], Biat **ḍo:ŋ** [**yu:**] id., Palaung **ḍoŋ** quantifier for umbrellas (#586 ***tḍuŋ** &c.).

‘Stalk, tail’: Khmu Yuan **tḍ:ŋ** ‘tail of bird’, Khasi *ḍdong* ‘tail’ (#585 ***tḍoŋ**).

‘To have in one’s mouth’: Khmer **biəm** ‘to hold in mouth, suck’, Chrau **ve:m** ‘to suck in mouth’, **vum** ‘mouthful [of rice wine]’, Riang-Lang **ḥum** ‘to hold in mouth’, Khasi *kbum* ‘to close one’s lips’, Vietnamese *móm-mém* ‘to mumble, chew’ (#1375 ***kḍiim** &c.).

‘Bamboo shoots’: Old Mon *tḍan*, Modern Mon **beŋ**, Stieng **ba:ŋ** id., Biat **ban** ‘shoots’, Palaung **bəŋ**, Lawa, BL **poŋ**, Lawa Umpai **phoŋ**, Lawa Mae Sariang **phoŋ**, **phuŋ**, Vietnamese *măng* [*tre*] ‘bamboo shoots’ (#636 ***tḍaŋ**).

In the next group of examples the evidence for a sequence lies in Khmer (as a voicing discrepancy where **C₁** is not preserved; cf. section 2.1.2); or, in the last item, in Chrau.

‘To nip off with one’s nails’: Mon **ḍoik**, Khmer **kdec ktic** (#819 ***kḍ[ə]c**).

‘Dipper, ladle’: Khmer **baoy**, Palaung **boy**, Riang-Lang **ḥoe**, Vietnamese *môi* (#1491 ***kḍooy**). ***k-** is established here from the loanword Thai **krăbuay**.

‘To withdraw’: Mon **bot** ‘to draw out, unsheathe’, Khmer **baoc** ‘to pull out’ (#831 ***cḍooc**). Here ***c-** is established from parallel western Austronesian forms: Malay *chabut*, etc.

‘To cook’: Chrau **jaŋ**, Riang-Lang **ḍəŋ** (#583 ***kḍaŋ**).

In addition to ***pḍ-**, I provisionally reconstruct ***p[ḍ]-** on the basis of two equations that suggest that the normal reflex in Khmer and Bahnaric is **pr-**.

‘Dry season’: Old Khmer *prañ*, Modern Khmer **praŋ** id., Sre, Chrau **praŋ** ‘dry weather’, Vietnamese *nắŋ* ‘sunshine, to be sunny’ (#588 ***p[ḍ]aŋ**).

‘Five’: Old Khmer *prañ*, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pram**, Mường *ḍăm*, Vietnamese *năm* (#1363 ***p[ḍ]am**).

[End of manuscript—Eds.]

Part 3 Comparative Dictionary

1 *ʔiʔ; *hiʔ we.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *ìʔ*, Palaung *ɛ*, Riang-Lang *ṽeʔ*, Praok *e*, Lawa *ʔeʔ* we (*plural*), Temiar *ʔɛʔ* we (*inclusive*).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *hai*, Stieng *he:i*, Biat *he: I*, Central Rölöm *hi: we* (*exclusive*), Bunör *he:*, Kensiu *heʔ*, Semai I *hi:ʔ*, Semelai *he:ʔ* we (*inclusive*), Central Nicobarese *hē* we (*dual*), *he:* we (*plural*).

B perhaps by prefixation, cf. PINNOW 1959 78. Cf. 150 *y[ee]ʔ.

(SHAFFER 1965 286; BLOOD 1966 181; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 52.)

†2 *ʔiiʔ person.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon *ʔey /ʔɔy/*, Modern Mon *oa*, Proto-Nyah Kur **ʔəy/*ʔwəy* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N263; favours **ʔay!*), Stieng *i:*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaiʔ I* (originally *this person*, cf. below), Palaung *i-* (in *ime* *male*, *ipən* *woman*), Riang-Lang *ṽiʔ* *person, human being*, Khasi *i* *he, she, it*, Kensiu *yeʔ*, Temiar *ye:ʔ*, Semaq Beri *ye:h I*.

Connect as suffixed or sandhi-forms (i: Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) ad **ʔiiʔ-nih* *this person*, Old Khmer *añ*, Modern Khmer, Stieng *ʔaɲ* (BLOOD 1966), Sre *aɲ*, Chrau *aɲ*, *ip*, Bahnar *ip*, Che' Wong, Semai I *ʔiɲ*, Semelai *ʔəɲ I*; (ii: North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) ad **ʔiiʔ-ʔ[wa]ʔ* *this person*, Jeh, Halang *aw*, Kammu-Yuan *òʔ*, Palaung *ɔ*, Riang-Lang *ṽoʔ*, Praok *aə*, Lawa Umphai *ʔauʔ*, Mae Sarian *ʔauʔ* *I*. Cf. further 110 *bu[u]ʔ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFFER 1965 523; BLOOD 1966 378; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1, 3) Kharia *iɲ*, *ip I*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 402; ad i).

Proto-Austronesian **ia* *he, she, it*: Malay *ia*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, **ija*^c; DYEN 1953 § 56; DAHL 1973 § 13.6, &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 209-10.

3 *ʔaʔ at.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *a:* *from*, Biat *a:*, West Bahnar *ā*, *ah* *at* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

4 *[]ʔaʔ we two.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *àʔ*, Praok *a*.

Connect 1439 *jʔaay?

5 *ʔ[ɔ]ʔ *elder sibling*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Praok [pu] o *elder sister*, Kensiu ʔoʔ *elder sibling*.

Cf. 1957 *ʔɔh *younger sibling*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 412.)

†6 *ʔ[ʷə]ʔ *this*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Stieng ɔ:u, ɔ:u, Biat a:ə *this*, Bunör ʔa:ə, Central Rölöm ʔaw, ʔɔ: *here*, Bahnar ɔw, əw *here, this*, Palaung u *this*, Khasi u *masculine singular pronominal prefix*, Jehai ʔoʔ *he*; ~ Biat ia:ə *this*, Palaung iʔu *this (noun)*; ~ Biat ta:ə (o:i —) *tomorrow*, (ta: ɔ:i —) *presently*, Chrau taʔaw *tomorrow*.

Connect 79 *[d][ɔ]ʔ &c. *this, here*; A1 *bnʔ[ʷə]ʔ *yesterday*? Cf. further 1435a *ʔ[əy]ʔ; Old Mon wo' /woʔ/ *this* (< *wuəʔ; with secondary w-?).

(BLOOD 1966 203.)

Kharia u- *this* (PINNOW 1959 K 520).

(*rʔaʔ see 13 *[r][n]ʔaʔ *to stammer*.)

6a *klʔiʔ *kind of basket*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer lʔy *small round basket with upright sides*, Sre ləʔi *hemispherical basket*, Chrau ləʔi: *large round kind of basket*, Biat rʔi: (*kind of*) *basket*, Khasi khri *small basket*; → Cham lii:, Jarai rəʔi:, North Röglai laʔi:.

7 *cʔaʔ; *cʔah; (*cʔah-s > ?) *cʔaas *clear, clean*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) (*cnʔaʔ >) Palaung səŋa (MILNE 1931), Praok siŋa, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saʔŋaʔ *to be clean, pure* (& by back-formation Palaung, Praok ŋa *to be clear*); ~ (*c[m]ʔaʔ >) Chrau səpa: *clean and flowing [water]*; ~ Bahnar hədjaʔ *clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh siʔyaʔ *clean* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon c'ah /cʔah/ *to be clean, pure*, Modern Mon ah *to be clear, clean*; → Cham sah; ~ (*c[r]ʔah >) Khmer lʔah *clear, free from impediment*.

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Biat a:iʔ [sky] *to clear*; ~ (*cnʔass >) West Bahnar həga:iʔ, cəga:iʔ, East Bahnar səga:iʔ *clean, well-kept, well-behaved; to settle, clarify (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*cbʔaas >) Khmer cəmʔa:h cam'ās *to wash a corpse* (& cf. Khmer &c. forms cited under the entry 1920 *c[b]as, which perhaps contaminated).

Cf. further Nancowry séc *to clean*, Riang-Lang səŋam, probably contaminated by Shan ŋām *to be excellent*; & 950 *cʔaat.

8 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *ciʔaʔ > *caʔ, Pre-Khmer ʔ[c]iʔ to eat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ca** /caʔ/, Modern Mon **cɛʔ**, Old Khmer **cya**, Middle Khmer **sì: sī**, Kuy **ca:**, Sre **sa**, Biat **cha:**, Chrau, Bahnar **sa:**, Jeh, Halang **ca:**, Kensiu **ciʔ**, Temiar **ca:ʔ**, Semelai **ca:h** to eat, Central Nicobarese **ʃa:** to eat [vegetables], Nancowry **sā** edibles other than main food; ~ Old Mon **cirna**, Modern Mon **kənaʔ** food, West Bahnar **həna:** pig-swill (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semai **cana:** food (TAUERN 1914); ~ Khmer **cəmny** food; ~ Khasi **bsa** to feed (v.t.); ~ (*pncaʔ &c. >) Middle Mon **baca**, Modern Mon **həcɛʔ**, Khmer **bənsi:** to feed (v.t.).

Add perhaps, from a variant in *-iʔ, Praok **i** to eat; & Danaw **ˀsué**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 22; SHAFER 1965 241; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 327; SMITH 1972 552; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 27.)

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***dza**, Archaic Chinese **d'ɿək** 食 ~ **diəg** 飢 n., causative (BENEDICT 1972 28 no. 66; 169 n. 452).

†9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ; *cʔə(ə)k; *cʔak (& *cʔaakʔ) to hiccough, belch.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar **əʔ** to belch; (probably) ~ Sre **səʔə** hiccough, Bahnar **təʔəʔ** to hiccough, belch, Jeh **taʔòʔ**, Halang **təʔòʔ** to belch; ~ (*crʔə(ə)ʔ >) Mon **həpʔ da'ui'** to belch, East Bahnar **dələʔ** to have stomach pains and hiccough (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **ˀkərʔəʔ** to belch, hiccough, ?Nancowry **hirəʔ** to hiccough.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **tʔaək** (!) to hiccough, Kuy **sʔə:ʔ** to belch, Palaung **[aŋ] uʔ** to hiccough; ~ (*cnʔə(ə)k >) Bahnar **həʔnək** to choke while eating, Palaung **kənʔuʔ** to belch, Vietnamese **nác** to hiccough; ~ Khasi **jyr-eh** belch, to belch, feel nausea.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **sà:k** (to) hiccough, Biat **ak**, **kʔak** hiccough, (~?) Chrau **səʔaʔ** to hiccough, Khasi **sa'ah** hiccough.

Cf. Bahnar **ʔnek-ʔnək** hiccough; Palaung **hlaʔ** to hiccough (MILNE 1931); & 1559 *cʔəər to belch; 11 *ʔ[au]ʔ to retch, vomit. Onomatopoeic (SMITH 1972 304.)

Kharia **ˀjeko-[ɖaʔ]** to hiccough (PINNOW 1959 179).

Proto-Austronesian (i: *[d']ə(N)qək-qək; Proto-Aceh-Cham) Acehnese **cökəʔ**, **cömökəʔ**, Cham **cəmuk muʔ**, Röglai **səʔə**, North Röglai **damaʔə:ʔ** to hiccough; (ii; so *d'ə-d'əqək by dissimilation > *k'əd'əqək >) Cebuano Bisayan **sid-uk**, **sud-uk**, by metathesis Ilocano **saiddek** to hiccough; & connected further Tagalog **sinók**, Bikol **sin-ok**, Pangasinan **sinék**, Magindanaw **singók**.

10 *crʔoʔ rafter.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Mon **həpʔ ja'o'** &c., Thin **sʔʔo**, Palaung **səʔʔ** (& by secondary derivation Riang-Lang **ˀsəndoʔ** ~ *ˀsdoʔ) rafter, Serau **charo'** crossbeams (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 129).

Note also Bru **səpùə** rafter, side beams of roof.

11 *cʔ[au]ʔ to retch, vomit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar ɔʔ *retching noise* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Danaw ɔʔ, Central Nicobarese ɔau-[hələ] *to vomit*, Nancowry ʔuʔʔɔw; → Röglai ɔʔ, (?) Burmese 'o. *to vomit*; ~ (*crʔ[au]ʔ >) Mon həʔʔja'a' &c. *to vomit*, Bahnar rəʔʔ *to want to vomit* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔao caŋ'or (!) *to vomit*; by secondary derivation ~ Mon ɔʔ p'a' *to feed with premasticated food*.

BENEDICT 1972 192 n. 491 compares Burmese with Archaic Chinese 嘔. Add perhaps Kensiu kəʔ, Temiar koʔ, Semelai khuʔ *to vomit*. Onomatopoeic; cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ &c. *to hiccough, belch*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

12 *t₁ʔooʔ to crow.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar ɔʔ; ~ Mon həuʔ *tha-u to make a concerted noise (e.g. in crowing)*, Kammu-Yuan tərʔðʔ *to crow*.

13 *[r][n]ʔaʔ to stammer.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon həaʔ *to stammer*, Bahnar [rəə:] rəa: *to stammer in fright* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Or *.rʔaʔ.

14 *rnʔɔʔ bag for cooked rice.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre rəndɔ *reed bag for rice*, West Bahnar rəʔʔ *basketwork bag for cooked rice* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

15 *sʔu[]ʔ; *sʔuəʔ mouldy, spoiled.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan həʔúʔ *stench, to stink*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat ɔ: *to go mouldy*; ~ (*spʔuəʔ >) Khmer phʔu:ə *ph'uə(r) musty, stuffy, spoiled*, Chrau pəʔɔ: *mouldy, corroded*.

Cf. 1563 *sʔuur &c. *to emit a smell*.

***16 *kaʔ fish.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon ka(ʔ) /kaʔ/, Modern Mon kaʔ, Khmer ka:-[mɔŋ &c.] (in compounds), Kuy ka: (& ʔa:ka:), Sre ka, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ka:, Kammu-Yuan káʔ, Palaung, Praok ka, Riang-Lang ʔkaʔ, Lawa kaʔ, Khasi 'kha, [doh]kha, Mường cá (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese cá, Che' Wong kəyəʔ, Temiar ka:ʔ, Semaq Beri ka:h, Central Nicobarese ka:ə, Nancowry ká.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 1; BLOOD 1966 298; SMITH 1972 540; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 138 (a))

Kharia ka- (PINNOW 1959 64).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *ikan: Malay ikan, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; DYEN 1953 § 133).

†17 *kəʔ; (*kəʔkəʔ >) *kə(ɔ)k neck.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ko'** /kəʔ/, Modern Mon **kəʔ**, Khmer, Biat **kə:**, Stieng **kə:u**, Sakai **kua'** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 26); ~ Sre **nko**, Chrau **ŋkə:**, Bahnar **akə:**, Bahnar dialect **həkə:**.
 B: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **ʔkək** neck; ~ Praok **gək** throat, Kensi, Semnam **təŋkəŋ** neck; probably → Malay **těngkok**, (→) Maranao **tengoq** neck (BLUST 1970 no. 124), Toba Batak **takkuhuk** nape of neck; by metathesis (***kŋək** >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋək**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ŋok** neck. Hence (i.e. ***ʔkəʔ** →?) Thai **kʰəʔ**, Shan **khə**. Note also Vietnamese **cổ**, < ***k[ɔ]h**. (SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 478; BLOOD 1966 192.)
 Sora [(ə)'saŋ]-ka:-n; Kharia **'kəŋkə** (PINNOW 1959 276).
 Connected further (i) Kammu-Yuan **təklək**, Thin **təglək** nape of neck; (ii) Acehnese **takuə**, Cham **tako:y**, Jarai **tʰku:ai**, Röglai **təkuai**, North Röglai **takuai** neck (suggesting Proto-Austronesian ***takuai**; cf. with variant vocalism Cebuano Bisayan **tingkuy** hollow space in nape of neck); → Bahnar dialects **təkəi** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **təkuay** neck, Jeh **taku:y** nape of neck; (iii) 505 ***tk[ɔ]ŋ** (nape) of neck.

18 *cnk[i]ʔ; *cnk[i]h waist.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi **syngkai** waist, hips, loins.
 B: (Khmer) Khmer **coŋkeh cankeh** waist.
 Cf. Kuy **ŋkə:ŋ**, Bru **ŋki:ŋ**.

19 *ck[e]ʔ wild boar.

- A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng **cerkei**, **rəkei**, Sre **jərke**, Chrau **jəkə:**, Bahnar **səkə:** wild boar; ~ Sakai **changgei** pig (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a)).
 Or *-iʔ? Hardly = 1449 ***cgəy** dog. (SMITH 1972 532.)

‡20 *jkooʔ body, self.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy **kau** I (familiar), Palaung **ku** quantifier for persons, Praok **kaə** persons, Lawa Bo Luang **kauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **koʔ** body; ~ Old Mon **jirku** /jərkuʔ/, Modern Mon **həkaoʔ** body, person, self, Bahnar **akəw**, Bahnar dialects **həkəw** body, self, name (?; with contextual diphthongization, or ← Indonesian), Central Sakai **sərgô** corpse. (SHAFER 1965 300.)
 Proto-Austronesian ***aku(S)** I: Malay **aku**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13-14; DYEN 1953 § 133).
 Cf. (i) Shan **kăw** self, &c. (BENEDICT 1975 203, 206); (ii) Tibetan **sku** body, Burmese **kuiy** /ko/ self: Tibeto-Burman *(s)-**kəw**, BENEDICT 1972 184 n. 483; Archaic Chinese **k'iu** 軀, ib.

21 ***tnkeʔ** *horn*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **ke:i**, Sre **nke**, Biat **ŋke:**, Bahnar **ake:**, Bru **ke:**; → Jarai, Röglai **təki:**.

Kuy (t)**ka:i** shows contamination but is rather connected with Khmer **koy** *rhinoceros horn*.

(BLOOD 1966 176; SMITH 1972 531; cf. SHAFER 1965 475.)

22 *[t]**kəʔ** *kind of catfish*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Chrau [**ka:**] **kə:** *catfish*; ~ Mon [**kaʔ**] **həkəʔ** *thaka'* *kind of catfish*, *Clarias magur*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **thkə:** *thkar* *sawfish*.

23 ***tkəʔ**; ***tkəh** *island*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tko'** /**tkəʔ**/, Modern Mon **kəʔ**, Biat **kə:u** [**da:k**]; → Thai **kəʔ**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic; contaminated by 1970 ***ckəh** *dry*) Khmer **kəh** *koh*, Stieng **kə:h** (!) [**də:k**], Bru **kəh** *land (as opposed to sea)*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 30.)

(***pkaʔ** see 1819 ***pkaaw** *flower*.)

24 ***skəʔ** *companion, company*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **sko'** /**skəʔ**/ *company*, Stieng **kə:u** *together, with, and*, Synteng Khasi **shkaw** *spouse*; → Cham **sakau**, Röglai **səgəu** *together*; ~ Old Mon **siniko'** *company (quantifier)*, (merging next?) Modern Mon **həkəʔ** *company, companion*; ~ Khmer **srakar** (!) /**srəkə:**/ *companion, age-mate*.

25 ***skəʔ** *grey-haired*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **sko:v** *grey-haired*, Sre **ko:** *to be white-haired, albino*, Bahnar **kə:** *grey[hair]*; ~ Old Mon **siniko'** /**sənkəʔ**/ *grey-haired*, Modern Mon **həkəʔ** *to be grey-haired*, Old Khmer **sənkū** *grey-haired*.

Connect perhaps (i) Khasi **takhaw**, **takhew** *having scanty hair*; (ii) Central Sakai **běkô**, Central Nicobarese **pakə:** *to be white-headed*; Sora **'ba:o-['u:-]** *grey-[headed]*. Cf. 1971 ***jku(ə)h** *white, clean*.

†26 *ge(e)? (?) *deictic & 3rd person pronoun.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer *kè*: *one, someone, he, they*, Rōngao *ge̤*, *ge̤*, Kontum Bahnar *gi*: *he, she* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, poetic), Kammu-Yuan *kì*: *this*, Palaung *ge*, Praok *ki* *they*, Lawa Bo Luang *ke?* *he, she*, Khasi *ki* *they*; weak form Sre *gə* *indefinite pronoun*, Rōngao *ga*: & *ga:r* (!) *he, she* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *kə*: *he*, *kù?* *many [people]*, Riang-Lang *_kə?* *they*, Khasi *ka* *feminine pronominal affix*, Nancowry *kí* *all*.

Cf. Riang-Lang *_ke* *plural particle* (< *[g][e]h); Kuy *kʰi* *that*; 252 *kh[ii]? *this, he, they*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

Kharia *ki* *plural suffix*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 74).

27 *gə? *ally, friend.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kə?* *inespousable cross-cousin*, Palaung *gə* *friend*, Riang-Lang *_kə?* *wife's younger brother, younger sister's husband* (& *_ko?* *wife's elder brother...* by arbitrary variation).

28 *b[ng][e]? *vegetable poison.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *bəŋê* *Jasminum longisetum, with poisonous leaf* (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar dialects *bəŋê*, *bəŋe:i* *poison especially prepared from Strychnos nux-vomica* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps *- []ŋ-; *-i?. If *bngi?, cf. 1461 * [kj][əy]? *poison...*, which could conceivably be reconstructed *gyi(i)?; then with secondary palatalization < *bgi(i)??

29 *rguu? (& *rgu?); *rgə?; *rguuh; *rguəh; *rgəh *to shake.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör *rəgu:*, Biat *rgu:* *v.t.*; ~ (*rngu? >) Stieng *rəŋu:*, Sre *rəŋu* (→ Rōglai), Central Rölöm *ŋhu:* *v.t.*, Chrau *rəŋgu:* *wobbly, shaky*; by secondary derivation ~ (*-u? >?) Bahnar *gəgu?* *to shake (v.t.)*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *rùəŋkʰ:* *v.i.*

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat *rguh* [rgu:p], Lawa Umphai *rakhoh*, Mae Sarian *yakuh* *v.i.*; ~ Biat *ŋguh*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgoh* *to nod [head]*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat *rgəh* [rgə:p] *shaky*.

E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang *?əŋgəih* *to nod [head]*.

(BLOOD 1966 236.)

30 *ŋ[ɔɔ]?; *ŋ[ɔ]h *to fear.*

A: (?Khmer, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer *ŋo:v-ŋo:v* *with pleading, whining sound* (?; with affective register deformation?), Kammu-Yuan *ŋə?* *to fear*, Khasi *ngiew* *fearful, fearsome*.

B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semai *səŋəh* *to fear*.

(SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 F 49.)

†31 *t₂ŋii? *sun, day*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *tñey* /tɲɔy/, Modern Mon *ŋoa*, Old Khmer *tñai*, Modern Khmer *thŋay sun, day*, Kuy (t)ŋai *day*, Sre *ŋay day, təŋay (!) sun, day*, Jeh *ŋay sun, day*, Halang *ŋay day*, Kammu-Yuan *səŋi? day, noon, (màt—) sun*, Palaung *səŋi*, Riang-Lang *ˀsəŋi?*, Lawa Bo Luang *saŋai?*, Lawa Umphai *saŋi?*, Mae Sariang *səŋe? sun, day*, Praok *siŋay sun, day, ŋay day*, Khasi *'ngi, sngi sun*, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *ngàŋ (!)*, Semaq Beri *təŋi? day*, Central Nicobarese *heŋ sun, day*, Nancowry *héŋ* (Nicobaric < *cʔaiŋ?); ~ Old Mon *tirñey daily*, Modern Mon *təŋoa middle part of day* (with which some disyllabic forms above should perhaps be compared).

(SCHMIDT 1905 66; SHAFER 1965 146; SMITH 1972 459; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 D 38.) Mundari *siŋgi sun, day*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 286; with Santali *siŋ day* & similar forms, perhaps by metathesis < *tʔiiŋ; cf. here Nicobaric).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *t'ŋay: Fijian *siŋa sun*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 154).

†32 *tɲa? *bow*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *tña'* /tɲaʔ/, Modern Mon *ŋaʔ* (*cross*)*bow*.

Sora *'naŋa:-n bow*. For *ɲ-* here (< *n-?) cf. 1410 *tləm &c.

32a *bmŋ[ii]? *fever*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *cùmŋu:* (!) *disease, illness* (contaminated by *chù:* < 55 *ŋjii?), Sre *bəŋe malaria*, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation *pomkaiyə fever*, Nancowry *pumkéya*, refer *ké chill, feeling cold*.

Connection uncertain Riang-Lang *ŋwəy pox, disease causing rash* &c.

(*bŋ[e]? see 28 *b[ŋg][e]? *vegetable poison*.)

33 *rŋa?; *rŋə? *live coal*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng *rəŋa: [u:ɲ]*, Sre [ous] *rəŋa*, Biat *rŋa: [uɲ]* *live coal*, Khasi *rŋa charcoal*; → Jarai *ʰŋaʔ*, Röglai *aŋa live coal*; ~ Middle Mon *laña [pramat]*, Modern Mon *əŋèʔ [kəmot]*, *təŋèʔ live coal*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Thin *rŋyʔ live coal*; ~ (*rŋəʔ > *rŋəʔ by dissimilation >) Palaung *rəŋgu*, Praok *gaw [ŋu]*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaŋgauʔ*, Lawa Umphai *raŋgoʔ live coal*, Semang *anggu charcoal* (SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 C 77 (a)).

Cf. (i) Khmer *rəŋv:k* (& Bru *raŋhōʔ*), perhaps a loan from the same source as *slv:k leaf* ad 230 *slaʔ; (ii) Bahnar *ŋa:r dying, dead coal*, ↔ Jarai *ʰŋa:r = ʰŋaʔ* (< *ʔŋar by metathesis?).

‡34 ***lɲaaʔ**; ***lɲawʔ** *sessamum*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ ***lɲaaʔ** >) Chrau **rɲaɪ**, Biat **rɲaɪ**, Kammu-Yuan **lɲàʔ**; ~ (***lɲaaʔ** >) Bahnar **rɲaɪ** *white-seeded sessamum* (or last), Palaung **lɲa** (MILNE 1931), Danaw **lɲ ɲaʔ** *sessamum*; ~ Riang-Lang **luk ɲaʔ** *sessamum*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer **lɲo**, Modern Khmer **lɲə**; ~ Middle Mon **lañau**, Modern Mon **tɲəa** *sessamum*, Bahnar **rɲəw** *black-seeded sessamum*.

With final variant cf. 1819 ***pkaaw**. Note also Kuy **rwùŋ** *sessamum*, Bru **lawùŋ** by metathesis? Culture-word. See also BENEDICT 1975 375.

Proto-Austronesian ***lɲa(S)**: Malay **lěnga**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Austronesian if = Polynesian *Curcuma*, otherwise Proto-Hesperonesian).

35 ***lɲaaʔ** *itch*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **lɲa** *itch between toes* (→ Röglai), Kammu-Yuan **ɲàʔ**, Riang-Lang **ɲaʔ** *to itch*, Mường **ngạ** *itch* (BARKER 1966 25); ~ (***lɲaaʔ** >) Vietnamese **ngứa** *itch*.

‡36 ***lɲuʔ**; ***lɲuəʔ** *lonely, deserted*.

A: (Mon) Literary Mon **lɲu** (attributive **lamɲu**) *to be solitary*; → Cham **lanū** *empty*; ~ (***lɲuʔ** >) Old Mon **luño** /**lɲuəʔ**/ *to make deserted, (to isolate oneself =) to be solitary*, Modern Mon **tɲùʔ** *to be solitary, desolate*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rɲuəʔ** *solitary, deserted; to think nostalgically of; to isolate*; Stieng **jəɲu**: *stupid*, compared at SCHMIDT 1905 36, is ← Proto-Austronesian ***duŋu** (BLUST 1970 no. 157).

Proto-Austronesian (i; ***ɲaunəu** >) Karo Batak **ngongo** *deserted, lonely*; (ii) ***liŋau**: Ngaju Dayak **la-lingau** *to be sad*, Cebuano Bisayan **míngaw** *lonely, deserted*, &c, (DEMPWOLFF 1938 97-8). Conceivably Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, but no obvious source. See BENEDICT 1975 369, *sad*... .

‡37 ***sɲiʔ** (& ***sɲiiʔ**?); ***sɲih**; ***sɲiiw** *house*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon **sɲi(ʔ)** /**sɲiʔ**/, Modern Mon **hɲeʔ**, Stieng, Chrau **ɲi**, Jeh **ɲiaɪ**, Halang **ɲia**, Central Nicobarese **ɲi**, Nancowry **ɲí**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Bunör **ɲih**, Central Rölöm **hih**, Biat **ɲih**.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **hiw**.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 127 ***miʔ** &c.; add then perhaps Mường **nhà** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **nhà**, otherwise ad 152 ***[y]aa[ʔ]**. For Bahnaric palatalization cf. 806 ***[ɲii[c]** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 153; BLOOD 1966 222.)

Sora **'sʔu:ŋ-ən**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 355, Southeast Munda only; perhaps by metathesis < ***sʔiŋ**).

38 *sɲoʔ paddy.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon *sɲoʔ* /sɲuʔ/, Modern Mon *haoʔ* husked rice, Kammu-Yuan ɲɔʔ, Palaung hɲɔ, Riang-Lang ʔɲoʔ, Praok ɲo, Lawa Bo Luang hɲaʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hɲoʔ paddy.
(SHAFFER 1965 307.)

(*[c]iʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

†39 *ciiʔ (& *ciʔʔ) louse.

A: Mon *coa*, Khmer *cay* (→ Sre *sayʔ*), Stieng *si:h* (!), Biat *chi:*, Chrau, Bahnar *si:*, Kammu-Yuan *seʔ* (< variant?), Palaung *si*, Riang-Lang ʔ*siʔ*, Lawa Bo Luang *səiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *seʔ*, Mae Sariang *səiʔ* (!), Khasi *ʔsi* (~ *ksi*), Vietnamese *chí*, *chấy*, Kensi *ciʔ*, Temiar *ceʔ*, Semelai *ci:h* louse, Central Nicobarese *ʃe:i* flea, louse; ~ Kuy *ɲce:* head louse, Bru *ɲcəy*.

Lawa, Vietnamese (& Sreʔ) show secondary diphthongization. Stieng *-h* also ad 126 *bəbeʔ goat, 156 *bryaʔ kind of varan, 197 *klaʔ tiger (& 412 *prɔk squirrel!).
(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFFER 1965 243; SMITH 1972 516; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 169.)
Sora *iʔi:-n*, Kharia *seʔ*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 341).

Cf. Haininh Yao *sei* head louse. (BENEDICT 1975 333; Chiengrai Yao *ého* body louse, Petchabun Miao *ńchəu* head louse, ib., reflect Proto-Miao-Yao *(ń)cho(u)).

40 *ceʔ great-grandchild.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre *se* grandchild, great-grandchild (→ Röglai *ce* grandchild), Bahnar [sɔw] *sɛ:*, Praok [kɔn] *se*, Lawa Bo Luang [kuan] *saiʔ*, Lawa Umphai [kuan] *seʔ* great-grandchild, Kammu-Yuan *cèʔ* grandchild, Bru *ʔace:*.

Cf. 43 *cuuʔ grandchild.

(*ceʔ see also 1983 *ceh kind of jar; *caʔ see 8 *ciʔaʔ to eat.)

†‡41 *cɔʔ dog.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Kuy *ca:*, Stieng *sɔu*, Sre *so*, Chrau *sɔ:*, Biat *chɔ:* dog, Bahnar [kɔʔ] *sɔ:* wild dog, Jeh *cou*, Halang *co:*, Kammu-Yuan *sɔʔ*, Palaung *sɔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʔ*soʔ*, Praok *so*, Lawa Bo Luang *saʔ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *sɔʔ*, Khasi *ʔsew* (~ *ksew*), Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese *chó* dog (→ Old Khmer *ca*, Modern Khmer *cɔ:* dog, as year name), Temiar *cəwɔʔ*, Semelai *cɔ:h* dog; ~ Kuy *ʔa:ca:* dog, Riang-Lang *yɔʔ* dog, puppy, (?) Jehai *ʔaciʔ* dog.

(SHAFFER 1965 235; BLOOD 1966 193; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 143.)

Kharia *sɔ-[lɔʔ]*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 210).

Proto-Austronesian *uat'u: Javanese **asu**, Cham (a)thow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *at'u; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 13.8, 16.1); → Central Rölöm **saw?** Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 50. Temiar suggests consonant metathesis vis-à-vis Austronesian, perhaps the source of the vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 272-3.

42 *c[u]? *to place, put.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **cə?** *cwa'* (!), Bahnar **su?**, Jeh **cù?** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Connection uncertain Kuy **sə:** *to put in, to fasten* (< *kcə[]??).

(*c[u]?) see 1986 *c[u]h *to wake.*)

†43 *cuu? *grandchild.*

A: (> *ciu? > Bahnaric &c. *caw?; Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Old Mon **caw** /cəw/, Modern Mon **cao**, Old Khmer, Modern Khmer, Kuy **cau** *grandchild*, Stieng **sə:u** *grandson, nephew*, Sre **saw** *grandson*, Chrau **saw** *son-in-law, daughter-in-law*, Biat [kɔ:n] **chau** *descendants*, Bahnar **səw**, **səw**, Jeh, Halang **caw**, Palaung **su**, Praok **səə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **so?**, Khasi 'siew, Vietnamese **cháu**, Semang -**chə'** *grandchild* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (b)); → Cham **cau(w)**, Acehnese **cə**; ~ Chrau **sənaw**, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (a)) **chěno'** *grandchild*.

Palaungic requires *-**uu?**, as does Indonesian; Cham, Acehnese reflect diphthongized forms. Cf. 40 *ce? *great-grandchild*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 535; BLOOD 1966 197; SMITH 1972 431.)

Proto-Austronesian (*k'u(S)k'u(S) >) Acehnese **cucə** (contaminated by **cə** ← Mon-Khmer; perhaps ← Malay), Malay **chuchu**, Iban **uchu** /**uchuq**/ *grandchild*; → Semang **chuchə'** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 79 (c)). If Acehnese not ← Malay, *k'u(S)k'uS. But conceivably Mon-Khmer > Semang **chuchə'** → Malay → Acehnese, Iban.

†44 *c[uu]? *to be sick.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **su**, Riang-Lang **˩su?**, Praok **səə**, Lawa Bo Luang **sau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **so?** *sickness, to be sick*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cú?** *pain*, ~ Danaw **kă ˩tsu** *to be in pain*.

If Nancowry **tú** rather *t₂-, connected 70 *ktuu? *hot?* But connection dubious 55 *njii?.

(SHAFER 1965 238a.)

Sora **ə'su:-**, **a'su:-** *to feel pain*, Kharia **'kəsu** *sickness, to be sick*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 247).

45 *[c][wə]ʔ *to see*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **sɔːu**, Bunör **səːə**, Central Rölöm **sɔː**, Biat **chaːə** *to see*, West Bahnar **sɔːu** *to see clearly* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar **səɣu** *to see clearly* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

If Nancowry **héw** *to be visible* or **hēʔ** *to look at* is connected, *s-.

Connect 158 *[s]yəəʔ?

(BLOOD 1966 204.)

46 *[ʔ]ciʔ *relative/interrogative pronoun*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **chi** *it, which*, Palaung **se** *what (relative/interrogative), anything*; ~ Sre **nchi** *what, which?*

Connection uncertain Mường **chi** (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chi**, **gì** *what?*; *anything*.

(*ʔca(a)ʔ see 1891 *ʔcas *old*.)

47 *kciʔ *young, green*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **khɛy** *green, fresh, new, young [plants, animals]*; ~ Khmer **kəmcɛy** *unripe, green*, Chrau **gəɣeː** *soft*, Biat **ncheː** *green, unripe*, Bahnar **kəɣeː** *young, tender*; by back-formation or popular etymology Chrau **[kɔːn]** **seː**, Biat **[kɔːn]** **cheː** *young*.

(BLOOD 1966 174.)

48 *kmciʔ *collateral relation*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **kuñci** &c. /**kəmcɛʔ**/ *sister*, (— **dnal**) *bride*, West Bahnar **hmĩː** *aunt, cousin, older than parent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& Sedang **mé** *sister-in-law*, SMITH 1972 470?), Khasi **kynsi** *sibling's spouse*.

Khmer **cae** *elder sister* is ← Amoy/Cantonese **cé** 姐: POU & JENNER 1973 132.

Sora **'aː(j)iː(-n)** *younger sister* may be cognate if -j- is glide consonant; then separate from Proto-Munda ***aji**, PINNOW 1959 38.

†49 *jooʔ *grandmother*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **cùʔ** *great-grandmother*; ~ Central Sakai **ajô** *grandmother*.

Sora **jo'joː-n** *grandfather*.

†50 *juʔ *sour, acid*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **cùː** **jūv**, **jūr** *sour, tart*, Jeh, Halang **jùəʔ**, Khasi **jew** *sour*, (~?) Bahnar **ʔyuʔ** *sour; vinegar*; ~ Khmer **mcùː** *sour spice &c.*, (~?) Sakai **bucuːi** *sour* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349; ?), Central Nicobarese **pacəu** *to go sour*; ~ Khasi **byrjew** *sourish*.

Cf. also Vietnamese **chua-chát** *acid*. The same Khasi vocalism in 196a *j-luʔ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFER 1965 452; SMITH 1972 305.)

Sora **so'jo:-** &c., Santali **ꠘꠞꠤ** *sour*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 383; Proto-Munda ***jə**).

51 *juu? wild banana.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[tə:m]** **ju:**, Sre **ju** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **ju:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*juu? see also 1944 ***juuh** *to stay, linger*.)

52 *kjə?; (*kjə? kjə? > ?) *kjək heavy.

A: (South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Semaq Beri **kəjəh**; ~ Sre **kənjə**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **jə:k**, Biat **jək**; ~ Chrau **kənjə?** *heavy*, (~?)

Riang-Lang **ṣəmɕək** *to nod from weariness*.

Connect uncertain Temiar **ʔəpɯh**, &c. Cf. 1146 ***([k].-)jən**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 68 (a); BLOOD 1966 121.)

53 *knjə[ə]? kind of basket.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəŋcə̀:** *60-litre basket*, Biat **njə:** *basket*.

†54 *tjoo? worm.

A: (Mon, Aslian) Jehai **taju?**, Temiar **taju?**, Semelai **tijo:h** *snake*; ~ Old Mon **tiñju** /**təñju?**/ *worm, maggot*, Modern Mon **kəyao?** *maggot*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 311.)

Kharia **ti'jə?** *worm*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 329).

55 *njii? sickness, to be sick.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **'jey** *to be sick*. = **'añjey** *sickness* /**ʰjəy**/, Modern Mon **yəa** *sickness, to be sick*, Nyah Kur ***ɕəy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V267; suggests ***-ay!**), Khmer **chù:** (!) **jhi**, Chrau **ji:** *to be sick*, Sre **ji** *sickness*, Biat **ji:** *sickness, to be sick*, Bahnar **ji?**, Jeh, Halang **ji?** *to be sick*, Temiar **ji?** (BENJAMIN 1976B).

Khmer vocalism & initial obscure. ? ~ Nancowry **kacéy** *to become weak*. Connection dubious 44 ***[c]uu?**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 522a; BLOOD 1966 213; SMITH 1972 294; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 187 (a), (b))

56 *[nj]a[a]? tar.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **yè?** *tar, pitch*, Vietnamese **nhựa**, **dựa** *sap, gum, resin, tar, asphalt, opium* (by attraction 1601 ***jar** *sap*).

Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 40, : Stieng **ɕɔ:** **[u:ɪp]** *charcoal*.

57 ***pjoo?** *old*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **pju(?)** /**pju?**/, Modern Mon **pyù?** *to be old, aged, dilapidated*, Bahnar **so:** *old, antiquated, dilapidated*, probably Palaung **jo** *lifetime* (→ Shan **sò**); by secondary derivation ~ Praok **ju** *life, lifetime, age*, Lawa Bo Luang **?aju?**, Lawa Umphai **raju?** *age*.

Palaungic less probably ultimately ← Pali **āyu**.

58 ***bjoo?**; ***bjee?** (& ***bje??**) *bad*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Rōngao **co:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **jo**, Praok **caw**, Mah Meri **bajaw**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **cè:** **jer** (!) *to rebuke, insult*, Kuy **chè:** *to abuse obscenely*; ~ (***bmjee?** >) Bahnar **?me?** *bad, ugly*; by secondary derivation ~ Middle Mon **byi**, Modern Mon **pyi?** *to blame*, Khmer **phcae** *to blame, reprove* (GUESDON 1930).

Front vocalism secondary. For semantics of B cf. 1082 ***luut**; Khmer **cè:** taken as = causative, perhaps back-formation in view of vocalism, which implies *-**e?**. Note further Vietnamese **xấu** *bad*.

(SMITH 1972 318; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 9.)

58a *[**jii?** *uncle*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy (**?a:**)**jii:** *parent's younger brother*, Khasi **'ñi**, (~?) **kñi** *maternal uncle*.

Perhaps by contraction *[**kuuŋ** &c. **?ii?** (892, 2).

59 ***j[ee]?** *small*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon **ñi**, Modern Mon **jì?** *to be small in quantity*, West Bahnar **jɛ?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **jɛ?**, Thin **jɛ** *small*; (probably ~) Bahnar **?ye?** *small*.

Perhaps ***ji?**. Connected Mae Sariang **?jau?** *small in quantity*? Note Nancowry **ña** *smaller*.

60 ***ja?**; ***jah** *person*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riāng-Lāng **jɛ?** *who, anyone*; ~ Sre **drəŋa** *human being*.

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ñah** /**jah**/, Modern Mon **jəh** *person*, Thin **yɛ?** *him*, Jah Hut **jah** *who?*

Riāng-Lāng, Thin fronting contextual.

(***jaa[?]** see 152 *[**y**]aa[] *house*.)

†61 ***ɲɔʔ** *kind of tree, Morinda species.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pəɲòʔ** Mon *angustifolia* Roxburgh (sandhi-form < */**tnɔm ɲɔʔ**/?), Khmer **ɲèː**, Kuy **ɲùːa** Mon *citrifolia* Linnaeus, Vietnamese **nhàu** (!); ↔ Thai **ยอ** *Morinda citrifolia*, Lao **ໂຈ**.

Vietnamese tone perhaps post-palatal, cf. besides following 170 ***jriiʔ**, &c. (Cf. BEFEO 55, 196.)

†62 ***[ɲuʔ** ***[ɲuəʔ** *wrinkled, furrowed.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Palaung **ɲɔ** *to be ugly* (?), Vietnamese **nhàu** (!) *to be wrinkled, crumpled*; ~ Khmer **krəɲoːv** *frowning, displeased* (by dissimilation < ***srɲuʔ**? GUESDON 1930 also **sr**°; VACANANUKRAM KHMER has no instance of **srəɲ-**), Biat **[kwat mat]** **ɲpuː** *scowling, morose* (beside **kwat ɲɔːu** *abashed, crestfallen* ← Khmer); (by back-formation?) ~ Khmer **[khɲiːv]-khɲoːv** *to be wrinkled, crumpled*.

B: (Mon; ~ ***srɲuəʔ** >) Mon **həɲɔʔ** *to be wrinkled*.

On Vietnamese tone see preceding. Cf. 896 ***ɲuəɲ** &c. *wrinkled; to frown...*

Sora **əju'juː-** *to be wrinkled*, **ju'juː-[je'je-]** *to be wrinkled and puckered*.

†63 ***ɲuuʔ** *to suck up, drink.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **ɲu** *to drink [spirits]*, Praok **ɲaə**, Lawa **ɲoʔ** *to drink*, Semai **ɲɔːʔ**, Temoq **ɲuʔ** *to suck*, Nancowry **cōʔ**, South Nicobarese **onyuː[ʃe]**, Teressa-Bompoka **nyuː-[hətə]** *to drink* (& Central Nicobarese **ɲɔː** *milk?*).

Cf. SMITH 1972 325, ***uʔ**; contaminated by 268 ***ʔuəkʔ**

(SHAFFER 1965 297; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)

Sora **ɲuː-**, **ɲu'ɲuː-** *to smell, sniff*; Santali **ɲũ** *to drink*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 112).

Sora is referred ib. 315 to cognates of 887 ***[j]ʔuup**.

†64 ***t₁iʔ**; ***t₁ih**; ***t₁iəh** *earth, ground.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Aslian, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ti**(') /**tiʔ**/, Modern Mon **təʔ**, Old Khmer **tī**, Modern Khmer **dɿy**, Kuy **tɛːʔ**, Bru **kuteːʔ** (< *-[**ai**]k?), Kensiu **tiʔ**, Temiar **tɛʔ** *earth*; ~ Semelai **ʔateːh**; ~ (or =?) Kuy **kteːʔ**, Palaung **kəte**, Riang-Lang **ʔkəteʔ**, Praok **tɛ**, [**ha**]kte, (so probably, rather than simplex) Lawa Bo Luang **taɪʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **tɛʔ**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pətéʔ** *earth*, (~?) Khasi **pyrthei** *the world* (rather than ← Sanskrit **pr̥thvi-**), Central Nicobarese **məltai** *land*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tɛh** *earth*; ~ Jeh **ʔneh**, Halang **təʔneh** *earth*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tiah** *ground, the world*, Stieng **tɛh** *earth*; ~ Chrau **ntɛh** *earth*; ~ Biat **nɛh** *earth, ground*.

-n-infix forms, as probably -h, contaminated by Indonesian, below.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 361; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 12 (a).)

Sora **'purtiː-n** *the world* (or ← Sanskrit?); Mundari **te**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 403).

Connection obscure Proto-Austronesian ***tanəq**: Malay *tanah*, Cham *tanuuh*, &c.
(DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, **tanəh**/**tanah**; assuming Javanese **tanah** ← Malay).

65 ***t₁i?**; ***t₁ii?**; ***t₁iə?** *that yonder*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ti** *that (spoken of, past)*, Chrau **ti?** (!) *there, yonder*, Khasi **-tei** *that up there, the aforesaid*, Semang [ha'] **teh** *there* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ti:**, Sedang **tay** *up there*.

C: (Mon, ?Khasi) Middle Mon **te'** *there, then, that, those*, Modern Mon **te?** *that, (?)*
Khasi **-thie** *that down there*.

Chrau has **-?** < ***-?** in deictics, cf. **92** ***nə?**, **1435a** ***h[əy]?**. Cf. **66a** ***tə?**; **1466** ***t₁uuy** &c.

(SMITH 1972 515.)

†66 ***t₁ii?** *hand, arm*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric, South Aslian)
Old Mon **tey** /təy/, Modern Mon **toa**, Old Khmer **tai(y)**, Modern Khmer **day**, Kuy **te:**, Bru **ʔatəy** (< ***-i?** ?), Sre **ti**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **ti:** *hand, arm*, Jeh, Halang **tì:** *hand*, Kammu-Yuan **tí?**, Palaung **ti**, Riang-Lang **ti?**, Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tai?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **te?**, Khasi **'ti** (~ **kṭi**), Central Nicobarese **-tai** *hand, arm*; ~ (from a suffixed ***tii?**-ŋ) Temiar **ti:k**.

Connected further, perhaps from a prefixed form, South Aslian forms: Semelai **thi?**.
Distinguish **244** ***sii[?]**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 14; BLOOD 1966 226; SMITH 1972 513; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 15.)

Kharia **ti?**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 75).

(***t₁a?** see **68** ***ʔt₁a?** *male elder*; **1988** ***t₁ah** *level*; ***ta?** see **75** ***[s]ta?** *to vomit*.)

66a ***tə?** *that, there*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **də:** *relative particle*, Stieng **tə:u**, Biat **tə:** *that, there*, Bahnar **tə:** *that, there (far away)*, Khasi **[hang]to** *there (mooted, near at hand)*, **[u]to** *he, that (near)*, Vietnamese **đó** *that, there*.

Cf. **65** ***t₁i?** &c.; **1466** ***t₁uuy** &c.

67 ***t₁uu?** *in, at*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tu:** *in, at, with*, Chrau **tu:** *at, to*, Bahnar **tə:** *to, towards*, Palaung **tə** (in senses) *in (to)*, Riang-Lang **tu?** (in senses) *in (to)*, Lawa Bo Luang **tau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **to?** *middle, in the middle of*; ~ (***[]ntuu?** >) Praok **daə** *in (to)*.

Add Khmer **dau** *to proceed towards* ? But not, as SCHMIDT 1905 34, : Mon **tao** *to be located in...* (< **1824** ***taaw**). Cf. **B4** ***t₁a?** &c. *place*.

(***t₁uu?** see also 2004 ***t₁uu[h]** ...to clean by rubbing.)

68 (t₁a?**-**t₁a?** >?) ***t₁a?** (& ***t₁a?**?) male elder.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Late Old Mon **ta** /**ta?**/, Modern Mon **ta?** *father*, Old Khmer (**ʼ**)**tā** *old man*, Modern Khmer **ta:** *grandfather*, Stieng **ta:** *onomastic prefix for junior males*, Kammu-Yuan **tá?**, Praok **ta** *grandfather*, Palaung **ta** *master, grandfather*, Riang-Lang **ˀta?** *master, husband, grandfather*, Lawa **ta?** *grandfather, old man*, Temiar **tata:** *old man* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132), **ta:** *sir* (BENJAMIN 1976B 135).

(SHAFFER 1965 280; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 41.)

Proto-Austronesian ***tata:** Proto-Oceanic ***tata** *term of address to father, mother's brother* (BENEDICT 1975 286-7, which see), Proto-Philippine ***tata-i:** Cebuano Bisayan **tatay**, **tátay**, Pangasinan **tátay** *term of address to father*, Tagalog &c. **tatay** *father*, Samar-Leyte Bisayan **tatay** *father, grandfather*.

69 *[kb]t₁a?** to wash [head].**

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **kəta** (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang **ta?** *to wash [head]*, (or ~?) Khasi **bta** *to wash [face]*.

70 *ktuu?** hot.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Mon **kətao**, Old Khmer **ktau**, Modern Khmer **kdau**, Kuy (k)**tau**, Bahnar **tə?**, Jeh, Halang **tu?**; ~ (***kbttuu?** >) Mon **hətao**, Khmer **kəmdau** *to heat*, Kuy **ntau** *to warm*, Bahnar **pətə?** *to heat*.

If Bahnar → Jeh, Halang, perhaps *-**t₂**-; connected SMITH 1972 ***kasu?** (324; then *-**ts-**) *to sweat*; &/or 44 ***[c]uu?** *to be sick*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SMITH 1972 322; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 140; PINNOW 1959 52.)

71 *gtoo?** snail.**

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **tao?**, Temiar **gatū?** (BENJAMIN 1976B 132).

(***nta?** see 75 ***[s]ta?** *to vomit*.)

72 *nt₁uu?** hole, pit.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **ʔəndau** (& **rùəndau**) *ditch, hole, cave*, Stieng **tù:** *deep ditch or hole*, Chrau **ntu:** *well, water-hole*, Biat **ntu:** *hole*, West Bahnar **hətū** *deep hole* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **həntu?**, Riang-Lang **ˀtu?**, Praok **daə** *hole*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFFER 1965 303.)

Cf. 556 ***kt₁u(u)ŋ**, but connection dubious.

Proto-Austronesian ***piNt₁au** *door*: Malay **pintu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119, ***pin[t]u**; DAHL 1973 § 12.4; *-**au** confirmed by Acehnese **pinto**; see also BENEDICT 1975 273).

72a *tp₁[i]ʔ to instruct, teach.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **phdae**-[**phdam**] *to send verbal message, keep reminding* (→ Vietnamese **day** *to teach* ?) & ~ Khmer **prədae**-[**prədav**] *to teach, educate*, Stieng **ti**: (BLOOD 1966), Sre **bəti** *to teach* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (*pnt₁[i]ʔ >) Praok **də** [gəə] *to teach*; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **tənti**: *to teach*, Biat **nti**: *to learn*, (— **ntom**) *teach*.
(BLOOD 1966 227.)

†73 *bt₁aʔ; *st₁aʔ tail.

- A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **birta** /**bərtāʔ**/, Modern Mon **hətaʔ**.
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Lawa **sataʔ**, Kensiu **hatiʔ**, Semaq Beri **hateʔ**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntáʔ**, Palaung **səta**, Riang-Lang **səntaʔ**, Praok **sida**, Temiar **sentaʔ**.
Munda implies B secondary; on *taʔ < *btaʔ? Danaw has **təŋ tə**.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 3.)
Kharia **pa'ta** (PINNOW 1959 K 386).

†74 *[b]tuuʔ to burst, pustulate.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) ~ Khasi **pyrthiew** [*parched grain*] *to burst; to come out in an eruption*; ~ Mon **hətao** *skin eruption endemic in cold weather*, Khasi **pyrthiew**, **byrthiew** *pustulated pulses*, (**kaba** —) *eruptions*.
Connect 2008 ***bt₁uh** &c.
Proto-Austronesian ***bətū(S)**: Sundanese **bituq** *to explode, erupt, to fire [gun]*, Cebuano Bisayan **butu** *to explode, burst; blister* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

†75 *[s]taʔ to vomit.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, ?Khmer) Mon **taʔ** (*medical*) *to vomit*, Bru **rata**: *vomit*, (?) Khmer **sda**: **stār** (!) *to unload, empty, drain off*.
Proto-Austronesian ***qu(N)t₁aq** *to vomit*: Malay **m-untah**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *[^c]u(n)tah; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 8.2, 14.10).
If Khmer is not connected, Proto-Mon-Khmer ***(n)taʔ**? See BENEDICT 1975 417.

(*st₁aʔ see 73 *bt₁aʔ tail.)

76 *diʔ; *dih to hit, come in contact with.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **tīʔ** *to come in contact with, impinge on, collide, to charge, fight with horns*, Sre **di** *to be right, to be in agreement, to have to*, Biat **di**: *to hit; right*, Khasi (**īa-**)**dei** (!) *to hit*, Nancowry **téʔ** *to touch*.
B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **dadih** *to collide* (GUESDON 1930).
Khasi **d-**, for *t-, unexplained. B contaminated by 2010 ***dah** (compare with for semantics)?

77 ***daʔ** *duck*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **t̪iə dā**, Kuy **thiːa**, Stieng, Chrau **daː**; (?) → Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **tua**, Lawa Umphai **thua**; ~ Sre **ada duck**, Gölar Bahnar **hədaː wild duck**; → Cham **at̪aː**, Rōglai, North Rōglai **ada duck** (& Mon **ət̪əaʔ**); ~ Bahnar **tədaː [d̪aːk] wild duck**.

Or ***daar** (Mon, Khmer, Lawa), Khmer → Kuy, Bahnaric; Khmer orthography favours *-ʔ; Cham &c. inconclusive. Cf. Rōglai **ara wild duck**, ↔ Sre **ara wild duck**, Kontum Bahnar **həraː duck**.

(SHAFFER 1965 121, 465.)

(***daʔ** see also 2010 ***dah** to hit, to meet.)

78 ***dəəʔ**; ***dəh**; ***dəəs** to stop, be brought up short, come to rest.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Middle Mon **dui'**, Modern Mon **t̪əʔ to stop, halt**, Khmer **t̪iː to put (down, on shelf), to land on, lodge, get caught**, Kammu-Yuan **t̪əʔ to fall on one's bottom**, Semang **[bia]-dú to stop** (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 477; cf. W 8), Central Nicobarese **[kaː]-t̪i- to dwell, stay, wait**, Nancowry **kat̪uː**; ~ Chrau **vədəː to catch falling object**.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **dəh rest**, Biat **dəh at leisure, easy**, Bahnar **dəh rest, cessation** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **pədəh to rest**.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **t̪iːh d̪ös to be in the way, to be too big to go through opening**.

Connection dubious B31 ***dək** to stop, halt. Kontum Bahnar **pədəːy to stop, rest**, is ← Cham **pat̪əy to rest**, cognate with Javanese **mari to stop, abate**; Mon **dah [rain] to stop** perhaps < 1903a ***daas** to break.

(SHAFFER 1965 130; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 70.)

79 ***[d][ɔ]ʔ**; ***[d][ɔ]h** this, here.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **d̪əu, d̪əu here**, Sre **do this, here**.

B: (Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Thin **duh this**, Kensiu **d̪əh here**, Temiar **d̪əh this, here**.

Connect 92 ***nəʔ** &c.? But perhaps ***d̪-** here, by contraction ***d̪iiʔ-ʔ[ʋə]ʔ** (85, 6).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 86 (d).)

80 ***dəəʔ** to cover head.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer **t̪iː d̪ū cloth cover of casket**, (TANDART 1935) to cover, Kuy **th̪uː(ː)aʔ (!) to wear on head** (contaminated by A22 ***[d]əək** to wear round neck &c., which compare?), Bahnar **[hlaː] duː umbrella**; ~ Khmer **t̪ət̪iː dad̪ūv, dad̪ūr to cover the head**, Sakai **tud̪ō to cover** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 257); ~ Stieng **nd̪əu [umbrella] to shelter from, cover**, Sre **nd̪əu to wear on head, to shelter under [umbrella]**, Biat **nd̪əu to cover oneself, cover head**; ~ (***p̪dəəʔ** >) Bahnar **t̪ū to cover, shelter, to take cover** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Proto-Austronesian ***tudun̪**: Malay **tudong veil**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(BLOOD 1966 201.)

81 *duu? *to run away.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon **dow** /dɔw/, Modern Mon **tèa** *to run away*, Old Khmer **dau**, Modern Khmer **tɿu** *to go (away)*, Sre **dou?**, Chrau, Biat **du:**, Kammu-Yuan **tù?**, Palaung **du** *to run away*, Temiar **do?** *to run* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar **kədu:**, (!) **kədəw**, Jeh **kadàw**, Halang **gədò:w** *to run*, Tembi **dadu'** *to run away* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 44).
North Bahnaric diphthongization obscure. Add **84a *p[d]uu?** *to carry, transport?* Note Vietnamese **đào** *to escape, flee*. But Praok **to** *to run away* is < **1612 *tar**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SHAFER 1965 124, 479; SMITH 1972 424.)

82 *kdɔ? *plantain bud.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **dɔu** [pri:t] *plantain bud*, Chrau **jɔ:** [pri:t] *plantain flower*, Kammu-Yuan **kətɔ?** (!) *bud of plantain, rice, elephant grass*, Lawa Bo Luang **tu?**, Lawa Umphai **thu?** (— **ti?** &c.) *forearm*, (— **cuəŋ** &c.) *leg*; ~ (***krdɔ?** >) Mon **hətò?** [prət] *plantain bud, calf of leg*; by secondary derivation ~ (***dnɔ?** >) Sre **do** (— **jəŋ**) *calf*, (— **ti**) *flower*; (DOURNES 1950) *plantain bud*.
Cf. **B9 *k.dɔ?** *plantain*.

83 *tdi? *kind of bamboo.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (***tndi?** >) Mon [tùn] **kəlbə?** *tali* &c. *giant bamboo*; ~ (***trdi?** >) Stieng [tə:m] **rədəi** *kind of smooth-stemmed bamboo*, Bahnar **hədə:** *kind of bamboo* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **rədəē**); → Röglai **tərde** *straight kind of bamboo with short joints*.
(SHAFER 1965 455.)

84 *pda[a]? *to lean on.*

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **pətè?** *to lean on*, Khasi [iə] **da** *to help, protect* (compounding form!; **iə-** reciprocal); ~ (***p.da[a]?** >) Vietnamese **đưa** *to lean on* (→ Mường **đưa**, BARKER 1966 23).
Cf. Central Nicobarese **iduwə-həre**; & **1470 *daay**.

84a *p[d]uu? *to carry, transport.*

A: (Bahnaric) West Bahnar **du:** (!) *to transport* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ndu:** [a: iə:] *to bring*; ~ Sre **pərdu** *to transport, carry away*, Bahnar **pədu?** *to transport*.
Originally *to carry off*, causative. ~ **81 *duu?** *to run away?* So Stieng **prədu:** *to run away (with), snatch up in running away*.

†**85** ***ḍii?** *middle, in.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon **ḍey** /**ḍɔy**/ *locative particle*, Sre **də** *dative particle (locative particle)*, DOURNES 1950), Biat **di:** [**dɔl**] (*in the*) *middle*, Kammu-Yuan **ta:**, **tə:** *at*, Thin **dă**, **dă** *in*; ~ Old Mon **tirḍey**, Modern Mon **hədoə**, Sedang **tadéy** *middle* (SMITH 1972 p. 79), Kammu-Yuan **tərti?** *between*; ~ Kuy **nthi:**, (?) Bahnar **ane?** *in the middle*, Palaung **kəndi** *middle*; ~ Old Mon **pḍey** *inside*, Middle Mon **pḍay**, Modern Mon **doə** *in*, Khmer **phtèy** *stomach*, (GUESDON 1930) *womb*, Pangan **pḍi** *central* (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 100).

Sora **tə'ra:ṇdi:-**, **tə'ra:ṇdi:-n** *middle*. (cf. PINNOW 1959 22).

Proto-Austronesian ***di:** Malay **di-** *locative prefix*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40; Proto-Hesperonesian).

86 ***ḍii?**; (***ḍii?**-s[] >) ***ḍiis**; ***ḍuu?**; ***ḍuul** *one.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kuy **thài** *different*, Stieng **di:**, Praok **ti**, Lawa Bo Luang **te?**, **ti?**, Lawa Umphai **thi?**, Mae Sariang **ti?** *one*; ~ (***ḍii?** **ḍii?** >) Khmer **tì:tèy**, **tətèy** *to be individually separate; other, different*, Nancowry **ríri** *all, whole*; ~ Palaung **rəndi** *alone, apart*.

B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riag-Lang **ḍis** *one*, (~?) Central Nicobarese **ore:h**, **ode:h** *first*, Nancowry **rúh** *other*, **ʔuréh** *first*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **du:** *one*.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tò:l** *to be single, just one*, Sre **du:l** *one*.

With suffix in B cf. Riag-Lang **sə-**, Khasi **shi** *one*. C perhaps < ***ḍii?**-ʔuu?, cf.

Palaung **u** *one* & Central Rölöm **ju:** (< ***dyu:**?).

Connect perhaps *-**d** in Santali **mi'd**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 338.

(SHAFFER 1965 285; BLOOD 1966 230.)

87 ***ḍe?**; ***ḍeh** *reflexive pronoun.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau **ḍe:** *belonging to*, Bahnar **ḍe:** *indefinite pronoun*, Kammu-Yuan **te:** *general pronoun*, Palaung **de**, Riag-Lang **ḍe?**, Praok **ti** *reflexive pronoun*, Lawa Bo Luang **te?**, Lawa Umphai **te?**, Khasi [**la**]**de**, Central Nicobarese **de:de**, **re:re** *self*; ~ (***kḍe?** >) Chrau **jə:** *belonging to*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **ḍeh** /**ḍeh**/, Modern Mon **ḍeh** *3rd person pronoun*, (weak form) Bahnar **dəh** *3rd person possessive pronoun* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **kədih** *reflexive pronoun*.

Connection uncertain Malay **dia** *he*, likely < Proto-Austronesian ***dia** *there* (BLUST 1970 no. 152) contaminated by **ia** *3rd person pronoun*, for which see 2 ***ʔii?**.

88 ***k[n]ḍa?** *thin.*

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy (k)**di:ə**, Bru **kada:**, (or ~?) Kammu-Yuan **həntà?**.

89 ***cdaʔ** *span*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Middle Mon **cda** *span from thumb to middle finger*, Modern Mon **daʔ** also *to crawl like a leech, to measure by spans*, Kuy (ch)thi:a, West Bahnar dialect **dā** *span from thumb to middle finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **tda** *span; to crawl like a leech*; ~ Jeh **ida:**, Halang **həda:** *span*, Bahnar **səda:**, **həda:** *span from thumb to middle finger*; ~ Khmu' **sndaʔ** *to measure length*.

(SMITH 1972 543.)

(***t₂dīʔ** see 2014 ***t₂dīh** *near*; *[**n[d]aʔ** see 2015 ***[n[d]ah** *one of two sides*.)

90 ***[p]dɔɔʔ** *blister*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **dɔ:u** *blister, small swelling; to blister*; ~ Mon **hədɔʔ** **phaɗa'** *to blister*.

†91 ***niʔ**; ***nih** *this*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy **nì:**, Stieng **ne:i**, **nì:** *this, here*, Sre **ne** *there*, Bahnar **?ney**, **?ni:** *that*, Kammu-Yuan **nìʔ** *this near at hand*, Khasi [**u** &c.] **-ne**, Mường **nì** *this* (BARKER 1966 21), Central Nicobarese **əne** *that* (pronoun).

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer **neh**, Middle Khmer **neh neh**, **nìh neh**, Riang-Lang **_ni** *this*.

Bahnar **?n-** in deictic also in following, which compare; as 1475 ***naay**, 1435a ***[əy]ʔ** &c. Jakun & Sakai (Lanoh) forms at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 89 are ← Malay.

Sora **-ne-** in e.g. **ten-ne-** *here*, Kurku **ini** *this*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 337).

Proto-Austronesian ***in_i** *this*: Malay **ini**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 69; DYEN 1953 § 133; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 408. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 44.)

*92 ***nɔʔ**; ***nɔh** *this*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, ?Khmuic) Mon **-nɔʔ** *this*, Chrau **nɔʔ** (!) *there near at hand*, Bahnar **?nu:**, **?nɔw**, **?nəw** *here, this*, Mae Sariang [**sajeʔ**] **nɔʔ** *to[day]*, Vietnamese **nọ** *this*, Semelai **nɔʔ** *here*; ~ Middle Mon **'ano'** /ə_nɔʔ/, Modern Mon **ə_nɔʔ** *here*, Temoq **?anɔʔ** *this*; ~ Semelai **nɔʔnɔʔ** *this*; probably ~ (***[ʔ]anʔ-nɔʔ** > ?) Kammu-Yuan **nə:** *pronon 3 plural*, Praok **nɔ** *pronoun 3 singular* Cf. Kuy **nəu** *he, she*, Bru **nəw** *here, she, who* (or 92a?).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **noh**, Middle Khmer **nɔh noh** *that, there*, **nùh noh** *that*, Bahnar **(?)nɔh** *here, this*, Semnam **nɔh** *this*.

For Chrau final see 65 ***t₁iʔ** &c. Bahnar **?n-** in deictic also in preceding, which compare; **-ɔw** &c. perhaps contaminated by 6 ***[uə]ʔ**. Connect 79 ***[d][ɔ]ʔ** &c.? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 51 (e), (f), 85.) (?)

Proto-Austronesian *[nɨ]aa: Cebuano Bisayan **náa** *there (near addressee)*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 271). Note also Saaroa (Formosa) **na:na:** *there*, **kana?a** *that*, **kanau** *that (near)* (BENEDICT 1975 406, *this (one), there (I)*); and Li ***na** *he, she, they, that, there*, ib.

‡92a ***nɔ?** *what, which?*

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **nà:** *what?*, Khasi **-no** *which?, some[one &c.]*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***an₁u:** South Atayal **n-anu'**, Cebuano Bisayan dialect **anu** *what?*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 15, ***anu^c** *someone, something*; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 15.2); (ii) ***in₁u** *where, what?*: Malagasy **inu-na** *what?*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 15.2; BLUST 1971 no. 182).

†93 ***kn₁[i]?** *rat, mouse*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon **kni(?)** /**kni?**/, Modern Mon **nɔe?**, Kuy **(k)nai** *rat, mouse*, Stieng **kəne:i**, Sre **de**, Biat **nɛ:** (& **de:**, ← Sre?), Chrau, Bahnar **kəne:**, Jeh **kane:y**, Halang **kəne:** *rat*, Kammu-Yuan **kəné?** *rat, mouse*, Khasi **khnai**, Central Sakai **kəni** *mouse*.

Some disyllabic items may reflect an infix form.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 10; SMITH 1972 527; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 33.)
Kharía **'kəne** *mouse*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 398).

†94 ***[j]n₁aa?** *dew*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **[_num] _na?** *dew, mist*; ~ (***[j]rn₁aa?** >) Lawa Bo Luang **?a?na?**, Lawa Umphai **ra?na?** *dew*.
Sora **'sinna:-n**.

95 ***t₁n₁aa?** *large bovid*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Khasi **mynthna** *mithan*; ~ (***t₁mn₁aa?** >?) Riang-Lang **ṽpna?**, Danaw **mă ṽna?** *water-buffalo*.
Khasi compound, or ~ ***mt₁n₁aa?** by deformative metathesis.

96 ***[b]na?**; ***[b]nah** *you, plural of address*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **mnì:ə** *you...*, (**mənùh** —) *people* (beside **mnì:əl**).

B: (Mon) Old Mon **bnah** /**bnah**/ *you...*

Khmer **m-** by phrasal alliteration?

97 ***sna?** *crossbow*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Khmer **sna:**, Kuy **nhai:**, **sna:**, Stieng **səna:** (or derived?), Biat **na:**, Vietnamese **ná:**; ~ Sre **səna**.
(BLOOD 1966 309.)

†98 *piʔ *three*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon **pi(ʔ)** /piʔ/, Modern Mon **pəeʔ**, Old Khmer **piy**, Modern Khmer **bry**, Kuy **pai**, Stieng **pei**, Sre **pe**, Chrau, Biat **pɛi**, Jeh **pe:y**, Halang **pe:**, Kammu-Yuan **péʔ**; ~ Semelai **hmpeʔ**; ~ Temiar **neʔ**.

Cf. (i) Bahnar **pe:ŋ**; (ii) 1437a *ʔuy &c., connected if < Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[**ui**] ~ *[**u/p/i**] or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFER 1965 567-8; BLOOD 1966 177; SMITH 1972 537; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 99, 100.)

Kharia **'uʔphe**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 348).

†99 *piʔ *you (plural)*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung **pɛ**, Riang-Lang **ʔpeʔ**, Praok **pe**, Lawa Bo Luang **paiʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peʔ**, Khasi **phi**, Central Nicobarese [i]fe:.

Connection dubious forms in *b-: (i) Old Mon **beh** /beh/ *you (singular)*, Modern Mon **pəh** *you*; with /h/ perhaps by levelling on Old Mon **deh** *3rd person pronoun* (< 87 *deh), **t'eh** *pronominal plural suffix*; (ii) Stieng **be:i** *you (plural)*, perhaps levelled on **me:i** *you (masculine singular)* (< 128 *miʔ); with these cf. Sora **am'be:n** &c., compounding form **-be'n**, Santali **aben** *you two*, &c., PINNOW 1959 55; (iii) Kammu-Yuan **pə:** *you (plural)*; levelled on **nə:** *pronoun 3 plural*. (ad 92 *nəʔ).

(SHAHER 1965 286.)

Kharia **-pe**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 175a; Proto-Munda *-pe).

100 *paʔ; *pah *shoulder*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang [**cak**] **ʔpaʔ**; ~ Khasi **tympha**.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **bả** [vai] [*shoulder*]-blade; ~ Middle Mon **pnah**, Modern Mon **nah** *shoulder*.

Connection dubious Kuy **mpa:ʔ** (*tip of*) *shoulder*, perhaps ~ A12 *ʔaak *shoulder-blade*; or 218 *blaʔ *shoulder*.

100a *pəəʔ; *puʔ *to lift, raise*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **pɯ:** *to lift, raise* (→ Sre **pə:**), Stieng **pɯ:** *to carry in hands*, Jeh **pòʔ** *to lift, reach*, Halang **pòʔ** (by attraction 121 *bɔʔ) *to carry on back*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **puʔ**, Praok **pu** *to carry on back*.

Back vocalism secondary? Or two roots, with contamination? Cf. Nancowry under the entry 121.

(SMITH 1972 306.)

†101 ***poo?**; ***poŋ** to swell, expand.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric, ?Khmer) Mon **pao?** to swell, to be nearly ripe, Central Nicobarese **fua-[hətə]** to swell, Nancowry **fúa**, (?) Khmer **bao por** to warp, swell.

B: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon **poŋ** to swell up, [bread] to rise; ~ (*[k]**poŋ**; or perhaps *[k]-**boŋ**, ad 108 *[b]**oo?**, >) Khmer **paŋ** inflated, puffed up, Bahnar **po:ŋ** swollen; ~ Kuy **mpo:ŋ** inflated, puffed up, Bahnar **pəpo:ŋ** to bulge out, become bigger; (?) ~ Vietnamese **bóng** bladder, ball, balloon.

Cf. besides *[b]**oo?** 348 ***pu(u)k**; Biat **poh** to swell.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; cf. SHAFER 1965 333.)

Sora **puŋ-(‘puŋ-)** to swell; cf. PINNOW 1959 356.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 404.

102 ***poo?** parent-in-law.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **pou** parent-in-law, relation by marriage, Stieng [ba] **pou** father-in-law (by contraction, cf. Sre **pou ba:p** father-in-law), Chrau [va:p &c.] **pə:** elder in-law, Bahnar **po?** friend, especially relation by marriage; term of address to child's spouse's parent, Palaung **pu**, Riang-Lang **ṽpə?** father-in-law, Lawa Bo Luang **pau?**, Lawa Umphai **po?** mother's elder brother, father-in-law.

103 ***krpi?**; ***krpiiw**; ***krpu?**; ***[kr]puh** buffalo.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **krəbɿy** (→ Stieng **krəpu:**?).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **kapiaw** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

C: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəpu**, Chrau **gəpu:**, Biat **rpu:**, Bahnar **kəpo:**.

D: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **puh**.

-B-D, contextually favoured, probably contaminated by Indonesian ***k/ar/əbau** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76, ***kəbav**; Cham **kapà:w**, &c.); note here Madurese **kərbhuy**, perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer. Connection obscure Mường **tru** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **trâu**.

(SHAFER 1965 59; BLOOD 1966 239; SMITH 1972 523.)

104 ***t₁pa?** freshwater turtle.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy **spa:**, Stieng **pa:**; ~ Sre **dərpa**, Chrau **dəpa:**, (or next?) Bahnar **təpa:**; → Cham **tapar**, Röglai **dərpa**, North Röglai **tupa**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **təmpá?**.

Cf. Vietnamese **ba-ba** turtle.

(***t₂puə?** see 1916 ***t₂puus** to sweep.)

†105 *mp[ɔ]ʔ *dream, to dream*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *'ampo'* /^mpɔʔ/ *dream*, Modern Mon kəpɔʔ, Kuy mpa: [bic], Bru mpaw, Sre mpao, Bahnar apɔ:, Gölar Bahnar həpɔ:, Jeh hmòʔ (!) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan həmpóʔ, Central Sakai pō *to dream*, Central Nicobarese enfuə *dream, to dream*, Nancowry ʔinfuá; ~ Palaung rənpō *to dream*; by metathesis (*rpm[ɔ]ʔ >) Riang-Lang ɹəmuʔ *to dream*, Praok -maw *dream*, Lawa Bo Luang ʔamauʔ, Lawa Umphai ramoʔ *dream, to dream*.

Or *mpuəʔ (&c.), by metathesis *mpawʔʔ Stieng mbə:i *dream, to dream*, Biat mbə:i *to dream* are probably contaminated rather than ← Indonesian, below.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 296, 548; SMITH 1972 562.)

Kharia mui *to dream*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 351).

Proto-Austronesian *(n-)uSi(N)pi: Malay *m-impi*, Jarai rəpə:i *to dream*, &c. (cf. DAHL 1973 § 13.5, & add Gayo, Karo Batak nipi; DEMPWOLFF 1938 69, *[^c]i(m)pi^c; 108, *nupi^c; DYEN 1965). Kuiper suggested (from Munda & Indonesian) *mui, *pui; Proto-Austroasiatic *mpuiʔ or the like, with metathesis vs. Proto-Austronesian? See BENEDICT 1975 274.

(*rpuəʔ see 1918 *rpuus ...*fourth finger*.)

106 *spuʔ *thatching-grass*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon [nɔm] hwɔʔ, Old Khmer spū, Modern Khmer sbo:v *thatching-grass*, Central Nicobarese fo *thatch*. ~ Kuy mpa: *to thatch*, Bru sapɔ:

107 *[b]əʔ *to ingest*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan pəʔ *to eat, to drink*, Kensiu buʔ *to drink*.

107a *[]bɔʔ *hump of ox*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon pòʔ ba' &c., Kammu-Yuan pəʔ.

Conceivably *lb-; then ~ 119 *ln[b][o]ʔ *ox*?

Cf. Kachin dəbu, BENEDICT 1972 114.

*108 *[b]ooʔ; *[b]ooŋ; *[b]uŋ *to swell, bulge*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer pò: *to swell* (GUESDON 1930), (or derived > ?) Bahnar bō *swollen with decay* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer spò: sbor (!) *swelling up, swollen*; ~ (*p[b]ooʔ >) Central Nicobarese fa:po *fat*, Nancowry fápu connection dubious.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer pò:ŋ *hump, protuberance*, Bahnar bo:ŋ *swollen* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (perhaps ~ Khmer paŋ *inflated*..., &c., see 101 *pooʔ).

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer pùŋ *swollen* (?; GUESDON 1930, ≠ belly < 624 *buŋ[]), Kuy phùŋ *pregnant*, Bahnar buŋ *swollen, bulging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B) Khasi pong[kdung] *bellying, bulging out*; ~ Khmer kəmpùŋ *fully rounded*.

Problematic. If Khasi < B, C perhaps ← Indonesian, below; other Khmer, Bahnar conceivably < *[d]-poo? &c., ad 101. Cf. further (i) Khmer **krùəŋ** *shoulder of hill* (< *[k][b]əŋ?); (ii) Khmer **pə:ŋ** *bump...; to puff up, swell up, become inflated*, Kuy **phù:əŋ** *blistered, swollen* (< *[b]əŋ); (iii) 629 ***[d]buŋ** *foetus*. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 333.)

Proto-Austronesian ***kə(N)buŋ**: Malay **kěmbong** *inflated, distended*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; probably Proto-Malayo-Javanese, discarding Tagalog, Toba Batak, & assuming Malay → Ngaju Dayak; so perhaps ← Mon-Khmer!). See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b); BENEDICT 1975 404.

109 ***b[oo]?** *friend*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **bu** *friend*, Praok **[paw] pu [pɛ]** *associate*, Lawa Bo Luang **pu?(hməu)**, Lawa Umphai **phu? [hmeu]**, Mae Sarian **pu? [hmeu]**, Vietnamese **bầu** (!) *friend*.

Cf. 1836 ***b[aw]?** *companion...*

110 ***bu[u]?** *individual*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **vu:** *someone*, Biat **bu:** *person*, Bahnar **bu:** *someone, who*; ~ Chrau **kəmvu:** *who*.

By contraction ***bu[u]?** ?ii? (cf. 2; Palaungic: i, ***buuy** >) Praok **puy**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sarian **pui**, Lawa Umphai **phui** *person*; (ii, ***bii?** >) Palaung **bi** *person*.

(Cf. SMITH 1972 559.)

111 ***[][b]uu?** *soul, shadow, butterfly*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) ~ Khmer **?əmbau** *butterfly* (TANDART 1935), West Bahnar **mu:** *shadow, reflection* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **kərbu** *spirit* (MILNE 1931), *soul*, Semang **kālbo** *shadow* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 126).

The soul is believed to be visible as a butterfly by e.g. the Mons.

†112 ***?baa?** *father*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **'ba'** /**ᵐba?** / *father*, Modern Mon **mè?** *father*, **bè?** *peremptory term of address to males*, Khmer **ba:** *father especially of animals; onomastic prefix for junior generation* (→ Stieng **ba:** *onomastic prefix for elder males?*), Bahnar **ba?**, (Kontum) **ba?**, Jeh **ba:?**, Halang **ba?**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sarian **pua?**, Lawa Umphai **phua?**, Khasi **pa** *father*.

Not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, Stieng **mɔ:m**; or Biat **mbɔ?**.

(SHAFER 1965 281; SMITH 1972 319; LEWITZ 1967 121-3.)

Kharia **'aba**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 26).

Proto-Austronesian ***əNbaq:** Malay **ěmbah** *grandparent*, Acehnese **(ö)mbah**, Iban **embah [apai]** *father*, Tagalog **ambaq** *uncle* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. BLUST 1971 no. 167); → Temiar **bə:h** *father?*

113 *[?]bo? *mother*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **'bo'** /^mbaw?/ *mother*, Modern Mon **bə?** *female of animals...*, Jehai **bə?**, Temiar **bo:?** *mother*; probably → Malay **ibu**, → Javanese **ibu**; ~ Mường **bợ** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **vợ** *wife*, Semnam **babo:?** *wife, woman*, Jehai **babo?**, Temiar **babo:?** *woman*.

Or ***mb-**. Since Javanese is likely to be a loan word, Dempwolff's construction of Proto-Austronesian ***ibu**^c (DEMPWOLFF 1938 66) is dubious (but note Sediq **búbu?**).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 61, M 192.)

*114 *?buu? *to suck at the breast*.

(Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **'bow'** /^mbaw/, Modern Mon **mèa**, Khmer **bau**, Sre **pou?**, Chrau, Biat **pu:**, Jeh **bu?** *to suck* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pù?**, Palaung **bu**, Riang-Lang **bu?** *breast, to suck*, Vietnamese **bú** *to suck*, Che' Wong **bu?** *breast, to suck*, Jah Hut **bo:?** *breast*, Chowra Nicobaric **mə:-[hətə]** *to suck*, Nancowry **mó?**; ~ Vietnamese **vú** *breast*; ~ Old Mon **pubow** /pə^mbaw/, Modern Mon **həmèa**, Khmer **bəmbau**, Biat **mpu:**, Jeh **hmu?** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pənpù?**, Riang-Lang **pəkbu?** *to suckle*; ~ Sre **təmpou?** *to suckle*.

Cf. Praok **pəy** *to suck*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFER 1965 41a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 386.)

Atayal ***bubu** *breast, milk*, (~) Kananabau **mumu** *breast, milk*. (BENEDICT 1975 242, which see).

115 *krəbə[ə]? *crocodile*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **krəpɔ:**, Stieng **krəbɔ:**, Biat **rbɔ:**, Bru **rabə:**.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***buqaia(S)**: Malay **buaya**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***b/uh/aja**^c; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50).

*116 *kboo? *white*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **gwu**, Modern Mon **kwù?** (& **pù?**) *to be white*; ~ Middle Mon **kambu**, Modern Mon **kəmao?** *white*.

Cf. Khmer **kpus** /**kboh**/ *pure white*. Connection obscure 369a ***kḥḥk** *white, grey*. Sora **'ba:ə-** *grey[haired]* is more probably connected 25 ***skəw?**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kulabu(S)** *grey*: Malay **kəlabu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82-3, Proto-West-Indonesian; referred as prefixed form to ***qabu** *ash*, for which see 2034 ***buh** &c.). See BENEDICT 1975 221-2, *ashes*.

117 *mbii? elder sibling.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *mbay*, Modern Mon *bòə* *elder sister*, Stieng *bi:* (BLOOD 1966), Sre *bi*, Bunör, Central Rölöm *mi:* *elder sibling*.

Kammu-Yuan *pì:* *elder sibling* is (by back-borrowing?) ← Lao *bhii*. Cf. 1531a **waay* *elder sibling*; 1494 **mə(ə)y* *mother's sister*.

(BLOOD 1966 215.)

(**mbo?* see 113 **[?]bo?* *mother*.)

118 *rba? to hunt down.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (**rmba?* >) Old Mon *runba* /*rəmba?*/, Modern Mon *kəmè?* *hunter*, Khmer *rùmpì:ə* *carnivorous*; ~ (**rnba?* >) Khmer *rùmpì:ə* *prey, kill* (& *lùmpì:ə*, TANDART 1935).

Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 38, : Khmer *mə:* *elephant-hunter*.

‡119 *ln[b][o]? ox.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *ləmpò?*.

Originally perhaps *humped (cattle)*, ~ (**lbə?* =) 107a **[]bə?*. Connection obscure Mường *pò* (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *bò*; ← or contaminated by Proto-Austronesian **kəbau* *buffalo* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76)?

Proto-Austronesian (?) **lənbu(S)*: Cham *limə:*, &c. (with obscure vocalism), Malay *lěmbu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 247, *cattle*.

†120 *ḡa? paddy.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Chrau *va:*, Stieng, Biat *ba:*, Bahnar *ḡa:*, Danaw *ḡa*, Che' Wong, Mah Meri *be?*, Temiar *ba:?*; ~ Khasi *kba*; ~ Semelai *baba:h* *paddy* (& Semang &c. —i.e. Jehai, Bateg Dek— *bab* *boiled rice*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Cf. 133 **ma?* *seed*, (BLOOD 1966 276; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 106 (a), (c).)

Kharia *ba?* *paddy*, ~ Sora (children's language) *'ba:ba:-n* *cooked rice*, Mundari *baba* *paddy*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 4).

121 *ḡə? to carry on back.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer *va*, Modern Khmer *pə:* *to carry on hip* (JACOB 1968; *on back* GUESDON 1930, *in arms* TANDART 1935, HENDERSON 1952; i.e. *to carry child?*), Palaung *bə*, Riang-Lang *ḡə?* *to carry on back*, Temiar *ba?* *to carry on back* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132; rather than *bə?* *to carry*, ib. 135), Nancowry *ḡupúə?* *to carry on back*.

Cf. B117 **ḡ[a]s* *to carry [heavy object]* (& POU & JENNER 1975 no. 21). Bahnar *pu?*, Halang *pò?*, Praok *pu* are < 100a **pəə?* &c.

†122 *ḡ[ɔɔ]? *younger sibling*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **pù:** *bū* (!) *parent's younge brother*, Praok **pu**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **pu?**, Lawa Umphai **phu?** *younger sibling*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṣəmbo?**, (~?) Khasi *hynbew* *younger sibling*.

If rather *ḡu?, Riang-Lang vocalism obscure.

Santali **bɔ-[kɔ]** *younger sibling*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 218).

(*ḡuu? see 125 *(t)ḡuu? *sugar-cane*.)

122a *[j]ḡ[o]? *kind of cereal crop*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **spò:** *sorghum*, Bru **sapùa** *Job's tears*; ~ Biat **mbɔ:**, Bahnar **həbɔ:** *maize*.

Obscure. HENDERSON 1952 has Khmer **sp̃ru**; contaminated by 1834 *ḡ[b]aw *millet?* (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

(*ḡḡuu? see 2041a *jḡuəh *beak*.)

123 *[t₂]ḡe[e]?; *[t₂]ḡee[s] *Job's tears, Coix lachryma-jobi*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṣəbe?** *Job's tears, Coix lachryma-jobi*, Lawa Bo Luang **sapi?** *Panicum miliaceum* (*Japanese kibi*).

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **kəbe:h** *Job's tears*.

Cf. Ami (Formosa) **havay** *Setaria italica* (TSUCHIDA 1977, 89).

124 *tḡə?; *[t][ḡ]u(u)? *to touch, feel*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Biat **bu:** *to feel*, Bahnar **bə:** *to touch, feel, handle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?; *t₁-) Khasi **tba** *to touch, feel*; ~ (*tḡə? >) Sre **ḡu**, **tḡu** *to touch, feel*; ~ (*trḡə? >) Bahnar **həbə?** *to feel for*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bu-[bi &c.]** (*-uu?), Praok **pu [pi]** (*-u?) *to touch, feel*.

Note further Central Rölöm, Bunör **bi:**, Köho Chil **təbi:** (BLOOD 1966 207); but connection obscure Mon **kwò?** *dwa'* (< *tḡə?); perhaps contaminated by *bal > Khmer **pəəl** *to touch*.

†125 *(t)ḡuu? *sugar-cane*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **tḡow** /tḡɔw/, Modern Mon **baɔ**; ~ Old Khmer *'arṇvau*, Modern Khmer **ṭəmp̃ru**.

Connect 1834 *ḡ[b]aw *millet?*

(SCHMIDT 1905 34.)

Proto-Austronesian *t₁əbuS: Malay *těbu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 133, *təbu^c; cf. DAHL 1973 § 9.5, 14.9; BLUST 1961 proposed *^ouS₁u); → Semang *těbu'* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 515). Khmer, & Old Mon **ḡ**, obscure if Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian; but Old Mon **t-** contaminated by it? See POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19 (a); BENEDICT 1975 401.

‡126 *bəbeʔ goat.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon *baḥe'* /bəbeʔ/, Modern Mon *həbeʔ*, Old Khmer *vave*, Modern Khmer *pəpè:* (with vocalism by secondary lengthening?), Kuy, Biat *bɛ:*, Stieng *beh*, *be:ih*, Sre *be*, Chrau *vəve:* (& *dəve:* by dissim), Bahnar *bəbe:*, Jeh *buʔbe:y*, Halang *bəbe:*, Kammu-Yuan *pèʔ*, Palaung *bɛ*, Praok *pe* goat, Lawa Bo Luang *peʔ*, Lawa Umphai *pheʔ*, Mae Sariang *piʔ* mountain goat.

For Stieng *-h* cf. 39 *ciiʔ. Onomatopoeic. Cf. (i) Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 302, (III); Riang-Lang *ʔpɛʔ* is ← Shan *pè:*; (ii) with initial nasal Central Nicobarese *me*, Nancowry *mɛʔ*; Kharia *mɛ'rɔm*, Gutob *gime*, &c., PINNOW 1959 177; Ong-Be *mɛ* goat, sheep, &c., BENEDICT 1975.

(SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFER 1965 36; BLOOD 1966 171; SMITH 1972 529.)

Jakun *bêbe'* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 53A), Sundanese *embe*, Macassar *bembe*, Proto-Ambonese **bibi* (STRESEMAN 1927). (Mainland forms perhaps ← Mon-Khmer: Cham *papè:*, Jarai *bəbe:*, Rōglai *bə*, North Rōglai *mube*).

127 *miʔ (& *miiʔ?); *mih; *miiw rain, to rain.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer *mè:* downpour (*quantifier*) (?; also *mì:* *mīr* overcast, threatening rain), Stieng, Chrau *mi:* (to) rain, Semnam *mi:ʔ* rain; ~ Bahnar *ʔmi:* (to) rain (< **iiʔ?*), Jeh *ʔmiah*, Halang *ʔmìa* rain; ~ Semai *maniʔ* rain.

B: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat *mih*, Central Nicobarese *əmīh* (to) rain, Nancowry *ʔamúh*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *mi:w* rain.

The same distribution of finals nearly in 37 *sɲiʔ &c.; add then perhaps Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *mưa* rain. Cf. further 141 *gmaʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 216; SMITH 1972 521; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 7; & cf. R 8.)

128 *mi[i]ʔ; *miih you (singular).

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *mài* you (*familiar*), Sre *mi* you (*singular*), Stieng *me:i*, Chrau *ma:y* (BLOOD 1966 also *may*), Biat *mai* you (*masculine*), Kammu-Yuan *mè:* you (*masculine singular*), Palaung *mi*, Riang-Lang *_miʔ*, Praok *may*, Lawa Bo Luang *maiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *miʔ*, Khasi *me*, Vietnamese *mày*, Bateg Nong *məʔ*, Central Nicobarese *me*, *mě* you (*singular*).

B: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Bateg Dek *mɔh*, Semnam *mi:h* you (*singular*); ~ Bahnar *ʔmih* you (*dual*).

Vocalism in part suggest **-əy*; perhaps a calling deformation, but in South Bahnaric by attraction 1436 *ʔəy[h] *feminine*; Chrau *ma:y* then as *əy* ad *ʔəy[h].

(SHAFER 1965 158; BLOOD 1966 187; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 33.)

129 ***mii?** *to look at.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **mey** /mɔy/ *to look (at, into)*, Modern Mon **mòà** *to watch over, (in compounds) to look*, Khmer **mèy** *to dwell on mentally* (poetic), Kuy **mè:** *to look (at)*; ~ Khmer **məmèy** *to imagine*; ~ (***mrmi?** >) Sre **rəmi** *to look at*.

130 ***mii?** *brother-in-law.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre [**pou**] **mi** (DOURNES 1950), Jeh, Halang **mi:** *brother-in-law*, Bahnar **mi:** *brother-in-law older than oneself*.
(SMITH 1972 514.)

*131 ***mee?**, (***mee?-mee?** > ?) ***?mee?** *mother.*

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Middle Mon **mi**, Modern Mon **mì?** *mother*, Old Khmer **me**, **'me**, **ame** *mother*, Modern Khmer **mè:**, **mae** *term of address to old women*, **mè:** *familiar or impolite term of address to women*, Kuy (**?a:**)**mɛ?**, Stieng **me:i** *mother*, Sre **me:** *mother*, **me** *female*, Chrau **me:**, (*term of address*) **mɛ:?**, Biat **me:**, (*term of address*) **mɛ?**, Bahnar **mɛ?**, Khasi **mei**, Mường **mɛ** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mẹ**, Semai I **?ame:?**, Semai II **?ame?** *mother*.

Variant forms (in part implying *-e?) probably developed contextually. Cf. Old Burmese **mi**, Modern Burmese (**'a**)**mi**. But connection uncertain Cham **mɛ:?**, Jarai **ami?**. Cf. also following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFER 1965 177; BLOOD 1966 175a, b; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194.)

Kharia **mi?** *aunt* (PINNOW 1959 80).

132 ***ma?** *mother.*

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **ma:?** *mother (to children)* (originally term of address? then → Khmer **mak** *mother, mummy?*), Jeh, Halang **ma:** *aunt*, Kammu-Yuan **mà?**, Palaung **ma**, Riang-Lang **_ma?**, Praok **mɛ**, Lawa **ma?** *mother*.

Semelai, Che' Wong **ma?** (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 194) are ← Malay **ěmak**. Cf. besides preceding. Tibeto-Burman ***ma**, Archaic Chinese ***mǎ** 媽 (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 487; 188 n. 487, 189). (Cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

133 ***ma?** *seed.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon **ma** /**ma?**/, Modern Mon **mè?** *seed*, Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mạ** *rice seedling*; (?) ~ Sakai **sěmá** *paddy* (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 105).

Cf. 120 ***fa?** *paddy*.

134 **[]ma?* insect.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ma**, Riang-Lang **_ma?**; ~ Mon **kəma?** (**cama** &c.; but < ***kuən ma?**?).

135 **[]ma?* right-hand.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ma**, Chrau, Biat **ma:**, (~?) Bahnar **?ma:** *right-hand*, Jeh, Halang **?ma:** *right-handed*.

(SHAFFER 1965 174; BLOOD 1966 305; SMITH 1972 542.)

(***ma?** see also 236 ***m-wa?** *parent's sibling*.)

136 **m[o]?*; **m[o]h* what.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon **mu**, **mo'** /**mu?**/, Modern Mon **mò?** *what?*, Chrau **mɔ?** (!) *what, why*, Kammu-Yuan **mɔ?** *who*, Palaung **mɔ** *what, which, where, when?*, Praok **mɔ** *who, which?*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Biat **mɔh** *which, why?*, Kammu-Yuan **məh** *what?*, Palaung **mɔh** *any*, Semai **ma:h**, Semaq Beri **hmɔh** *what?*

Chrau **-ɔ** generalized from deictics, cf. 65 ***t₁i?**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 78.)

(***mu?** see 2046 ***muh** *to be*; ***?mee?** see 131 ***mee?** *mother*.)

137 **klmiə?* sugar-cane.

(Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **kəlmè?**, Palaung **rəmɛ**, Lawa Bo Luang **?amai?**, Lawa Umphai **rami?**, Mae Sariang **ɣame?**, Vietnamese **mía**. Kammu-Yuan perhaps < *-**əy?** by metathesis.

138 **kmū?*; **kmūə?*; **kmū(ə)h* mouldy, rotten.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **mao?** **kmū** *to be mildewed*, Kammu-Yuan **mu?** *rotten [wood]*.

B, C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **khmuic:ə** **khmuicəɾ** (!) *stinking, musty-smelling*, (with post-nasal vocalism?) **khmɔh** **khmoḥ** *stinking*; ~ Bru **lamɔh** *turning mouldy*.

139 **k[n]mu?* person, human being.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **mɔ:** *person, people* (usually as phrase head), Kammu-Yuan **kəmmú?** *human being, Khmu, Theng*.

***140 **kmūu?*; **kmūə?*; **kmə?* dirty.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **khmau** *black*, Kuy **kmau** *black, tarnished*; ~ Old Khmer **kanmau** *black, dark*, Palaung **kəmu** *grease, to be greasy, dirty* (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **krəmau** *dark, almost black, in colour* (→ Stieng **krəmɔ:u** *dirty, to soil*, Biat **rma:ɔ** *dirty?*).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh ʔmòʔ *bad, broken*, Halang ʔmòʔ *dirty, bad*; ~ Bahnar kəmɔʔ *dirty*.

C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kintaq Bong, Sabum kamah *dirty*; ~ Bahnar dialects kəmɔ: *dirty* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SMITH 1972 307; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 116.)

Mundari humu *dirt, dirty*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 114).

†141 *gmaʔ *rain*.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kuy mɪ:ɑ (to) *rain*, Kammu-Yuan kəmàʔ, Mah Meri, Semaq Beri gəma:h *rain*.

Connect 127 *miʔ &c.?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 8.)

Kharia gim *to rain*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 282; Proto-Munda *gimaG).

142 *[c][p]maʔ *porcupine*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau səma:, Sre səma (→ Röglai), Bahnar jəma:; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer prəma:.

Perhaps ~ (North & Central Aslian) *cmaʔ *sharp*: Kintaq Bong, Jah Hut cəmaʔ (cf.

SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 296).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 550.)

143 *jməʔ *creeper, cord*.

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Praok maw, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmauʔ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔmoʔ *cord*, Semaq Beri jəmɔʔ *root* (or *creeper*, if = Malay *akar*?); ~

Kammu-Yuan cəmməʔ *rope, cord*; ~ Khasi jyrmi *creeper*.

(SHAFFER 1965 299; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d).)

143a *[j]m[o]ʔ *to be hidden, concealed, to hide*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat mɔ: [nu:ih] *disassembling*, Palaung mɔ, Praok mo *to be hidden, concealed*, Lawa Bo Luang ʔmaʔ, Lawa Umphai ʔmɔʔ *to hide, conceal*.

Or *-ɔʔ.

†144 *t₁miʔ *new*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer thmɿy, Kuy (t)mai, Stieng me:i, Chrau me:, Biat mhe:, Thin hme, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese mới *new*, (?) Central Nicobarese [ã:] - kəme-[yəŋ] *to repeat*; → Thai mây, Lao mai, Kam-Sui *hmay *new* (BENEDICT 1975 344); ~ (*t₁nmiʔ >) Middle Mon tami, Modern Mon kəmɔeʔ *to be new*, Sre təme, Kammu-Yuan hənmeʔ, həmməʔ, Palaung kənme, Riang-Lang ʔənmeʔ, Khasi thymmai *new*; ~ (*t₁bmiʔ >) Old Mon tumi /təmiʔ/ *to renew*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; SHAFFER 1965 175; BLOOD 1966 173.)

Sora ʔamme:-, Kharia ʔənme, &c. (PINNOW 1959 184).

145 ***t₁maʔ** *to fight, make war.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **thma**, *'ma war, battle, dispute*; ~ Old Mon **tinma** /**təmmaʔ**/ [**werwey**] *enmity*; ~ (***t₁rmaʔ** >) Praok **sima** *to fight*.

146 ***t₂məʔ** *stone.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Old Mon **tmo'** /**tməʔ**/ *stone, rock, hill*, Modern Mon **məʔ** *stone, rock*, Old Khmer **t(h)mo**, Modern Khmer **thmɔː**, Kuy **tmau**, Halang **moː**, Palaung **mo**, Khasi **maw**, Che' Wong **təməʔ**, Jah Hut **təmɔːʔ** *stone*; from a suffixed form Semaq Beri **təmɔŋ** *stone*; (probably) ~ Stieng **təmbuː**, Chrau **təmoː**, Bahnar **təmɔː** (→ Jeh **tamouʔ**), Praok **simaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **samauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **samoʔ** *stone*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 165; SMITH 1972 560; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 463.)

*147 ***[hy]muʔ** *name.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bru, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) Old Mon **yamo'**, **himo'**, &c. /**hyəmuʔ**/ *name, to be named*, Modern Mon **cəmùʔ** *name*, Old Khmer **jmah**, Middle Khmer **chmùəh jhmoh** *(to) name*, Kuy **mùh**, Bru **ramùh**, Lawa Bo Luang **mau**, Lawa Umphai **maus**, Mae Sariang **mɔih** *name*, Rieng-Lang **mus** *(to) name*, Praok **mɔ** *to be called* (& Palaung **mur** *mouth?*), Semaq Beri **jəŋmɔh** *name*; ~ Sre **təməh** *to name*; ~ Thin **səŋmɔ**, Jehai **kəməh**, Semnam **kənməh**, Semaq Beri **jəŋmɔh** *name*.

*-h, *-s by effect of initial? Perhaps ~ ***hyuʔ** > Middle Mon **yo'** /**yɔʔ**/, Modern Mon **yɔʔ** *particle of address*; cf. for this analysis Kensiu **cɔʔ** *name* (& Kammu-Yuan **cùː**, Praok **cɹ kaə**, apparently ← Tai (Shan **sū**); cf. BENEDICT 1975 343, & note Dioi, Sek ***jɔ**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 443; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 9.)

Sora **ə'nam-ən**, Kharia **'jimi**, **'nimi**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 510b; Proto-Munda ***jimu**, ***jimu**).

148 ***[s]maʔ** *rotten.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **[ph] hmaʔ** *to be rotten*, Khasi **sma** *to have a bad smell*.

Or ***cm-**; or ***t₂m-**, Mon **h-** by phrasal sandhi?

149 ***smə[]ʔ**; ***sməh** *equal, alike.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **smaə** *equal*, Kuy **mhəː**, **sməː** *to be smooth, even, level*; ~ (***snmə[]ʔ** >) Chrau **səməː** *same*, Stieng **səmuː** *equal, similar*, Bahnar **həmō** *equal, similar, level* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **s(ə)mɹ** *to be like; just like*; → Thai **samǎə**; Cham **sāmū**.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **smoh** /**smɔh**/ *to be equal, alike*, Modern Mon **hmuh** [**cɔt**] *to agree*.

(***sm[ɔə]ʔ** see 264 ***m[h][ɔə]ʔ** *evening, night*.)

†150 *y[ee]? we.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Palaung *yɛ* I and they elsewhere, Praok *yɪ* we, Mintil *yɛ?*, Semaq Beri *yɛ:h* we (*plural inclusive*); ~ Bahnar *ɲi:* we (*dual exclusive*).

Cf. 1 *ʔiʔ &c.; perhaps by contraction *ʔiiʔ-ʔiʔ we persons.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 I 1.)

Juang [ɲɪʔ]-je we (PINNOW 1959 39; ?).

†151 *yaʔ (*yaʔ-yaʔ >) *yaay grandmother.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Bahnar *yaʔ* grandmother, ancestress, Jeh, Halang *yaʔ*, Kammu-Yuan *yàʔ*, Palaung *ya* grandmother, Rieng-Lang *_yaʔ* wife, grandmother, Praok *yɛ*, Lawa *yuaʔ*, Semang *yā'* grandmother (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 87); ~ (*jyaʔ; perhaps by contraction *njaʔ-yaʔ the grandmother's man, cf. Old Mon *'ja* /*ʔjaʔ*/ he) Mon *cèʔ* great-grandfather, Old Khmer *jī* ancestor, Modern Khmer *cì:* ancestor, respectful term of address (→ Stieng dialect *jì:* grandmother?), Biat *cɛ:* grandfather, Kammu-Yuan *cua* [taʔ] *cua* [tɛʔ] ancestors; ~ (*kuən yaʔ > *knyaʔ, sandhi-form *jaʔ > : i) Rieng-Lang *_kəŋpaʔ* woman, female; (ii) Khmer *ɲi:* female [animal], (?) Semnam *ɲɔʔ* mother.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *yài* mother, Khmer *yì:əy* term of address to old woman, Stieng *ia:i* grandmother, ancestor.

Cf. A171 *yaw grandparent.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 186, 187; SHORTO 1972 234; SMITH 1972 310; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 193.)

Kharia *ə'ja'ja* grandmother, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 297).

(Proto-Austronesian *ia(q)ia(q) >) Atayal *yaya'* mother. Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 51; & see BENEDICT 1975 339, mother.

(*yaʔ see also 1873 *iʔaas to shine; 2048 *yah ...waste, residue.)

152 *[y]aa[ʔ] house.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok *yɛ*; ~ Praok *ɲɛ*, Lawa *ɲuaʔ* (& Danaw *ɲa*), Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese *nhà*.

Problematic. (i) Praok *yɛ* perhaps ← Lahu *yè*; then *ɲ-? (ii) Mường, Vietnamese tone as in e.g. 61 *ɲɔʔ? but if *mưa* rain is connected 127 *miʔ &c., Viet-Mường perhaps rather ad 37 *sɲiʔ &c.

(SHAFER 1965 153.)

153 *yuʔ umbrella.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer [təəŋ &c.] -yù:, Kuy by sandhi [thùŋ] ɲù:, Stieng [do:ŋ] iu:, Biat [do:ŋ] yu:.

154 *[j]yʉ? to fear.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) West Bahnar **yu:**, Jeh **?yu?** to fear, be afraid (of) (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **yɔ** to be afraid, to take alarm, Praok **yaw** to be bewildered; ~ Biat **phu:**, Chrau **pənhyu:**, West Bahnar **pəyu:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **maɲu?**, Halang **mə?ɲu?** to frighten; ~ Bahnar **tə?yu?** to frighten; ~ Sre **rəyu** to be afraid (DOURNES 1950).

Note also Nancowry **yé?**.

(SMITH 1972 323.)

(*gyi(i)? see 1461 *[kj][əy]? poison, venomous.)

155 *dya? thatching-grass, thatch.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **dia:**, Sre **ja** thatching-grass, Chrau **ya:**, Biat **ja:**, Bahnar **gia:** thatch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **dia:** &c.).

156 *brya? kind of varan.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng **riah** (!) kind of large bird-eating lizard, Sre **bəya** (→ Röglai), Biat **rya:** kind of varan, Chrau **rəya:** spotted varan, East Bahnar **bəya:** aquatic kind of varan (?) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Nancowry **huyé** big lizard.

For Stieng **-h** cf. 39 *cii?.

Perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian ***buqaia(S)** crocodile (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***b/uh/aja**^c; cf. DYEN 1953 § 50; Malay **buaya**, Cham **piya:**, &c.), contaminated by Cham **marawa:**, Jarai **məru:a**, North Röglai **marua** varan.

157 *ryuə? loose.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Sre **rəyua** (→ Röglai); ~ (***rnyuə?** >) Mon **kəpò?** *laño'* to be loose, to loosen.

Connect Chrau **rəya:**, Biat **rya:** relaxed.

*158 *[s]yəə?; by metathesis *[s]?əəy to see.

A: (Palaungic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Palaung **yuu**, Praok **yaw**, Lawa **yo?** to see (Mae Sariang also **yu?**); ~ Biat **phə:** to show, (?) Chrau **pənhya:** to boast, show off, (?) Nancowry **hayúŋasi** to imagine, **hinyúŋasi** picture, image.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi **[ioh]i** to see (& by secondary derivation **pyn-i** to show); ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋə:y** to look (at).

Note further (***səy?** >?) Chrau **səy**, Vietnamese **thấy** to see. Connect 45 *[c][wə]? Kharia **jə(?)**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 295).

159 *syoo? paddle, ladle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon (***sao?**,) by secondary derivation ~ **kəsao?** paddle; ~ (***sryoo?** >) obsolete Mon **səyu** paddle, Sre **səyo** spoon.

Connection dubious Praok **khaw saw** paddle.

(***raʔ** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

160 *rɔʔ; *rɔs, (*rɔs rɔs > ?) *srɔs dry.

- A:** (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **ro**, Chrau **rɔ**: dry, Khasi **raw-raw** very [dry]; ~ Bunör, Bahnar **krɔ**:, (or **B**) Praok **kro**, Mường **xo** dry (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207); ~ Biat **ndrɔ**: dry, dried up.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **srɔh sras** 'drained, dry'; ~ Biat **krɔh** dry, dried up, Nancowry **hiyáh, hiyás** dry.
 Connected variously Vietnamese **ráo**; Kammu-Yuan **rà:s**; Bahnar **hrəʔ** [waters] to go down, dry up; but probably not Palaung **roh** to dry [tea leaves] over fire, Thin **prùh** to dry over fire, Bru **ràh** to dry by fire. Cf. 1970 ***ckəh**, 2086 ***s[ɔ]h** &c.
 (BLOOD 1966 191.)

161 *roʔ(roʔ); *rooʔ to make an inarticulate noise.

- A, B:** (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mon **kərɔʔ** to cry, weep, shriek, make plaintive noise (< ***roʔ roʔ**), (**A/B**) Khmer **rò**: to low, bellow, roar, groan, Bru **ʔarò** to cry out, Stieng **rɔ:u** to cry, shriek, low, roar, Palaung **rɔ** [rɛ] to purr, Riang-Lang **ṛrɔʔ** (!) to hum, grunt, make a noise, Vietnamese **rộ** to be noisy, (**B?**) Temiar **ro:ʔ** to say; ~ (**A?**) Bahnar **krɔ**: croak (!) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Rongao **kro**: to cry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**A/B**) Stieng **ndrɔu** to coo, croak, sing, (**B**) Praok **graw** to roar, (or **A?**) Semai **ṛrɔ:ʔ** to say.
 Onomatopoeic; so 177 ***drooʔ** low roar; 1840 ***ra(a)w** to make a loud sound.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 91 (a), (b).)

161a *rooʔ to shake.

- A:** (Nicobaric, Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Nancowry **yów** to shake; ~ (***rnrooʔ** >) Mon **kərùʔ** to shake (out; v.t.), Bahnar **adrɔʔ**, Gôlar Bahnar **tədrɔʔ** to squirm, shake (v.i.); ~ Riang-Lang **ṛkruʔ** to shake (v.i.t.).

(***ru(u)ʔ**, ***ruəʔ** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

***162 *kraʔ road, way.**

- A:** (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Praok **kra**, Lawa Bo Luang **khraʔ**, Lawa Umphai **kraʔ**, Mae Sariang **khyəʔ**, Mường **khá** (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **sá**; (by metathesis < ***knraʔ?**) Kuy (**k**)**na:**, Bru **rana:**.
 Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **kaiyi:**, probably ~ **kai-** to come.
 (SHAFFER 1965 143.)
 Mundari **hora**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 217).

163 *kraʔ kind of jar.

- A:** (Mon, Khasi) Khasi **khra** earthen water-vessel; ~ Mon [həri] **əkraʔ** large storage-jar.

164 *kra[]?; ***[k]ra[]h** *old, aged*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **kra:** (!), Bahnar, Halang **kra?** *old*, Khasi **[nong]-ra** (compounding form!) *worn-out utensil*; ~ Stieng **kəmra:** *old, bald, decrepit*, Chrau **kəmra:** *grey hair*, Biat **mbra:** *white [hair]*, (~, or ***knra[]?** by assimilation >?) Bahnar **kədra?** *old person, master*, Jeh **dra?** *old*.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi; ~ ***[k]nra[]h** >?) Riang-Lang **˜tra** *white hair* (& by secondary derivation **_kənra** *to be white?*), (~?) Khasi **kynrad** *master*.

Cf. 1787 ***raal**.

(SMITH 1972 308.)

164a *kro? *large*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **-kro'** /**krw?**/, Modern Mon **krə?** *to be corpulent, robust*, Khasi **khraw** *large*.

Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **kəru:**, **kədu:**, Nancowry **karú?**, apparently < ***kɗ-**.

165 *kruu? *to rinse, wash*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **krow** /**krw**/ *to wash*, Modern Mon **krao** *to rinse out, wash, to wash oneself*, Palaung **kru** *to rinse one's mouth* (MILNE 1931).

Hardly connected 1841 ***r[]aawh** *to wash*. But cf. Tibeto-Burman ***kruw** = ***krəw**, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 117.

166 *gre? (& ***gree??**) *litter*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **krè:** *bed*, (— **snaeŋ**) *litter* (< ***-ee?** if not ← South Bahnaric), Chrau **gre:** *litter, howdah*, Biat **gre:** *bed*, (— **rnuiŋ**) *litter*, Bahnar **gre:** *litter*.

167 *cri?; ***crii?** *abandoned dry cultivation*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Kuy **sai** *dry field*, Bru **thray** (implies probably ***sr-**), (or : Khasi?) Chrau **rɛ:** *old swidden*; ~ (***cnri?** >) Stieng **[mi:r]** **ndre:i** *field cultivated for three years*; ~ (***crri?** >) Khasi **syllai** *recently abandoned cultivation*.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***cnrii?** >?) Riang-Lang **˜tri?** *fallow*.

Distinguish 185 ***sre?** *field*.

168 *cri?; ***crii?** *malevolent, unlucky*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ ***cnri?** >) Bahnar **hədre?** *an evil spirit*, Khasi **thynrei** *spirit which aggravates disease*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***cnrii?** >) Mon **kəroa** *class of malevolent earth spirits* (→ Burmese **sarai**, → Mon **hərai** *class of malevolent earth spirit*), Khmer **cəŋray** *ill-omened, unlucky; bad luck* (→ Thai **canray** *low, mean, accursed, unlucky*, → Kuy **caŋ rai** *malevolent, bad, bringing bad luck*; Cham **caŋra:y** *undearable [child]*), Sre **səray** *cannibal* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (***cmrii?** >) Biat **[ɬak]** **brai** *bad luck*.

South Bahnaric diphthongization post-palatal?

169 *crii? *to glide through the air.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **cray**, **sray** *to glide, sail, move*, Khmer **cray** *whizzing through* (GUESDON 1930), (**criəv-** —) *flying high into the distance*.

170 *jrii? *Ficus.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **jrey** /jɾɔy/, Modern Mon **sòà** *Ficus especially Ficus religiosa Linnaeus*, Old Khmer **jrai**, Modern Khmer **crèy** *Ficus bengalensis*, Kuy **thrài** *banyan*, Stieng [tə:m] **jəri:** *kind of tree*, Sre **jiri**, Chrau, Bahnar **jri:**, Kammu-Yuan **cri?**, Riang-Lang **_cəri?** *Ficus*, Khasi **jri-[sim]** *rubber tree*, Mường **khi** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **sí** *Ficus species*; → Cham **crà:y**.

Mường, Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal, cf. 61 *jɔ?, 62 *[ɲu?, 172 *jruu?, 196a *j-lu?; but also ad 1844 *kraw?, 1856 *ləw?.

Sora **onjər-**['nɛ:b-ən] may be connected if a compounding form (SCHMIDT 1905 68; glossed *banana!*)

171 *jra? *to decay.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **sè?** *jra to wither*, Riang-Lang **_cəra?** [*wood*] *to rot*.

***172 *jruu?**; ***jruh**; by metathesis ***rjuh** *deep*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **cr̥u**, Kuy **nthrù:**, Bru **ntrù:**, Sre **jurou**, Chrau, Biat **jru:**, Bahnar **jru?**, Thin **cru**, Riang-Lang **_cəru?**, Praok **raə**, Lawa Bo Luang **?dau?**, Mường **khu** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **sâu**, Central Sakai **jěro** *deep* (& probably Temiar **jəro?** *long, far*), Central Nicobarese **ciyau** *deep*, Nancowry **ciyáw**; → Javanese **jěro** *deep, inside*; ~ (*jrruu? >) Khasi **jylliew** *deep* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **j^əruh**, Sre **juruh** (DOURNES 1950).

C: (Mon) Old Mon **rjuh** /rjuh/, Modern Mon **səh**.

On Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 170 *jrii?.

Javanese semantics modelled on the partly displaced term **daləm** *inside*, < Proto-Austronesian ***daləm** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***ḍaləm**) *inside, deep*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 31; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66.)

Sora **jə'ru:-**, **'jaru:-** (cf. PINNOW 1959 396a).

173 *tre? *kind of thorny succulent plant.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **[mɛ̃ən]** **kre?** *prickly pear*, East Bahnar **[hla:]** **tre?** *kind of thorny succulent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

174 ***t₁roʔ** *to hit, come in contact with, meet (requirement).*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **tro:v** *to hit, to coincide with, to be correct*, Bahnar **trɔʔ** *to hit (mark), to coincide; opportune*, Kammu-Yuan **trɔʔ** *suitable, appropriate*, Riang-Lang **troʔ** *to be fit, fitting, to agree*, Lawa Bo Luang **khraʔ**, Lawa Umphai **krɔʔ**, Mae Sariang **khyaʔ** *to be sufficient*, Sakai **těrou** *to hit* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 105), Central Nicobarese **taiyo:-[tai]** *to hit (target)*.

(SMITH 1972 327.)

175 ***t₁ru[u]ʔ** *Schima wallichii tree.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **trúʔ** *kind of large tree with irritant bark*, Riang-Lang **truʔ** *Schima wallichii*.

176 ***droʔ** *fiddle.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **trə:** **dra**, Kuy **thrù:a**, Biat **dro:**; → Mon **krò**, → Burmese **taró**, → Palaung **təro:**; ~ (***dmroʔ** >) Bahnar **bro:** *stringed instrument* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

***177** ***drooʔ** *low roar.*

(Mon) Mon **krùʔ krùʔ** *adverbial describing rain, (— krèak krèak) noise of crowd.*

Onomatopoeic; so **161** ***ro(o)ʔ** *to make an inarticulate noise.*

Proto-Austronesian ***dəyu:** Malay **děru** [*wind*] *to roar, howl*, Iban **deru** *roll of thunder*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 121, *(**dd**)eRu; Proto-Hesperonesian).

178 ***druʔ** *kind of fish-trap.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trù:** *long fish-trap tapering at both ends*, Kuy **thrù:**, Chrau, Biat **dru:** *kind of fish-trap*.

***179** ***praʔ** *loft, platform, rack.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Mon **pra'** /**praʔ**/, Modern Mon **praʔ** *tower, turret* (→ Burmese **pra**), Khmer [**pra:ŋ**] **pra:** *tower*, Sre **pra** [**dam**] *catwalk in roof of granary*, Bahnar **pra:** *platform at front of house*; ~ (***pnraʔ** >) Bahnar **pədrā** *scaffolding, platform, rack* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **madra:** *trellis*; (by back-formation?) Biat **dra:** *loft, rack*, Chrau **ndra:**, Bahnar & dialects **adra:**, **hədra:**, Halang **hədra:** *drying-rack*.

(SMITH 1972 545.)

Proto-Austronesian ***para** *scaffolding*: Malay **para** *attic above half-ceiling, kitchen shelf or rack*, Cham **para** *loft*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; DYEN 1953 § 97). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian improbably in view of semantic development. See BENEDICT 1975 289, *fence*. Note Tamil **paraṇ**, &c., BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 3259.

(***praʔ** see also **2059** ***prah** *to make offerings*.)

*180 *brii? *sky, rain*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon **brey** /brɔy/, Modern Mon **pròà** *rain*, Bru **bri?** *to drizzle*, Kammu-Yuan [màt]-**pri?** *sun*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai [nəum &c.] **mbre?**, Mae Sariang [nəm] **mbye?** *thunder*, Praok **pray**, Mường (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **trời** (!) *sky, weather*, Sakai **bri** *day* (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 43 (a)).

Viet-Mường initial & vocalism obscure.

Proto-Austronesian ***quay**i or ***uqay**i *sun, day*: Malay **hari**, &c. (SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25; cf. DAHL 1973 § 13.8; DEMPWOLFF 1938 163-4, ***vay**i^c; DYEN 1965). See BENEDICT 1975 266.

*181 *brii? *forest*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Khmer **vrai**, Modern Khmer **prèy**, Sre **bri** *forest, scrub*, Biat **bri:** *forest, region*, Chrau **vri:**, Stieng, Bahnar **bri:**, Kammu-Yuan **pri?** *forest*, Palaung **bri** *forest, uncultivated land*, Riang-Lang **pri?** *forest, country, region*, Praok **pray** *country*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **phre?**, Mae Sariang **phyi?** *wild [animal]*, Khasi **bri** *grove, plantation, forest* (& **ri** *country, region*), Jah Hut **bəri?**, Semelai **bəri:h** *forest*; → Thai **p^hray**; probably = Bahnar **bri:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok [**plak**] **pray**, Lawa Umphai [**ka**] **phre?** *outside*.

Cf. following; & semantically 394 ***ru(u)**k.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SHAFER 1965 35; BLOOD 1966 208; SMITH 1972 517; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 234.)

Santali **bir**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 321).

*182 *bruu? *hill*.

A: (Katuic) Kuy **bru:**.

Connect Riang-Lang **pruy**; & perhaps B17 ***r[u]**? *village*. Cf. also preceding.

Sora **bə'ru:-n**, **ba'ru:-n**, in compounds **bur-** *hill, forest*, Kharia **'biru** *hill*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 278).

*183 *mra? *person*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Mrabri **mra** (JSS 51/2); ~ (***kan mra?** by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmrà?**, Thin **kəmbra**, **kəmbra** *wife* (& by back-formation Thin **bra**, **pra** *wife*); ~ Jehai **mənra?** *person*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 25.)

Sora in compounds **'mar-ən** *man, male, person*, ~ **'man(d)ra:-n** *man, male, person*.

184 *mra? *dah, matchet*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **mra**, Modern Mon **pərè?** *dah, matchet*, Chrau **vra:** *kind of bush-knife with short handle*; probably → Thai **p^hrāa**, &c (***braa.2**, EGEROD 81), → Khmer [**kambɔt**] **pri:ə**.

185 *sreʔ field.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **srae**, Kuy **sɛː**, Stieng **səreːi**, Sre **sre**, Biat **chreː** *irrigated rice field*, Kammu-Yuan **réʔ** *dry field*, Danaw **ˀ(h)ré** *hill cultivation*.

Distinguish 167 *cri(i)ʔ *abandoned dry cultivation*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

186 *[s]mr[e]ʔ straw.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **rəhe**, Biat **rhɛː**, Praok **bre** [ŋo].

Or *mrh-? Conceivably connected by metathesis.

Proto-Austronesian *Zəyami(S): Malay **jərami**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, *dayami^c; cf. DYEN 1951; DAHL 1973 § 16.3; Proto-Hesperonesian).

186a *sraʔ to have a lesion.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **saʔ s(r)a** *to have a sore, be injured*, Biat **chraː** *to sting, smart*; ~ Old Mon **sindraʔ** /sənraʔ/ *to incise, score*, Modern Mon **həraʔ** *to break the surface of*.

†187 *sruʔ paddy.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon **sroʔ** ?/sruʔ/, Modern Mon **soʔ**, Khmer **sroːv**, Kuy **saː**. Connection dubious Sakai **charoi**, **chendroi** *husked rice* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 112), or Mường **lọ** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **lúa** *paddy*; Nicobarese **əroːe**, **əroːʃ** *rice* is (ultimately) ← Portuguese **arroz**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

Sora **'saroː-n**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 370).

188 *liʔ to take.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Palaung **le**, Riang-Lang **leʔ**, Mường **lệ** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **lấy** (!), Nancowry **léʔ** *to catch something thrown?*

Connect perhaps Thin **təndeʔ**, if **deʔ**, **teʔ** *to take* (& Kammu-Yuan **tèʔ**) arise by back-formation Cf. also Khmer **liː** *to carry on shoulder*.

†189 *laʔ liiʔ; *luuʔ liiʔ careless, slovenly.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **la li** *to be untidy, careless in*, Khasi **lali** *slovenly, sluttish, dirty*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **luːliː** *ineffective, careless* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps Lawa Bo Luang **klaiʔ**, Lawa Umphai **kleʔ** *at leisure*; & cf. further Vietnamese **trây** *to be lazy, negligent*; Khmer **lmùy** *asleep* (TANDART 1935), (**kheùl** —) *lazy*; 1861 ***rliw** *lazy*; 1941 ***las** *lazy, idle*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***lalai**: Gayo **lale**, Acehnese **lale** *absorbed, abstracted, heedless*, Karo Batak **lalé** *to overlook*, Malay **lalai** *dreamy, inattentive, careless, dawdling* (→ Central Sakai **lalai** *negligent*), Iban **lale** /**laleq**/ *absent-minded, forgetful, rapt, fascinated*, (or ii) Javanese **lali** *to forget* (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Javanese → Malay **lali** *insensitive*, → Acehnese **lalə** *absorbed, preoccupied*, Karo Batak **lali-lali** *simple-minded, to pretend to be stupid*, or constructed (ii, Proto-West-Indonesian) ***lali(S)**. (Cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, ***lali^c**.)

190 ***leʔ** *to leave, depart*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Bahnar **leʔ** *to leave, to give way*; ~ Middle Mon **kleʔ** *to depart from, to deposit*, Modern Mon **kleʔ** also *to be lost*, Thin **kli** *to be different*, Central Nicobarese **kole:-[həŋə]** *to kick aside*; ~ Sre **rəle** [**sun**] *to be declining*, (~?) Bahnar **təleʔ** *to separate (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **khyllie** *to pry up*; ~ Bahnar **pəleʔ** *to separate (v.t), to divorce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **pleʔ** *to make way, step back, step aside*.

Connect 2062 ***leh** ...*to go out?* Cf. also 1514 ***ləəy** &c. *to leave (alone, off)*.

191 ***laʔ, *laʔ-s; lah, (*lah-s >) *laas**; by metathesis ***saal** *to spread, extend*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **li:ə** *to unfold, spread, open out*, Bahnar **lā** (**la:ŋ** —) *opened out, exposed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (**kəca:ŋ** —) *flat*; ~ (***laʔ-s** by metathesis > ***lʔaas** >) Khmer **da:h tās** *to spread out all over, to cover [drum]*; ~ Palaung **pla** *to spread out* (MILNE 1931) (= 214 ***plaʔ** *to show...?*), Vietnamese **trá** *to gild*; ~ (***[p]nlaʔ** >) Sre **da** *to unfold, spread*, Nancowry **hilúá** *what can be spread, e.g. mat, bedding*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **lah** /**lah**/ *to extend*, Modern Mon **[hloa] lèh** *to be extensive*; (***laas** >) Old Mon **lās** /**las**/ *to lay out, spread, to inlay*, Modern Mon **lèh** *to lay out, spread, to floor*, Khmer **li:əh lās** [**horns** &c.] *branching wide*; ~ (***laas laas** &c. >?) Middle Mon **ralah** /**lalah**/ *to stretch [hand] out*, Literary Mon **lalah** also *to spread*, Bahnar **ləlah** *to overspread, invade* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***plaas** >) Mon **plah** *to extend, spread*, Riang-Lang **ˀplas** *to spread out*, Vietnamese **trải** *to spread*.

C: (Mon, Kuy) Old Mon **sāl** /**sal**/, Modern Mon **sa**, Kuy **sa:l** *to spread (mat &c.)*.

Hence 1944 ***la[i]s** *fathom?* Add perhaps Stieng **plai** *to spread out* (< ***plais?** cf. **lai** ad ***la[i]s**); & cf. 421 ***la(i)k** &c. *to unfold...*; 1078 ***laat** *to be spread out flat*.

192 ***laʔ** *male ancestor*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon **laʔ** /**laʔ**/, Modern Mon **lèʔ** *grandfather*, Khmer **[cì:]-li:ə** *ancestor of fourth generation*.

(***laʔ** see also 189 ***laʔ liiʔ** *careless, slovenly*.)

193 *ləʔ good.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) Khmer **lɔː** *good, pretty* (with metathesis as in **191 *laʔ-s, 1137 *ciinʔ**; → Kuy **ʔaː** *good*, Bru **ʔãː**), Kammu-Yuan **ləʔ** *good, fine*; ~ (***lpəʔ** >) Kuy **paː** *good* (JOHNSTON 1969).

Note: perhaps ***lɔː**, direction of metathesis not clear.

Khmer vocalism post-dental? Distinguish **443 *[d_l]lak**.

***194 *lə[ə]ʔ on top of, on.**

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lɔː**, Stieng **luː**, Biat **[aː] ləː**; → Thai **ləə**; ~ (***mlə[ə]ʔ** >?) Chrau **avləː** *above*.

Proto-Austronesian ***quluː** Malay **(h)ulu** *up-river, up-country*, Cham **haləw** *head, source*, &c. (cf. DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 66, ***hulu^c**; 162, ***ulu^c**). If Mon-Khmer originally weak form, ← Indonesian? See BENEDICT 1975 311-12, *head*.

195 *lɔʔ; *lɔːʔ; *lɔs kind of jar or pot.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krələː** *jar*.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **lūː** **lū(v)** *pipe, tub made from tree-trunk*, (TANDART 1935) *large jar*, Danaw **ʔo** *pot*; ~ Riang-Lang **ʔkloʔ** *pot*, Palaung **klo** *cooking-pot*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon, Viet-Mường) Sre **[taŋ] los** *squat bulbous jar with five handles*; ~ Old Mon **klas** /**klɔs**/ *water-vessel in ritual use*, Modern Mon **[nəŋ] kləh** *vase* (?; but sense probably by attraction, rather than ←, Sanskrit **kalasa-** /Pali **kalasa-** *water-pot*); ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərləh** *cooking-pot* (?) ~ Vietnamese **chõ** *earthenware steamer*.

Cf. Vietnamese **lu** *water-jar*; **2075 *glah** *cooking-pot*.

196 *looʔ unstable.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lūʔ** *to be unstable*, Praok **lu** (—**le**) *to be unstable*, (—**la rəm**) *to be excited*.

Cf. Vietnamese **lao-đào** *to be unstable, unsteady*, **lảo-đảo** *to stagger, totter, reel*.

196a *luʔ to howl.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **lūː**, Kuy (!) **luː**, Bru **luː**; ~ (***[c]kuəl luʔ** by contraction >?) Bahnar **kəlū** *to bay at the moon* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi **jlew** (& **jlaw**), Vietnamese **tru** *to howl*; ~ Biat **mbluː** *to howl*.

Onomatopoeic. With Khasi vocalism cf. **50 *juʔ**, with Vietnamese tone **170 *jriiʔ**; both probably post-palatal.

(***luʔ** see also **2071 *luh** *to appear (through)*; ***luuʔ** see **189 *luuʔ liiʔ** *careless, slovenly*.)

†197 *klaʔ tiger.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon *kla*(ʔ) /klaʔ/, Modern Mon *klaʔ*, Khmer *khlaʔ*, Stieng *klah* (!), Bahnar *klaʔ*, Khasi *khla* tiger, Central Sakai *kla* black and white tiger → Gayo *kulö*.

For Stieng *-h* cf. 39 *ciiʔ. Sre *kli:w* is perhaps by contraction < *klaʔ yaw, cf. Biat *yau* (originally *grandfather*, < A171 *yawʔ).

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 62; SMITH 1972 546; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 135.)

Sora 'kina:-n, Kharia ki'ɽʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 281).

198 *kloʔ all.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Mon *klo*' /kloʔ/, Riang-Lang ʔkloʔ; ~ Semang *nalo*' (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 61).

†199 *kl[o]ʔ shellfish, snail.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy *kla*: shellfish, snail, Bru *klɔ*: shellfish, snail, Stieng *klo:u* kind of shellfish, Biat *klɔ*: shellfish, Chrau *khlo*: shellfish, Bahnar *klɔ:u* [kədeʔ &c.] shellfish (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *klɔʔ* snail, Central Sakai *kalô* snail-shell; ~ Old Mon *kinlo*' /kənluʔ/ shellfish, Modern Mon *kənaoʔ* also shellfish, Central Nicobarese *kendu*: clam; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *lak'laʔ*, Lawa Umphai *lak'laʔ* kind of shellfish.

→ Karen *khlo snail (BENEDICT 1972 132 n. 356); perhaps Burmese *kharu* snail; Archaic Chinese *klwa &c. 蝸 (BENEDICT 1972 187 n. 487). Blagden notes similar Andamanese forms for *shellfish*. But connection dubious following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 151.)

Sora 'gonlo:-n &c. *snail* by metathesis.

Proto-Austronesian *kuqəSul: Karo Batak *kuhul*, Tagalog *kuhól* snail, Cebuano Bisayan *kúul* kind of edible bubble shellfish, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 85, *ku^cul; Proto-Hesperonesian).

†200 *kluuʔ (kind of) tortoise.

A: (Mon) Mon *klao* large species of tortoise.

Connect Stieng *blɔ:u* tortoise shell.

Sora 'ku(:)lu:-n, Kharia 'kulu tortoise, &c. (PINNOW 1959 368).

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kuya(S): Malay *kura-kura*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 83, *ku[l]a^c; add Sundanese *kuyaʔ*; Javanese loan word), on account of which Pinnow suggests Proto-Munda *kurɔ or the like.

201 *gliʔ; *glinʔ kind of bamboo.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng [tə:m] *glei* small kind of bamboo, Sre *gle*, Chrau *gle*: bamboo, Biat *gle*: kind of bamboo; (~?) → Röglai *ale* bamboo, North Röglai *ale* small kind of bamboo, → Bahnar dialects (a)lē solid kind of bamboo (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru ʔalây thornless bamboo; ~ Bahnar *pəle*: thornless bamboo.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **khlēy** *large smooth kind of bamboo*.

Cf. Khasi **sylli**, ***lang-tylli** (contaminated by **tylli** *solid*, ad 209 ***dli?**) *small kind of bamboo*. Connection obscure Vietnamese **tre** *bamboo*.

(BLOOD 1966 172; SMITH 1972 533.)

202 *Gli?; *Gliə?; *Gliəh short.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **khlyy**, Jeh, Halang **ʔle?**.

B: (Mon) Mon **klè?**.

C: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat **gləh**; ~ (***Grliəh** >) Bahnar **kəḍəh** *short, low, to shorten* (contaminated by 2012 ***[s][d]i[h]** *low...*; → Chrau **de:h** *short?*), by back-formation (?) Sre **liah** *short*.

Connection dubious Semelai &c. **jəlē?**, Mah Meri **jəlēt** (South Aslian; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 151).

(SCHMIDT 1905 62; BLOOD 1966 247.)

203 *cla? afraid, to fear.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **chla:** *to run back and forth in fright*; ~ (***cmla?** >) Mon **[phəik] pəla? kamla** &c. *to fear*.

203a *[c][l][ɔ]? bark.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **hla?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hlə?**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **sənlə?** *dry bark*.

204 *[c]nlu[u]? edible grub.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **nhu:**, Bahnar **kənu:**.

†205 *jla? thorn.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy **thli:a**; ~ Old Mon **jirla** /**jərla?**/, Modern Mon **həlē?**, Bahnar **jəla:**, Kammu-Yuan **cərlà?**, Semai **jərla:** (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ (***jpla?** > ***phla:** ~) Khmer **bənlə:**.

Cf. 207 ***t₁/r/la?** *thorny bamboo...*

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 549; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 94.)

Kharia **ju'ra?**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 51).

‡205a *t₁rli? rope, cord.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **tyllai**.

Bahnar **təley** is ← Indonesian, below.

Proto-Austronesian ***t₂aliS**: Malay **tali**, Cham **təley**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 129, ***tali**; DYEN 1953 § 97; DAHL 1973 § 9.4, 14.12). See BENEDICT 1975 257.

206 *tli[]? to throw.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kli**, Bahnar dialects **tre?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 227 *sli(ə)? to throw spear?

207 *t₁la? kind of bamboo.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Thin **t(ə)la** female bamboo; ~ (*t₁rla? >) Stieng [**tə:m**] **krəla:**, Sre **kərla** thorny bamboo, Chrau **kəla:** medium-sized kind of bamboo, Biat **rla:**, Sedang **kalá** kind of bamboo, Khasi **tyra** small kind of bamboo, Bengali **nol-bas**.

Thorny bamboo contaminated by 205 *jla? thorn?

(SMITH 1972 557.)

208 *tla? master, owner.

(Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon **tirla** /**tərila?**/, Modern Mon **kəla?** lord, master, owner; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar **tə?ŋla:** master.

(*tla? see also 2077 *tla? clear; *t₁la? see also 231 *sla? fire... .)

209 *dli? firm, immovable.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric, Khasi) Old Mon **dli'** /**dli?**/ perpetually recurring moment, Modern Mon **kli?** to be firm, immovable, abiding, Khmer (**dxy-**)**thli:** land, terra firma; ~ (*drli? >) Khasi **tylli** solid.

Connect Nancowry **léy** (< *dlii??) to become solid.

210 *d[n]li? large river, sea.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Khmer **tùənlè:** (large) river, Kuy **thlè:** sea (or *dl-?; → Cham **dale**), Stieng [**dà:k**] **ŋli:**, Chrau [**da:?**] **nle:** (large) river, (?) Central Nicobarese **kəmələ:** sea, Nancowry **kamalé?**.

Cf. further Biat **rla:y** river. Connect Burmese **pañlay** sea?

(SHAFFER 1965 500.)

211 *d₁la? to rob, steal.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **rà?** to snatch from someone (~ **təŋrà?** id. by levelling), Riang-Lang **_ra?** to steal (& by secondary derivation **_pənra?** thief, robber); ~ Mon **hələ?** **d(h)amla** bandit, dacoit (→ Burmese /**dəmya'**/); ~ Mon **hələ?** **damla** to rob, Praok **bre** to steal, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbra?**, Mae Sariang **mbya?** to steal, rob.

Connection uncertain Nicobaric **kəmələ:** thief, Nancowry **kamaló?**, ~ **kaló?** to steal; & dubious Santali **kombro** theft; to steal, pilfer, &c., PINNOW 1959 242.

212 *prle? ear of paddy.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muong) Thin **prle** [**hɲɔ**], Vietnamese [**lúa**] **gié**.

Hardly connected 1524 *pləy? fruit, > Vietnamese **trái**.

213 *ple[e]? *to rotate.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) (~ ***pple[e]?** >?) Palaung **ple** [kənleŋ] *spindle* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **ṽple?** *wheel*; ~ (***pnle[e]?** >) Kontum Bahnar **pəni:** *to reel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), *wind round, bandage*, Central Nicobarese **pomle:-** [ŋəre] *to rotate*, Nancowry **punlé** *to roll, turn over & over*; ~ (***prle[e]?** >) Biat **rlə:** *to turn [one's body] round*.

214 *pla? *to show, feign.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **pla?** *to show, display* (→ Burmese **pra**), Sre **pla** *image, simile*, Khasi **phla** *to confess, admit*, Vietnamese **trá** *to be false, deceitful*; ~ (***pnla?** >) Mon **pəna?** *pretence*.

GUESDON 1930 has Khmer **paŋlār** *pretence*, which cannot be confirmed. ~ 191 ***la?** *to spread, extend?*

215 *plaa? *blade, edge.*

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **pla:** *cutting edge*, Biat **pla:** *blade [of knife]*, Bahnar **pla:** *(edge of) blade, spearhead*, Jeh **pla:** *arrow*, Halang **pla:** *arrow, bullet*, Palaung **pla** *blade*, Riang-Lang **ṽpla?** *hoe*; ~ Thin **həŋla** &c. *spade*.

(SMITH 1972 541.)

***216 *bnl[ii?]** *kind of ginger.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **hənòə** *Zinziber barbatum Wallich*, Old Khmer **vanli**, Modern Khmer **pùənlèy** *Zinziber cassumunar* (cf. BEFEO 55:210), Bru **plây** *Zinziber cassumunar*; → Malay **bonglai**.

Proto-Austronesian ***ləqia** or ***ləqəia** *ginger*: Cham **liya:**, &c. (?; cf. DYEN 1975; DEMPWOLFF 1938 96, ***lija:**; Malay **halia** < ***qəl(ə)ia** (?) by metathesis). Then Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bn-l[ii?]**; if Proto-Austronesian ***-ia**, Proto-Mon-Khmer ***-ii?**; if ***-əia**, ***-ay**. See BENEDICT 1975 359, *pungent*.

217 *ble? *tasteless, insipid.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **bleh**, Riang-Lang **ṽple?**.

(SHAFFER 1965 140.)

***218 *bla?** *shoulder.*

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **plà?**; ~ Khasi **tabla** *shoulder-piece of animal*.

Cf. Kuy **mpla:** *shoulder-blade*. Connection dubious 100 ***pa?**.

Proto-Austronesian ***baya:** Toba Batak **a-bara**, Cham **pìra:**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 19, ***baya** [°]; cf. DYEN 1953B; DAHL 1973 § 17.9, 12). See BENEDICT 1975 378-9.

219 *blaʔ *scar*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung **bla** *to be scarred*, Semang **bālaʔ** *scar* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 37).

Connect Bahnar **kəla:** *scar*.

220 *bləʔ *to patch, mend*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, North Aslian) Mon **pləʔ**, Pangan **[ya-]bʼlā** (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 89); ~ (***bmləʔ** >) Praok **blaw**.

221 *bluʔ *latex-yielding plant*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phlū:** **bhlūv** *Ficus septica*, Sre **[che]** **blu** *elastic* (DOURNES 1950). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 139.)

222 *brlu[]ʔ *to mix together*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **vəlu:** **[vələm]** *mixed up*, Sre **bərlu**, Bahnar **bəluʔ**, (?) Jeh **ʔlūʔ** *to mix together* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Connect Praok **klaw** *to mix*, (— **kləy**) *be mixed* (implying *-uʔ). For Bahnar **bəluk** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see **423 *luk**.

†223 *bluuʔ *thigh*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **phl̥u**, Chrau **vlu:**, Biat **[tə:m]** **blu:**, Stieng, Bahnar **blu:**, Jeh, Halang **bl̥u:**, Kammu-Yuan **pl̥uʔ**, Palaung **blu**, Temiar **bəloʔ** (BENJAMIN 1976B 138), Central Nicobarese **pul̥:**, Nancowry **pul̥óʔ**, Kuy **l̥u:** *thigh, lap* (by back-formation?); → Thai **pʰlaw**; ~ (***bnluuʔ** >) Sre **mənu**, Bru **nl̥u:**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 37; BLOOD 1966 228; SMITH 1972 429; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 60.)

Sora **bulu:-n**, Kharia **'bhulu**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 145).

224 *mleʔ (& ***mle[]sʔ**) *to hate*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon **[k̚das]** **mleʔ** /**mleʔ**/ *to reject, abjure*, Modern Mon **[duh]** **pələʔ**, West Bahnar **adre:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang **[ya'-]** **mālēs** *to hate* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 36).

225 *[m]laʔ *tusk, ivory*.

A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Biat **la:** *ivory from male elephant*, Sre **bla**, Chrau **vla:**, Bahnar **bəla:** **[ro:ih]**, Semang **bālāʔ** *tusk, ivory* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 126 (a)); probably → Cham **pila:**, Jarai **bla:**, Röglai **bla**, North Röglai **bala**, Rade **mla:**.

***m-** in view of Bahnar, Rade. Cf. **450 *bluk** &c.

(BLOOD 1966 303.)

(***rlaʔ** see 1699 ***rʔal** forehead.)

†226 ***rluuʔ**; ***rlu[u]h** to rest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Sre **rəlou**, Chrau **lu:**, Biat **rlu:**, Palaung **rəlu**, Praok **laə**; ~ Bru **nlù** to rest, Kammu-Yuan **hərlùʔ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaʔdouʔ**, Lawa Umphai **raʔloʔ**, Mae Sarian **yaʔloʔ** to stop, cease.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **rəluh** to rest.

Connect A7 ***[r[uuʔ]** to be at leisure?

(BLOOD 1966 238.)

Sora **lulu:-**, **lu'l'u:-**, (by metathesis?) Kharia **le'ruʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 491).

†227 ***sliʔ**; ***sliəʔ** to throw spear.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **sralɣy** wooden spear (TANDART 1935).

B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon **sale'** [**how pan**] to throw at; ~ (***snliəʔ** >) Literary Mon [**le'**] **sane'** [**the how**] javelin.

Cf. Kuy **liah** to throw; 206 ***tli[]ʔ** to throw.

Sora **le':le:-**, **li'li-** &c. to toss, pitch, fling (?).

228 ***smlɿʔ** dressed cotton.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **səmlɣy**, Biat **mli:**; → Kuy **sam li:** by interdialectal borrowing.

~ preceding if this meant originally also to shoot, cf. e.g. Mon [**to**] **kəwɔn** dressed [cotton] ~ **pɔn** (< 905 ***pəpʔ**) to shoot.

229 ***srliʔ** internal organ.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **həlbəʔ** spleen; ~ Khasi **khyllai** kidneys.

Cf. 232 ***slaʔ** spleen; A204 ***leh** kidneys.

†230 ***slaʔ** leaf.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Old Mon **sla** /**slaʔ**/, Modern Mon **hlaʔ** leaf, Old Khmer **slā** areca palm, Modern Khmer **sla:** areca (nut, palm) (→ Stieng **səla:**, Biat **chla:** areca palm; beside **slɣk** leaf: by interdialectal borrowing, cf. **rəŋɣ:k** ad 33 ***rŋaʔʔ**), Kuy **lha:**, **sla:** leaf, Sre **ləha** betel-leaf, Stieng, Chrau, Jeh, Halang **la:**, Bahnar **hla:**, Kammu-Yuan **láʔ**, Palaung **hla**, Riang-Lang **ʔlaʔ**, Praok **la**, Lawa **hlaʔ**, Khasi **sla**, **ʔla**, Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **lá**, Kensiu **haliʔ**, Temiar **səla:ʔ**, Semaq Beri **sala:h** leaf; → Cham (ha)**la:**, Jarai **hla:**, Röglai **hala(:)**, North Röglai **hla:ʔ** leaf; ~ (***snlaʔ** >) Sre **nha** leaf, betel- leaf, Biat **nha:** leaf, Bahnar **həna:** leaf of agave used for making mats (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Riang-Lang **səlaʔ** leaf.

Leaf > betel-leaf > areca; so fruit > areca. in various Southeast Asian languages; for betel (- leaf) > areca cf. 1860 ***ml[əw]**.

(SCHMIDT 1905; SHAFER 1965 228; SMITH 1972 539; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 32.)

Sora **o:la:-n**, Kharia **u'la**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 50).

231 *slaʔ; (*slaʔ slaʔ > ?) *slaas fire, to burn.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) ~ (*snlaʔ >) Mon **hənaʔ** *flame, wick*; (? , by secondary derivation) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) **bənha** *hearth*; ~ (*splaʔ >) Stieng **pla:** [u:ɪɲ], Biat **pla:** [uɲ], Bahnar **pla:** *flame*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **la** *to burn (v.i.)*, Vietnamese **lửa** *fire*; ~ (*srlaas >, or *slaas slaas > *hlar hlar >) Palaung **rəlar** *conflagration; to burn (v.i.t), to set on fire*; ~ (? , *snlaas >) Praok **gla** *hearth*.

Kammu-Yuan **pərlùə**, Thin **p(h)ruə** *fire* are perhaps ← Vietnamese with secondary prefix. Sre, & Praok **gla**, may rather be connected Kammu-Yuan **təmpɾaʔ** *hearth*; then implying a root *t₁laʔ.

(SHAFFER 1965 499.)

232 *slaʔ spleen.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hlaʔ** [krək] (literally *mango-leaf*, whence by calque Burmese **sarak-rwak**; perhaps by popular etymology for *hlaʔ **krət**, cf. **krət** *intestine* < 844 *k-ruuc), Sre [play] **la**, Vietnamese **lá-[lách]**; ~ (*smlaʔ >) Bahnar **bla:** *kidneys*.

Cf. 229 *srliʔ. Connect Tibeto-Burman *la *kidneys, spleen*, MATISOFF 223.

233 *w[i]ʔ left-hand.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **wèʔ**, Palaung [i]-ve (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **weʔ**, Mae Sariang **wiʔ**, Kintaq Bong **wĩʔ**; ~ Old Mon **jwi** /jwiʔ/; ~ (*[]pw[i]ʔ >; !) Kuy **pɛ:ʔ**; ~ []nw[i]ʔ >) Praok **gwɛ**.

Kuy final unexplained. Cf. 1795 *wiil. Connection obscure Khmer **chve:ŋ**; suffixed form, or perhaps by metathesis *Jnw[i]ʔ, > Praok; note Proto-Miao *kwɛŋ ~ *kh[w]iŋ, Proto-Li *viŋ, BENEDICT 1975 327. Cf. further Acehnese (ja-)wiə, Cham i:w, Jarai ia:oʔ, ea:oʔ, Röglai yaw, North Röglai iāu (Proto-Austronesian *uSiau?); → Jeh i:w, Halang iaw.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b).)

234 *wiʔ; *wiiʔ to turn.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəvì:** *to shake [head], to wave, brandish*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Sre **wi** [wə] *swaying e.g. of buffalo's head*, Chrau **wi:** [wə:], (by affective deformation?) Central Nicobarese **wii:-[cəka:]** *dizzy*, Nancowry **wí** *to go round & round, wander (or A?)*; ~ Kuy (kh)wì: *to shake [head], to wave, brandish*; ~ Khasi [sam]tawì *to be dizzy*; ~ Khmer **rəvèy** *to crank, to spin*, Kuy **rwì:** *to shake*, Chrau **rəwì:** [rəwɔ:t] *dizzy*; ~ Mon **kəwoa** *to turn round, twist, screw in (or, less probably, ad 1529 *way), (~?)* Sre **pərwi** *to mix together*.

235 *weeʔ; weh *crooked, to twist.*

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **wɛʔ** *crooked, hooked* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **we** *crooked*; ~ Sre **kue** *bent, crooked*, Biat **kwe:** *bend, meander*, Bahnar **kue:** *lame*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **vèh vɛh** *to slip away, escape* (?), Bahnar **wɛh** *to twist* (v.i.), Jeh **wɛh** *to stop and visit*, Halang **wɛh** *to turn*.

Connect **1529 *wa(a)y(-h)** *to turn?* Note apropos of Sre &c. Tibeto-Burman ***koy** *to bend*, BENEDICT 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210.

(SMITH 1972 360.)

‡236 *waʔ *parent's sibling.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Sre **wa** *father's classificatory brother*, Biat **wa:** *parent's elder brother*, West Bahnar **wā** *parent's elder brother* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **wa:** *parent's elder sister*, Bru **ʔawà** *parent's younger sister*; ~ (***mwaʔ** > ***maʔ** >) Old Khmer (')**mā**, Modern Khmer **mì:ə** *parent's younger brother*, Stieng **ma:** *mother's brother*, Bahnar **ma:** *parent's younger brother*, Khasi **ma** *uncle* (term of address); ~ Palaung **hva** *mother's younger brother* (if correctly glossed; < ***[k]waʔ**); ~ Old Mon **kaṃwa /kəmwaʔ/** *uncle*.

Connection dubious Palaung **va** *classificatory younger sibling*.

(BLOOD 1966 337; cf. SMITH 1972 553.)

Proto-Austronesian ***usua:** Acehnese **wa** *parent's elder sibling*, Cham **wa:** *mother's elder sibling*, &c., Javanese (by contraction; beside (**u**)**wak**) **uwa**, **wa** *parent's elder sibling, parent's elder sibling's spouse*, Proto-New Guinea-Austronesian ***wawa** *term of address to mother's brother*. (MILKE 1965 pp345-6; ~ ***waya** *term of reference*): Motu **vava**, &c. Connection dubious (i) Proto-Austronesian ***ama** *father* (DYEN 1953 § 97; DEMPWOLFF 1938 15); (ii) ***mama** *mother's brother*. (DYEN 1953 § 108; DEMPWOLFF 1938 105); (iii) Cham **miʔ** *father's brother*, Röglai **miaʔ** *mother's brother*, North Röglai **miãʔ** *parent's brothers*. Or can ***mama** be variant of ***usua**? (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 25.)

237 *klwaʔ *bat.*

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **kilwa /kəlwaʔ/**, Modern Mon **kəwaʔ** *bat*, Khasi **kylla[badur]** *flying fox*, Central Nicobarese **aloa:ə** *bat*.

Connect perhaps (***kwaʔ kwaʔ** > ***kwak** > ?) Khasi **khwak** (!) *vampire bat*.

237a *t₁waaʔ *fern, bracken.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **təwáʔ** *fern, cycad*, Palaung **kəva** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_twaʔ** *bracken*.

†238 *rwiʔ; (by arbitrary deformation?) ***rwuyʔ** *fig tree.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **lwi /lwiʔ/**, Modern Mon **wiʔ** (contaminated by **241 *lwaaʔ**), Biat **[tɔ:m] rwi:**, Central Sakai **wik**.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rəvɔy** *sour fig* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 92.)

Sora **riʝoi-['ne:b-ən]** *kinds of fig tree*.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***d'abi(S)** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; add Karo Batak **jabijabi** *Ficus retusa*); but Malay **jawi-jawi**, **jějawi** *fig tree* perhaps contaminated by Mon-Khmer if not ← Tamil **cuvī** *Ficus species* (&c.; BURROW & EMENEAU 1961 2222).

239 *[r]wə[ə]?** *swaying, dizzy.***

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rəv̌:-[rəv̌:əy]** *delirious*, Sre **[wi]** **wə** *swaying e.g. of buffalo's head*, Chrau **[wi:] wə:** *dizzy*.
Sre, Chrau **w-** phrasal? But perhaps ***w-** ~ ***[]rw-**.

240 *lw[e]?** *kind of bee.***

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ləwe** *kind of bee which swarms*, Khasi **lwai** *wild bee*, Semang **luwē** *bee* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 137 (a)).

†241 *lwaa?** *fig tree.***

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Katuic) Old Khmer **lvā**, Modern Khmer **lv̌:ə** *fig tree*, Thin **lua** *banyan*, Sakai **lûâ** *fig tree* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 91), Bru **lawàh**; ~ Riang-Lang **lan** **_wa?** *fig tree*.
Cf. 238 ***rwi?** &c.
Sora **'loa:-n**, Kharia **'lu'a**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 47).

242 *swaa?** *monkey.***

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **sva:**, Kammu-Yuan **wa?**, Palaung **hva**, Riang-Lang **_wa?**, Lawa **fua?** (→ Kuy **wùà??**); → Thai **sawǎa**.
Sre **hua** *grey semnopithecus*, Chrau **hwa:** *ape*, Bahnar **hua:** *gibbon* (&c., see SMITH 1972 548) are apparently ← Indonesian, cf. Cham **hawa:** *macaque*, Jarai **kra hua** *gibbon*, Röglai **hua** *grey semnopithecus*, North Röglai **hawa** *ape*, Javanese **uwa-uwa** *large kind of ape, gibbon* (Proto-Austronesian ***[]uqa(Sy)**).
(SCHMIDT 1905 48; SHAFER 1965 199.)

243 *si?** *fine, comminuted.***

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **che:** *fine, comminuted*, Jeh **[ta?] si?** *small*, Halang **[to?] si?** *a little*; → Röglai **se** *fine, comminuted*; ~ Khmer **sme:** (!) *fine and close together*; ~ Sre **nse** *fine, comminuted*; ~ (***[s]rsi?** >) Lawa Bo Luang **?asai?**, Lawa Umphai **rase?** *powder*.

†244 *sii[?]** *hand, arm.***

A: (Viet-Muong) Muong **thay** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **tay**.
Originally arbitrary variant of 66 ***t₁ii?** For tone cf. 31 ***t₂ii?**.
Sora **s?i:-n**, (compounding form) **si:-n**, Pareng **si:** *hand* (at PINNOW 1959 K 428c treated as cognate with forms cited under the entry ***t₁ii?**, but no other example of the alternance is given).

245 *seeʔ *Caryota species*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***smeeʔ** >) Mon **hmœʔ** *Caryota sobolifera* Wallich, (?) Khmer **smae** *tree of shore forest, Ceriops species*, (or ~ ***snmeeʔ** >?) Sre [**che**] **səmay** *very fibrous creeper yielding sewing-thread* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (***snseeʔ** by dissimilation >?) Khmer **ʔənsae**, **tùənsae** *Caryota urens*, (HENDERSON 1952) *Caryota mitis*.

(***saʔ** see 253 ***chaʔ** to flame up.)

246 *ks[i]ʔ; *ksih *string, cord, rope, thread*.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **khsae** *string, cord*, Kuy (**k**)**sai**, Stieng **ce:i** *string, cord, rope*, Sre **che** *cord, thread*, Chrau **che:** *rope, string*, (or Tai →, cf. below?) Thin **sai**, **sae**, Khasi **ksai**, '**sai** *thread*, Nancowry **héy** *fibre* (*-iiʔ?); ~ Khmer **krəsae** *lineage, filiation*, Biat **rchē:** *cord*, Jeh **kase:y** *string*, Halang **kəse:** *rope*; ~ (***kns[i]ʔ** >) Sre **ɲhe** *quantifier for threads, straws*. Connection uncertain Kuy (**k**)**se:ʔ** *string*, Bru **kasi:ʔ** *to string together*.
- B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chỉ** *thread*.
Bahnaric vocalism post-dental? Khmer suggests secondary diphthongization to *-əyʔ.
See BENEDICT 1975 257 (Thai, Nung, Dioi, Kam-Sui; so Thin, Khasi perhaps ← Tai).
(SHAFFER 1965 250; BLOOD 1966 180; SMITH 1972 538.)

246a *ksaʔ *chestnut*.

- A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **chaʔ** **khyā** *Malay chestnut, Castanopsis Javanica* De Candolle, Kammu-Yuan **kháʔ** *oak, chestnut*.

247 *tsɔʔ; *tsɔh *lung*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic; ~ ***tnsɔʔ** >?) Mon **kəɔʔ**, (by dissimilation, or ~?) Lawa Bo Luang **hmauʔ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hmoʔ**.
- B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre [**klə:m**] **soh** (DOURNES 1950), Biat [**klɔ:m**] **chɔh**; ~ (***tnsɔh** >) Stieng **nsɔh**, Chrau [**khlə:m**] **rəsɔh**, Bahnar **dəsɔh**, Bru **sɔh**.
Khmer **su:ət** is hardly connected.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFFER 1965 542; SMITH 1972 377.)

***248 *drs[e]ʔ** to persuade, conspire.

- A: (Mon) Old Mon **dirse'** /**dərseʔ**/ to conspire, Modern Mon **kəseʔ** to persuade, conspire.
Sora **'pu(s)se:-** to persuade, incite, instigate (< ***pu-dse:-**; cf. with variant vocalism **'pudsu:-**; also **o(b)'sej-** to induce).

248a *prsaʔ; by metathesis ***prʔas** *child's spouse*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **prəsa:** *child's spouse*, Kammu-Yuan **pərhá:** (!) *son-in-law*, Khasi **pyrsa** *child's spouse, sibling's child*.

B: (Mon) Mon **həəh** *daughter-in-law.*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuan-ʔuaŋ/nʔuay** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N178).

249 *rsiʔ *bamboo, rattan*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **rəsry** *bamboo* (& **rùhsry** by popular etymology, cf. **rùh** *root* < 1927 ***ris**), Stieng **[tə:m]** **rəse:i** *very small kind of bamboo*, Bahnar **hrɛ:**, Jeh **re:y**, Halang **re:** *rattan*; ~ Old Khmer **ransi** *bamboo*; & connected Kuy **rài** *rattan*, Bru **karay**.

Connect perhaps Proto-Philippine ***taRisi** *rattan* (ZORC & CHARLES); & as suffixed form **782 *rsiəŋ** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 454; SMITH 1972 528.)

249a *[]rsiiʔ *nerve, sinew, vein*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **rsai** *vein*, Central Nicobarese **ihe:** *nerve, sinew, vein*, Nancowry **ʔihé:** (probably ~) Khmer **sə:say** **sarsai** *nerve, vein*.

(*hiʔ see 1 *ʔiʔ *we*.)

250 *hiiʔ *to cease, be over*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **hoa** *to cease, die down, be over*, Palaung **hi** *to be finished, 'over'*.

Add as derivative **259 *bhiiʔ** *sated...?*

251 *haʔ; (*haʔ haʔ > ?) ***hah** *to open [mouth]*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer, Kuy, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:**, Vietnamese **há** (& with expressive lengthening Mon **ha**, Sre **ha:**; → Chrau **ha:ʔ** ?); (?) → Burmese **ha** *to open [mouth]*, Lahu **há-gôʔ**, Akha **a-hà** *to yawn* (BENEDICT 1972 33 n. 107); ~ Sre **rəha** *open*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **há** *to open [mouth]*; ~ Bahnar **jəhah** *small and gaping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar dialects **dəhah** *gaping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; ~?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 20; BLOOD 1966 294; SMITH 1972 547.)

252 *kh[ii]ʔ *this, he, they*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central & South Aslian) Sre **khay** *3rd person pronoun*, Chrau **khəy** *pronominal plural particle*, Thin **khi** *this, here, now*, Semai II **ke:ʔ**, Semelai **kəh** *he* (with **k-** by dissimilation).

Cf. **26 *ge(e)ʔ** *deictic & 3rd person pronoun*. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 53.)

253 *cha? to flame up.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **cha:** *to fry*, (— **-chol**) *to burst out angrily*, Kuy **cha:** *to flame*, Biat [**up**] **cha:** *to flame up, burn*, by affective deformation (***jha?** >; ?) Kammu-Yuan **há?** *burn out, hot*, Praok **ha** *to scorch, be hot*, Lawa **ha?** *to burn*.

Or separate Khmer, Kuy; Biat &c. < ***sa?**?

254 *jhoo?; *jhəə?; *jhee? tree, wood.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **chu(?)** /**chu?** *tree*, Modern Mon **chu?** *tree, wood*, Kensiu **?ihũ?**, Temiar **jəhũ?** *tree*, Teressa-Bompoka Nicobaric **chio:** *wood*, (**yi:ə-** —) *tree*; with secondary prefix ~ Praok **khaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **khau?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kho?** *tree*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Old Khmer **jhe**, Modern Khmer **cḥɛ:**, Stieng **cw:**, Chrau **chə:** *tree, wood*, (?) Shom Pe Nicobarese **ḥɛ̃** *wood* (=) **ḥə̃** *tree*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Sre **chi**, Biat **chi:** *tree, wood*, Kammu-Yuan **hə?é?** *firewood*, Palaung **he** *tree, wood, firewood*, Central Nicobarese **ci:ə** *tree, wood*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkhe?** *tree, wood*, Praok **khi**, Lawa Bo Luang **khəi?**, Lawa Umphai **che?** *firewood*.

-B-C secondary (but is Khmer &c. vocalism regular in context?); note doublets in Waic.

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***kaSiu:** Malay **kayu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 72, ***kaju**^c; cf. DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 9.3).

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 264, 301, 453; BLOOD 1966 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 211 (a).)

255 *tho? to rub, massage.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **tho** *to rub, massage* (→ Röglai), Biat **tho:** *to rub, clean, wash*, Central Rölöm **thaw** *to rub* (BLOOD 1976), Palaung **the** *to push against friction* (contaminated by Burmese **thui:** *to thrust*).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **thoa** *to rub, anoint*; whence perhaps Stieng **tha:**.

256 *[t]h[uə]? to throw (away).

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon **tho'** ?/**tho?**/, Modern Mon **tho?** **thwa'** &c. *to throw away*, Khasi **thew** *to throw away, take aim at*.

***257 *[p]he? husked rice.**

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **phe:i**, Sre **phe**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **phe:**, Jeh **phery**, Halang **phe:**.

(SHAFER 1965 98; BLOOD 1966 178; SMITH 1972 526.)

(?) Kharia **pɛ?** *cooked rice* (PINNOW 1959 155).

258 *phuu? *to accompany, conduct.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **phao** *in company with*, Riang-Lang **phu?** *to conduct, lead, send*.

Separate Praok **hu**, Lawa Bo Luang **həu**, &c. *to go*, < ***har** or the like.

†259 *bhii? *sated, full.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **phoa**, Bahnar **phi?**, Jeh, Halang **phi?**, Thin **bi**, Semai **bahe:** (TAUERN 1914), Central Nicobarese **paha:e**.

Cf. Vietnamese **phè**; Khasi **pi-e**. ~ **250 *hii?** *to cease, be over?*

(SMITH 1972 295; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 75.)

Sora **b?e:-**, Santali **bi**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 319).

260 *bhe? *otter.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **phe?**, Old Khmer **bhe**, Modern Khmer **phè:**, Stieng **bi**; Chrau **phi:**; apparently → Cham **phày**, Jarai **p'ha:i**, Röglai **bəhay**, North Röglai **buhai**, → Bahnar **phəy** *otter*, Sre **[pi]** **bəhay** *civet cat*.

Connect Semang **bāho'** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 64); perhaps Vietnamese **rái**; & cf.

A50 ***[b]hii[ŋ]**.

***261 *bha?** *to frighten.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **phè?** (!) *to frighten, scare*, Vietnamese **phạ** *to be afraid, fear*, Nancowry **pahuá?**.

Mon register affective, or contaminated by **pəhòik** *fear*. (ad **880 *bh[i]c**) &/or derivatives of Sanskrit $\sqrt{bhī}$ *to fear*.

Proto-Austronesian ***(q)əNba**: Iban **emba** *to (seek to) frighten, threaten*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 334, Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively ***q-**).

262 *bh[uu?] *cooking-hearth.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **phao** *cooking-hearth, kitchen* (→ Burmese **phui**), Khmer **[coŋ]-phəu** *cook* (→ Kuy **coŋ phəu**).

Or ***-aw**. But connection dubious Shan **pháu** *to roast, burn*, → Palaung **phəv** *to burn [lime, bricks]* (MILNE 1931), ~ Palaung **rəphəv** *kiln*; &c. (< ***ph[r]aw**, BENEDICT 1975 244, *burn, roast...*; Sek **phraw**).

(***mrh[e]?** see 186 ***[s]mr[e]?** *straw*.)

263 *[] [m]ha? *different.*

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **mha:**, (~?) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pha:**.

(SMITH 1972 544.)

264 *m[h][ʷə]ʔ; *m[h][ʷə]h evening, night.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **mɔ̃:u**, Sre **mho** *evening*, Chrau **maw**, Central Rölöm **mhɔ̃**: *afternoon*, Palaung **hmɯ** (~ **rəhmɯ**) *night*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **miet** *night*.

Connection uncertain Jeh **sèʔ** *afternoon*, Halang **sèʔ** *evening* (but if connected, *s/m/). (BLOOD 1966 206.)

265 *ʔiək (part of) arm.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔiək** *fin*, Palaung **iəʔ** *arm*.

Distinguish 269 *kʔi(ə)k &c. *armpit*; but cf. A12 *ʔaak *shoulder-blade*. Connection uncertain Bodo-Garo ***dyak** *arm, hand*, < Tibeto-Burman ***g-lak** (BENEDICT 1972 34 n. 109), or the cognate Archaic Chinese **ḍiək**, Ancient Chinese **ḷək** 翼 *wing* (ib. 171 n. 458).

†266 *ʔaik bow.

(Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer **ʔaek**, Kuy **ʔe:k** *sound-producing bow attached to kite*, Stieng **a:k** *cotton-beating bow*, Sre **a** *bow of crossbow*, Chrau **a:ʔ** *crossbow*, Palaung **aʔ**, Riang-Lang **ʔak**, Praok **ak** [po], Lawa **ʔak**, Semang **āg** *bow* (i.e. probably Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 353).

(SHAFFER 1965 276, 283.)

Santali **aʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 6).

267 *ʔuk; *ʔuuk; *ʔuək; *huk to pour out.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar **uk** *to fill, to pour out, empty out*, Jeh **ùk**, Halang **uk** *to pour out*, Kammu-Yuan **ùk** *to flow out*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pənʔùk** *to pour out*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **o:** *to empty [pot]*, Riang-Lang **ʔuk** *to pour away, to spill*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **ɔʔ** *to pour out*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **hok** *to spill*.

Connect Thai **hòk** *to be spilt*, probably → Kuy **hɔʔ**, Bru **tahɔʔ**; & cf. 480a ***[t]hək**. (SMITH 1972 267.)

268 *ʔuək to drink.

A: (Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **uak** (& Khmuic **ʔuak**, Thin **ʔuək** (!)), Temiar **ʔɔ:k**.

Cf. (i) Mường **óng** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **uống** (then ***ʔuəŋkʔ**); (ii) SMITH 1972 325, ***uʔ**, perhaps contaminated by 63 ***ɲuuʔ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 166.)

(***ʔuək** see also 475 ***huək** *brain*.)

*269 *kʔik; *kʔiək; *kʔaik *armpit*.

A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **kəlʔək**.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_yək** (!), Danaw **k'ă ɿyèək**; ~ (*klʔiək >) Khmer **kliək**, Kuy **(kh)thi:ʔ**.

C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **[bək] a:k**; by contraction → Cham **paa:ʔ**, Jarai **pʔaʔ**, Röglai **poʔa:**, North Röglai **paʔa:ʔ**; ~ (*knʔaik >) Vietnamese **nách**.

Distinguish 265 *ʔiək (*part of*) *arm*.

Proto-Austronesian (*kilə(S)ik > ?) *ki(S)əlik?: Javanese **kèlèk**, Malagasy **helika** (so Proto-West-Indonesian; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 referred to *kilik ...to carry in arms); & note *(q)irək (BLUST 1971 no. 338; Proto-Hesperonesian); *kili(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 80, *kili[ʔ]).

Connected further Tai forms at BENEDICT 1975 410, *tickle...* (II), (V); Tibeto-Burman *(g-)yak, Archaic Chinese **ziək**, Ancient Chinese **jiək** 腋 (BENEDICT 1972 167 n. 448).

270 (*ʔaak ʔaak &c. >) *kʔaak; *kʔaik *crow, to caw*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Aslian) (A) Mon **[oik] aik** *kinds of gourd* (= Burmese **kyī**: 'ā, literally *crow-caws*), Kuy **kʔa:ʔ** *crow*, (A/B) Bahnar **a:k** *to croak*, (se:m —) *crow*, Palaung **aʔ** *to caw* (MILNE 1931), Central Sakai **ök-ak** *crow*; → Cham, North Röglai **a:ʔ**, Jarai **[ci:m] a:ʔ**, Röglai **a:**, Acehnese **aʔ-aʔ** *crow*; ~ (*klʔaik &c. >; A/B) Old Mon **kil'āk** /kəlʔaik/, Modern Mon **hədaik**, Sre **kənda**, Chrau **kənda:ʔ**, Biat **nʔa:k**, Kammu-Yuan **kəlʔa:k**, Palaung **kəʔaʔ**, Praok **lak**, Lawa Bo Luang **laʔak**, Lawa Umphai **raʔŋak** *crow* (& Riang-Lang **_luk ʔak** by metathesis; Stieng **kəna:t** by assimilation), (B) Khmer **khʔaek**.

Onomatopoeic. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 260.

(SHAFFER 1965 279; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 277.)

*271 *kʔək (& *kʔəkʔ) *to cough*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **khʔək** (< variant, or with secondary lengthening), (~?) Jeh **kaʔok**, Halang **kəʔok** *to cough*, (?) Riang-Lang **kəʔok** *to caw*; ~ Kuy **ŋhaʔ**, Palaung **kənʔəkʔ** *to cough*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔmoak**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ʔmauk** *to cough*; ~ Khasi **jyrhoh** *cough, to cough*.

Onomatopoeic.

(SMITH 1972 281; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 22.)

Sora **kə(k)'kə-(n)** *cough, to cough*, (compounding form) **kə-n** *cough*, Kharia **khu(?)**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 236).

(*cʔa(a)k, *cʔə(ə)k see 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ *to hiccough, belch*.)

‡272 *cʔuk; *cʔuuk; *[c]ʔuək; *chuək *corner*.

A-C: (Palaungic; ~ *crʔuuk >) Riang-Lang səduk; by secondary derivation ~ (C) Palaung kəndʔ; (A) Praok daok.

D: (Mon, Khasi) Mon chok; by metathesis ~ (*knhuəc >) Khasi kynhoit.

Cf. further Khasi kyndah; Khmer chù:ŋ *corner, inlet*; 689 *jruŋ *corner, angle*. Kammu-Yuan sɔ̌:k *elbow* is probably ← Lao sɔ̌k.

Proto-Austronesian *t'[ə]uk: Cebuano Bisayan suuk *corner*, Malay s/ěr/ok-an *inlet*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151, *t'əluk; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 219, *angle*... .

†273 *t₂ʔiik; *t₂hiik *to sob, draw breath noisily*.

A: (Mon, ?Khasi) ~ Mon həoik *to sob voicelessly*, (?) Khasi kyn-ih *to crow*; ~ Literary Mon gam'ik *sighing noise*.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kənhiʔ *to sob* (MILNE 1931).

*t₂- in view of Sora, below; connected perhaps as loan word West Bahnar rəsi:k [rəsi:m &c.] *to sob* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Contaminated by 480 *thak &c. *to pant, sob*?

Sora 'saŋe- *to be breathless, to sigh deeply*.

273a *tʔɔ̌k *scabies*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Chrau ɔ̌ʔ *kind of scaly skin disease*, Biat ɔ̌:k *scabies*; ~ Khmer trəʔɔ̌:k *kind of skin disease, (?) scabies*.

†274 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔaak > *ɗaak, Pre-Khmer *[ɗ]ik *water*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon ɗāk /ɗaik/, Modern Mon ɗaik, Old Khmer ɗik, Modern Khmer tuək, Kuy ɗiaʔ, Bru ɗəʔ, Stieng ɗà:k, Sre ɗa:, Chrau ɗa:ʔ, Biat, Jeh, Halang ɗa:k, Bahnar ɗa:k, Mường ɗác (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese nước, Semelai dak, Central Nicobarese ɗa:k, Nancowry riák.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 32; SHORTO 1872; BLOOD 1966 288; SMITH 1972 287; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 30.)

Sora ɗʔa:-n, (compounding form) ɗa:-n, Kharia ɗaʔ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 2).

(*pʔɔ̌k see 481 *phɔ̌k *fish-paste*.)

275 *prʔɔ̌k *thorn*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng, Biat lɔ̌:k *thorn, fish-bone*, Sre lɔ̌ʔ *thorn, thorn-bush*, lɔ̌: *thorn-bush*, Chrau lɔ̌ʔ, Palaung pərʔɔ̌ʔ *thorn*.

(BLOOD 1966 73.)

†276 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***riʔaak** > Pre-Khmer &c. ***riik**; ***rʔaak**; ***riʔaan** > ***raan** to open, unfold.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **ri:k** to rise, to unfold, open (→ Stieng **ri:k** to swell, rise), Kuy **ri:ʔ** to bloom, to unfold.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṽdak** flower (not connected Thai **dòk**, on which see BENEDICT 1975 298-9, *fruit...* (III); → Khmer **dək**).

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **ràŋ** [flowers] to open, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ra:ŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **rà:ŋ** flowers; ~ (***rilʔaan** > ?) Biat **da:ŋ** [flowers] to open.

Connect 606 ***pa[a]ŋ** to open?

(SCHMIDT 1905 48, 54; SMITH 1972 153.)

Sora **rʔa:-**, Kharia **raʔ** to blossom, &c. (PINNOW 1959 9).

277 ***lʔək** rice-bran.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**lùʔ**, Stieng **lok**, Sre, Chrau **ləʔ**, Biat **lək**, Bahnar **dək**, Rongao **lək** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **haləʔ**, Jarai **hlək**, Röglai **ləhə**, North Röglai **hləʔ**, Acehnese **lhəʔ**; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **kəntùək** rice-bran, Khasi **kyndeh** ground rice, maize-flour.

Add perhaps Sakai **lihok** skin (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 235 (b)). POU & JENNER 1975 no. 43 compare Malay **dědak**, &c. (Proto-Austronesian ***d_[1]ək d_[1]ək** to pound; bran; cf. BLUST 1972 no. 9, ***dekdek**; DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***dəḍək**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

277a ***lʔək**; ***lʔək** cloudy, opaque.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **lʔək** (A), Kuy **lʔa:ʔ** (B) *turbid*; (probably ~) Khasi **lyoh** cloud, mist; ~ Khmer **lùmʔək** to muddy, make turbid.

Khmer (& Kuy?) **lʔ-** by levelling.

277b ***lʔuk**; ***lʔuuk** wet, soaked.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **luk** soaked, wet through.

B: (Mon) Mon **dək** to be wet, damp, sappy, green.

Cf. 954 ***lʔuət** &c.

(***kaik** see 496 ***kaŋ** transverse, to branch... .; ***kək** see 17 ***kəʔ** neck; ***kə[]k** see 498 ***kəŋ** ring-shaped artefact; ***kək** see 17 ***kəʔ**.)

278 ***k[oo]k** kind of diving bird.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Sre [**klaŋ**] **ko:** osprey (DOURNES 1950), Vietnamese **cốc** cormorant.

Arbitrary variant of 280 ***ku(ə)k** egret? Cf. further Khmer **rəŋi:əv kə:k** kind of kingfisher.

278a *kuk; *kuuk raised platform, shelter.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **ku?** *hunter's hide*, Alakong Bahnar **ku?** *field shelter* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ku:** *field shelter on piles, crop-watcher's platform*.

279 *kuk; *kuuk; *kuək; *kək to call.

A: (Palaungic; ~ *[p]nkuk >) Praok **gaok** *to invite*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer, (!) Kuy **ko:k**, Biat **ku:k** [kwal] *to call out to*; ~ Khmer **bəŋko:k** *to call out to*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **kək** /kək/, Modern Mon **kək** *to call*.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khmer) Praok **kək** *to call*, Lawa Bo Luang **kək**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kək** *to call, invite*; (?) ~ Khmer **bəŋkùək** *to call out to* (TANDART 1935; !).

Connection dubious Sora **gu:-** *to call, to invite, summon*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

280 *kuk; *kuək egret.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kək** *heron, egret*, Biat **kək** *egret*.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau **kə?** *cattle egret*, Bahnar [kla:ŋ] **kə:k** *generic term for egrets &c.* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); probably → Cham **kə?**; Vietnamese **cò**.

Connected further Acehnese **blökə?**, Javanese **bləkək** *kind of heron*; & cf. 278 *k[oo]k *kind of diving bird*.

281 *t₁rkak prong, spike.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon [pah] **dakak** *snare*, Palaung **kərka?** *prong* (MILNE 1931).

281a *geek to tickle.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (cə:-) **gək**, Biat [cək] **gək**, Riang-Lang [kuk] **kək** (→ Palaung **kə kə?** (MILNE 1931)?).

282 *gak to bite (on).

A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung **ga?**, Riang-Lang **kak** *to bite*, (~, or =?) Palaung **ga?** *bridle*, → Shan **kāk**, → Riang-Lang **kak**; ~ (*[g]ngak >) Mon **kəhək** *to bite*; ~ Mah Meri **negək** *to bite*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 229.)

283 *[]guk to sit, remain, dwell.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng **gu:k**, Chrau, Biat **gu?**; ~ Semang **nguk** *to sit, dwell* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 221).

If Khmer **kək** *to sit dozing* is cognate, *[t]guk.

(BLOOD 1966 167.)

284 *tɕɔk kind of hornbill.

- A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khmer [sat kaɛŋ] kɔ:k *small hornbill* (TANDART 1935), Bru kùəʔ, Riang-Lang [ˈklaŋ] ˌkɔk *large hornbill*, Khasi *koh-[karang &c.] hornbill*, with voicing metathesis, Proto-Semai *d̥kuuk *helmeted hornbill*, *Rhinoplax vigil* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(*[t]guk see 283 *[]guk to sit... .)

285 *ŋa[i]k baby.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Middle Mon [kwon] nāk *young child, baby*, Modern Mon [kon] ṇàik *child*, Khmer (? , by dissimilation) ṇaet, Riang-Lang [ˈkuan] ˌŋak (with tone by phrasal assimilation) *baby*.
Bahnar ṇe: is hardly connected.

286 *ŋɔk; (*ŋɔk ɲɔk >) *kɲɔk bent, crooked.

- A: (Palaungic, Katuic) Riang-Lang ɲɔk *to be curly*, Bru ɲəʔ *crooked, winding*; (&/or variant) → Shan ṇɔk *bend, to bent*, ṇṛk *to be crooked*.
B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon ɲɔk *to be bent, crooked*, Khmer khɲɔk *hooked, hook-shaped*, Kuy ɲəʔ *winding, twisting, misshapen; to turn*; ~ Khmer krəŋɔk *from side to side*, (krəŋɔk —) *tortuous*.
Cf. 458 *wɔk bent round.

287 *ŋuk; *ŋuuk; *ŋək (& *ŋəək?) to bow head, nod.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer ɲuk *to bow head* (TANDART 1935), Kammu-Yuan ɲuk-[kəŋɲuk &c.] *nodding up and down*, (or B?) Khasi [koh]ŋuh *to nod, to acknowledge, to obey*; ~ Khmer phɲok *to nod, to shake head in affirmation* (TANDART 1935); ~ Kammu-Yuan cəŋúk-cəŋúk *nodding one's head*.
B: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer ɲò:k *to bend forward, to nod off*, (or A?) Rəŋgao ɲu:k *to incline head, bow head* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Khmer, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer ɲùək (!; TANDART 1935 also ɲèək), Central Nicobarese [ko]-ɲə:k-[hətə] (< *ŋəək?), [ko:]-ɲəkə-[ko:ire] *to nod*, Nancowry ɲúk *to bend down*, kuŋúkri *to nod*; ~ Riang-Lang ˌkəŋək (< *-ə(ə)k) *to nod, wag [head]*.
TANDART has further Khmer ɲè:k *to wag [head] sideways* (→ Cham ɲet), probably A secondary formation unless : Thin ɲek *to lean over*, Bru [laŋùʔ]-laŋè:ʔ *swaying as one sits*. Note also (i) Mon həpòik *dhañik, gañik*; həpòk *dhañok, gañok &c. to bend [head] forward, nod*; (ii) Malay lenggok *to sway head and body from side to side, bow right and left, wobble*; Javanese lənggèk-lənggèk *to hang head wearily*. Cf. 288 *lɲəək &c. *to bend head back*.

(*kɲɔk see 286 *ŋɔk bent, crooked.)

‡288 *lɿəək; *lɿaak; (?) *lɿiək to bend head back.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Biat ɿə:k to raise [head], Bahnar ɿə:k to bend head back, look disdainfully over someone's head; ~ (*lɿəək >) Literary Mon *lanik* to look upwards, Khasi *lyngngeh* [to sleep] with the head thrown back; ~ Literary Mon *lamuik* to look upwards; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan *təkɿə:k* [bent, looking] up, Bru *taɿɿ:ʔ* to look up, turn face up.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Muong) (?; or A) → Malay *lěngk* to throw back the head and look up; ~ Mon *təɿàik* to look up, (~?; *lɿaak >) Khmer *phəa:k* to fall over backwards, Vietnamese *ngườc* to bend [head] back, look up; ~ Kammu-Yuan [*təkɿə:k*] *təkɿà:k* [bent, looking] upwards.

C: (Khasi) Khasi *lyngiah* with head back to one side; (?) → Acehnese *linjəʔ* posing coquettishly, Javanese *lèngèk-lèngèk* with head thrust forward; ~ Khasi *lyngngiah* [to sleep] with the head thrown back.

Khasi *-iah* perhaps by hypercorrection for *-eh*. Note further Khmer *crəɿɔk* to stretch upwards, *crəɿɔk* rising up, [to sit] with neck stretched; (< A by dissimilation?) ɿɿ:t, ɿɿ:p to raise head; Vietnamese *nghech* to raise [head]; *ngẩng* to raise, lift [head], to look up, *ngừng* to bend [head] back, *ngưỡng* to look up, admire.

(BLOOD 1966 412.)

Proto-Austronesian *l[]-(s)əNgak: Malay *lěnggak* = *lěngak*; &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləngak; if Fijian to draw a bow not cognate, Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; without prefix in Chamic: Cham (a)ɿu:ʔ to bend head back, &c.).

‡289 *ciik tooth.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *ci:k*, Sre *si:*, Chrau *se:c*, Biat *che:k*.

(BLOOD 1966 38.)

(?) Sora *ʃi:n*, (compounding form) *ji:n*.

290 *cak body.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *caʔ*, Sre *saʔ*, Chrau *saʔ* [nə:m], Biat *chak* (& Stieng *ca:k*, perhaps contaminated by Khmer *sa:k-səp* or Vietnamese *xác* corpse).

(BLOOD 1966 373.)

‡291 *caak; *caik; *ciək; *ciik; *c[ə]k (or *cik?); *cak to separate (v.i.t), split.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *cāk* /*caik*/ to be parted, Modern Mon *caik* to tear, be torn, Khmer *ca:k* to leave (A), *caek* to divide up (B), Chrau *sa:ʔ* to go, (or F?) Central Sakai *châk* to chop, Pangan [ya]-*chag* to tear (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai *càak* to be separated from, Shan *sāk* to split (v.t.); ~ (*kc- >) Kuy *se:ʔ* to hoe up [weeds] (B), Kammu-Yuan *cá:k* to tear (v.t.); ~ Kuy *jce:ʔ* to distribute.

- C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Stieng **ciək**, Bahnar **tse:k** to divide up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or < ***siək**, ad 465 ***saik**), Riang-Lang **siək** to chop, (or B?) Khasi **siah** to cut, pare, shave off, Nancowry **síak** side?; → Shan **sīk** tear, to tear.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Sre **si:** to split into fibres; ~ (***crniik** >) **səni:** parcel of swidden field.
- E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **sék** to cut off.
- F: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **sak** (beside **sa:k** < A/B) to go, return; → Thai **càk** to cleave, split...; ~ Biat **rnaʔ** parcel of ground.
- D, E secondary. Cf. 404 ***craak**; 465 ***saik**; A53a ***[c]əc** to diverge; A71 ***caat**; 1982 ***ci(ə)h**; & Khmer **caen** to divide up; Palaung **sa** to chop. (SCHMIDT 1905. 26; BLOOD 1966 330.)
- Sora **sa:-** to rend, to pare [nails]; Kharia **ca'caʔ** torn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 296, Proto-Munda ***cagcag**; ad A, B); Sora **'pansi:-n** split wood (ad D).
- Proto-Austronesian ***k'agk'ag**: Javanese **di-chachag** chopped small, Ivatan **sagság** to chop (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***cok** see 525 ***c[o]ŋ** to make into a bundle.)

*292 ***cuk**; ***cuuk**; ***cuək**; ***cak**; ***ciik**; ***c(i)ək** to prod, pierce.

- A: (Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy **coʔ** to thrust into, ?Nancowry **sōk** index finger.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **cək** to touch, collide, push with horns, Stieng **cu:k** to damage or cut up with mattock, Biat **chu:k** to put in, push in, Central Nicobarese **[ok]-ʃək-** (or C?), **ʃo:kə-** to pick [teeth]; ~ (***cpuuk** >) Khmer **cbo:k** fish-spear; ~ Mon **həcək** splinter; ~ Khasi **tyrsuh** to poke; ~ (***pcuuk** >) Mon **phyək** to touch one object with another, Khasi **bsuh** to push in, to intrude.
- C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **sək** to fight with horns, toss (MILNE 1931), Semai **cək** to stab.
- D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **cak**, Jölong **tsak** to pierce (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **sək** to prick, Khasi **sah** to ram in, drive home, to punch, to elbow, Kensiu **ceg** to stab, Central Nicobarese **ʃa:k-[hətə]** to spear, Nancowry **sák**; → Thai **sək** to puncture, prod, tattoo; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cák** to touch, poke, pick.
- E: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cək** to peck, [snake] to bite, Vietnamese **chích** to prick.
- F: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **speh** spike, goad.
- E (& F?) secondary. Cf. 295 ***kco(o)k** to prick... . (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***t'ukt'uk**: Tagalog *suksók* to put into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 156; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; ?) ***t'ut'uk**: Toba Batak *susuk* pricked, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159; if Batak ← Malay Perhaps = i); (iii) ***tut'uk**: Malay *tusok* to pierce, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***t'akt'ak**: Javanese *sasak* to penetrate obliquely, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147; Proto-Hesperonesian); (v) ***t'ugt'ug**: Tagalog *s/al/ugsóg* thorn, sliver, in hand or foot, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 412; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 358, 397-8. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 46 (a).)

293 *c[u]k (to bear) fruit in clusters.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi *soh* fruit, to bear fruit, to cling, adhere; ~ Mon *həcak* cluster of fruit.

Or ***cok**.

293a *.cak correct.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *ṭcak*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *ṇāk* correct, to hit the mark.

294 *ʔciik astringent in taste.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) East Bahnar *tsi:k* disagreeable in taste (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan *cí:k*, Palaung *sik* [ɕik], *swiʔ* [s'ɪʔ], Riang-Lang *ṭcik* astringent, Kuy (ʔa:) *ce:ʔ* astringent; medicine, Bru *ɲcik*.

Cf. Sora *pi'siŋ*-, *'pi'siŋ*- (beside *pi'sa:ŋ*- &c.; contaminated by *ə'sa:ŋ*- bitter, ad 553 ***kt₂aŋʔ**); & 989 ***pcət** bitter, astringent.

‡295 *kcok; *kcook to prick, puncture, to provoke.

A, B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Biat *co:k* to peck, [snake] to bite (B), (A) Sre *cok* to prick, to provoke by pricking buttocks, Thin *cōk* to insert drinking-tubes in liquor jar, (A/B) Palaung *cəʔ* to prick (→ Shan *sōk*), Vietnamese *chọc* (!) to pierce, puncture, Nancowry *cók* to prick (?); ~ Khmer *kəmcaok* to provoke, to fan [flames]; ~ (? , ***krco(o)k** by metathesis >) Riang-Lang *cəɾək* to prick. Cf. 292 ***cu(u)k** &c. to prod... .

Proto-Austronesian ***k'əugk'əug** or ***k'uəgk'uəg**: Röglai *cok* to prick (or ← Sre), Malay *chuchok*, *chochok* to pierce, prick (→ Acehnese *cucoʔ pin*), Javanese *chochog* to get pricked (& *chuchuk* beak, to peck..., ← Malay ?), Cebuano Bisayan *sugsúg*, *s/ul/ugs/úl/ug* to tease, pester (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 358.

296 *kcuk; *kcuuk; *kcuək to stop up.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *cok* to stop up, plug, cork, Sre *cùʔ* to insert, fill hole (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Mon) Mon *chək khyuk* to confine, imprison, (*nèa* —) to be constipated; → Burmese *khyup*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy *sa:ʔ* to stop up, plug, cork; ~ (**k**)*sa:ʔ* stopper. (Cf. BLOOD 1966 155.)

*297 *cəcək; *cəcək house lizard, *Hemidactylus*.

A: (Mon) Mon *həcək*.

B: (Khmer) (Old Khmer *cicok* insect?,) Modern Khmer *cəcək* house lizard.

Onomatopoeic; cf. Thai *cīŋcòk*, → Khmer *cì:ŋ cək* (POU & JENNER 1973).

Proto-Austronesian *k'ək'ak: Malay *chichak* (!), &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86-7; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 49.)

298 *[p]ciək to cough.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng *ciək*, Biat *chiək* to cough, Semang *yik* slight cough (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 249); ~ Sre *bəsia*, Chrau *nsiə?* to cough.

(BLOOD 1966 103.)

*299 *pɕ[ɔ]k summit, tip.

A: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang *cək* point, tip, end, summit, sprout, (by assimilation) Praok *choc* summit.

Or *pɕwək? Cf. 529 *[ʔ]cu(u)ŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *puk'uk: Malay *puchok* shoot, upper tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 121; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pu(N)k'ak: Malay *punchak* summit, top, &c. (ib.; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Cf. further Proto-Austronesian *pu(N)k'u(S) (ib.; Proto-West-Indonesian).

300 *jiik; *jiək to break ground for cultivation.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon *jik* /jik/, Modern Mon *còik* to harrow, break up for planting, to cultivate, Old Khmer *jyak*, Modern Khmer *cì:k* to dig (over), Stieng *ji:k* to hoe, Sre *ji:*, Chrau *ji:?*, Biat *ji:k* to grub up weeds, Jeh, Halang *jiək* ricefield, Rōngao *je:k* to plough, prepare for cultivation (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang *cuk*, Lawa Umphai *chuk*, Mae Sariang *c(h)ik* irrigated field; ~ (*jniik >) Chrau *ni:?* weeding-tool, Bahnar *ʔni:k* harrow, mattock, used to break ground.

B: (Palaungic) Praok *ciək* to dig, break ground by digging.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 214; SMITH 1972 241, 270.)

†301 *jak; *[j]u(u)k; *juək to tread, to step out, set out.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Middle Mon *jak*, Modern Mon *cèək* to march, set out, Sre *ja?* to tread on, trample, Bahnar *jak* to go away, Rieng-Lang *cak* to put on, wear [shoes...], Khasi *jah* to absent oneself, Central Sakai *jak* to tread on; → Acehnese *ja?* to go (away), set out.

B: (Khasi) Khasi *iuh* to tread on, trample.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *cuək*-[lɔre &c.] to negotiate [stair, ladder], *cuəkə* to step, Nancowry *cuák* steps; (?) → Cham *cwà?*, Jarai *ju:a?*, Rōglai, North Rōglai *jua?* to tread on, trample &c., → Bahnar *jua?*, *juə?* step on.

Back vocalism obscure; contaminated by 462 ***swa**[a]**k** to walk...?

(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 202.)

Sora **na:-** to walk, march, to tread, thresh by treading.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'agd'ag** to get a foothold: Javanese **jajag**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***d'əgd'əg** to get a foothold: Malay **jějak** to tread, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; if Fijian *thigh* not cognate, Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) ***i(N)Zak** to tread, dance (DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, ***i(ń)d'ak**; Proto-Hesperonesian; note Javanese **idak** to tread & add Karo Batak **m-édak-édak** to gad about...; Toba ← Malay); & prefixed forms, cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 80 (***k-**, Proto-West-Indonesian), 118 (***p-**, Proto-West-Indonesian), 137 (***t-**, Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***əN[Z]ak**: Malay **ěnjak** to step on, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 126, ***əŋzak**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

302 ***juk**; ***juuk** creeper, material for tying.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **juk** /**juk**/, Modern Mon **cək** creeper, cord (B), (A) Bahnar **juk** kind of aquatic plant yielding fibre; vegetable fibre, (A/B) Central Sakai **chōk** rattan; ~ Serting **jēmōk** climbing rope (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (d)); ~ Central Sakai **chěnychōk** creeper.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 37 (a-b).)

(***kjək** see 52 ***kjə?** heavy.)

303 ***tik**; ***tiək**; ***tək** deaf.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:c**, Sre (→ Röglai) **ti?** deaf, Chrau **ti?** blocked up, (— **to:r**) deaf.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **điếc** deaf.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat **tək** [**to:r**].

(BLOOD 1966 147.)

304 ***tik**; ***tiik** to pull along, lead.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Old Khmer **tik**, Modern Khmer **drk** to lead [animal], to cart, Kuy **tr?** to lead [animal], to cart, to drag [e.g. net].

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:k**, Sre **ti:**, Chrau **te:c** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **te:k** to lead by a rope.

(BLOOD 1966 39; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 30.)

†305 ***tiik**; ***tiək** to lie down, sleep.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **de:k**, Kensiu **tik**, (or B?) Semnam &c. **tæg**; ~ (probably originally hypothetical) Old Mon **stik** /**stik**/, Modern Mon **toik**; ~ Mah Meri **gətik**, (~?) Semelai **jətek**, by metathesis Jah Hut **tice:k**.

B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **thiah**, Central Nicobarese **iteak**, Nancowry **?itiák**.

Cf. Bahnar **tə:p**. Bru has **?atəy?** to put to bed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 250 (a-b).)

Santali **gitiʃ**, &c (PINNOW 1959 295a; Proto-Munda *-tik?).

(*t₁iək see 319 *tr(-)t₁iək ear.)

306 *t₁ak to put in place.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **tək** to build, erect [dam, hut], to assume [cross-legged] position, to let down [net], to rule [line], Khmer **ḍak** to place, put, site, Palaung **taʔ** to lay out [mat &c.]; → Cham **ḍak**, (!) **tàʔ ḍak** to arrange; Shan **tāk**; ~ Middle Mon **tamnak** pavilion, Modern Mon **pənek** camp, Khmer **dəmnak**, **təmnak** halting-place, encampment; → Thai **sāmnák** house, lodging, → Khmer **səmnak** halting-place.

Connect 317 *kti(i)k to put (down)?

307 *t₁ak; *t₁ək to remove.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre, Chrau **taʔ**, Biat **tak** to remove, Bahnar **tak** to open, lift lid, to uncover, remove cover, to move [object] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (A/B?) Nancowry **ták** to leave, **ʔuktákɲicaʔ** to wean, to pull out.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Old Khmer **tok**, Modern Khmer **ḍo:k** to pull out, pull off, uproot (? , with secondary lengthening), Biat (→ Central Rölöm?) **tək** to remove (beside **ḍo:k** to uproot ← Khmer), Riang-Lang **tək** to uproot, extract.

A contaminated by preceding?

(BLOOD 1966 271; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 36.)

308 *t₁aik spear.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **daek-[so:l]** javelin, Chrau **ta:ʔ** (→ Sre), Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **ta:k**, Sedang **tea** spear.

(SHAFFER 1965 326; BLOOD 1966 334; SMITH 1972 289.)

*309 *t₁ək to cohere.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **tək** (!), to adhere to, Praok **tok** to be fastened together; ~ Mon **hətak** cluster, bunch; ~ Literary Mon **datuik** to cluster.

Sora **'rutta:-n**, (RAMAMURTI 1938) **'runta:-n** cluster, bunch.

*310 *tə[ɔ]k to copulate (with).

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **tək**, Nancowry **tuák**.

Note Kuy **təʔ**, Bru **tə:ʔ**.

Sora **to:-**, **tu-**, Kharia **tu**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 369).

311 *t₂uk cloud, mist.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **tuʔ**, Biat **tok** cloud, Bahnar **tuk** ground mist, dew; ~ Stieng **atuk** dew, mist (?); ~ Jeh **kasùk**, (~?) Halang **siksuk** cloud.

Separate Palaung **tuuk** smoke.

(SMITH 1972 268.)

312 *tuk going on foot, by land.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Middle Mon **tok** /**tuk**/, Modern Mon **tak**; ~ (***tmuk** >) Thin **mūk** on foot.

313 *t₁uk *t₁uuk to tie.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **tūk** *lashing, to tie*, Palaung **to?** *to tie*.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ˀtuk** *to bind, tie, tether*. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 79.)

***314 *tuək; (*tək tək > ?) *[k]tək drip, drop.**

A: (Mon) Mon **tok** *drop*.

B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **tək** *sound of dripping* (& by secondary formation **tətək** *to drip*, **təmnək** *drop, falling drop*, **bəntək** *drop, dot*), Nancowry **ták** *to drip*.

Cf. 814 ***tuuc** &c. *drop, to drip*.

Proto-Austronesian ***titik** *drop, dot*: Malay **titek**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 98, *(Ct)i(Ct)ik; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Note also ***riNtik** *speckles*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 104 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 37.)

315 *[ʔ]tuuk; *[ʔ]t[u]k, by metathesis *[]kut; *[ʔ]təək to scoop up, root up.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Mon **tuk** /**tuk**/ *to draw [water]*, Modern Mon **tək** *to scoop up, to root up*, Khmer **taok** *spoonful* (TANDART 1935), Stieng **tu:k** *to remove [pot from fire, rice from pot]*, West Bahnar **to:k** *to root up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry **ʔuktúak** *to pull up, to draw water*.

B: (Katuic, Khasi, South Bahnaric) Bru **tu?** *to dip into*, Khasi **thoh** *to take with tip of finger* (or < *-**uək**), by metathesis Chrau **kut** *to dip out into*.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar Bru **tu?**, **tu:k** *to root up, lever up*.

***316 *[k]ti[]k to tickle.**

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ktik** (!)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kitik**: Malay **kitek**, **kitik**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 216; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***gitik**: Malay **g/ěl/itek**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65; Proto-West-Indonesian).

317 *kt₁ik; *kt₁iik to put (down).

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ce?**, Biat **te?** *to put*.

B: (Khmuic, ?Palaungic) Thin **tik** *to put (down)*, (or 320a ***[p]tiik** *to pull off* > ?) Praok **tik** *to abandon, get rid of*.

Connect 306 ***t₁ak** *to put in place?*

(***[k]tək** see 314 ***tuək** *drip, drop*.)

***318 **[j]təək* to strike, beat.**

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon *tik* /*tək*/ to beat, Modern Mon *tak* to discharge [artillery], (— *tət*) to strike, coin [money], Stieng *tək* to hit, Central Sakai *chətək* to beat [drum]; → Burmese *tuik* to come, bring, into violent contact, to fight, → (i) Palaung *taik* to fight; (ii) Shan *tuik* to fight, → Palaung *tuik* to fight, Riang-Lang *tuik* to wage [war]; ~ Bahnar *hatək* to clap, applaud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Connect Kammu-Yuan *sənták* (< *-t₁-) to dash against, throw to the ground, to hit the ground; but connection uncertain Bahnar *ti:k* to collide, strike against (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Cf. 322 **[l]tak* to hammer...; 558 **jt₁uŋ* &c. to strike, beat... . Proto-Austronesian **təktək*: Malay *tətak* to knock, rap, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 145, **təktək*, Proto-West-Indonesian; **t₁əkt₁ək*, DAHL 1973 § 14.9, rests on an uncertain Formosan comparison).

319 **tr(-)t₁iək* ear.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer *trəciək* ear, Riang-Lang *kətiək* outer ear, lobe of ear. Perhaps **t₁iək*, Khmer < derivation, Riang-Lang *kə-* part-of-body prefix; add then Khmer *kənciək* ear-piece of dancer's headdress (TANDART 1935). But separate Aslian forms at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 6 (a), = Temiar *gentək*, &c., ad 554 **k₁təŋ* to hear. (SHAHER 1965 319.)

320 **nt₁aak*, **l(n)t₁aak* tongue.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon *kətaik*, (Khmer *ʔənda:t* by assimilation), Kuy *nta:ʔ*, Kammu-Yuan *hənta:k*, Riang-Lang *ˀtak*, Praok *ɗak*, Lawa Bo Luang *tak*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *ndak*, Kensiu *lətig*, Temiar *lənta:g*; ~ Palaung *kətaʔ*, Central Nicobarese *kəleta:k*, Nancowry *kaliták* (with part-of-body prefix?). **l-* secondary, **ln-* (certainly attested only in Aslian) by interdialectal contamination? (SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAHER 1965 277; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 165.)

***320a **[p]tiik* to pull off.**

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Chrau *ti:ʔ* to husk [maize], Biat *ti:k* to husk, to pick over, (or 317 **kt₁iik* to put (down) >?) Praok *tik* to abandon, get rid of. South Bahnaric vocalism suggests *.t-. Proto-Austronesian (i) **pətik*: Malay *pətik* to pick, pluck, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118, **pətik*); (ii) **putik*: Toba Batak *putik* to pick, pluck, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 123, **puṭik*; Oceanic to pluck [feathers &c.]). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, loan source not obvious.

321 **ptəək* temples.

A: (Khmer, North & Central Aslian) Khmer *taək gills*, *taək taək*, Semang *pətök* temples (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 228).

‡322 *[l]tak (& *tlak by metathesis?) to hammer, drive home.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tak** /tak/ to drive in, to fasten especially by driving in, Modern Mon **tək** to strike, hit, beat, (? by metathesis) Palaung **laʔ** to hammer, hammer; ~ Old Mon **tnak**, Modern Mon **nək** stake, peg, Palaung **hlaʔ** stake for tethering cattle (MILNE 1931).

Cf. 318 *[j]təək to strike, beat (Cf. SHAFER 1965 144.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *laNtak: Malay **lantak** to drive in, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92);

(ii) *[qS]əNta[kg]: Malay (**h**)**ěntak** to jab downwards, thump, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, *hən[t]ak; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(*lt₁aak see 320 *nt₁aak tongue.)

323 *[s][n]tuuk kind of jar.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **səto:ʔ** water-jar, Bahnar **səto:k** kind of jar.

324 *dak intertwined.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer **təək** tangled, intertwined; ~ (*pdak >) Literary Mon **bdak** to bring together, Jölong **dak** to make a net, spin a web (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !); ~ (*prdak >) Late Middle Mon [**chuik** to be near] **padak** to be well versed, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon [**chak**] **pətəək** to be skilled, Khmer **prətəək** intertwined, to intertwine; ~ (*dnak >) Bahnar **nak** net, to make net, spin web, Jeh, Halang **nak** net; (?) ~ Khasi **ktah** to touch.

= following?

(SMITH 1972 275.)

325 *dak to bind.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **dak** /dak/ to bind, harness, Modern Mon **təək** to tie, tether, link..., Khasi **teh** to bind, fasten; ~ (*d.nak >) Mon **hənəək** **danak** noose, snare, jess for poultry.

= preceding? Distinguish (but Mon **der**. x?) 330 *đak (to) trap.

326 *dak viscous.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang [**tam**] **tak gur**, Vietnamese **đặc** to be viscous, thick, to coagulate.

327 *daik; *diik outstretched.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Mon **tàik** to branch, be turned outwards, Central Nicobarese **ta:k** broad, wide, Nancowry **ták** flat; ~ Khmer **kəntək** bifurcated; ~ Central Nicobarese **təma:kə** fathom.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ndi**: (great) breadth.

Cf. 577a *jdaŋ &c.

328 **[c]duuk* staff, cudgel.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [lèʔ] *tək* (→ Burmese *du*) *cudgel*, Khasi [*dieng*]-*duh* (!) *staff, walking-stick*; ~ Khasi *shanduh*, Sakai *chenduk* *walking-stick* (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 452).

Connect obscure Khmer *thùək* *cudgel* (TANDART 1935), Vietnamese *thước*.

329 **đik*; **điik*; **điək* slave.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *diʔ* *slavery*, Stieng *di:c*, Biat *duk* (& Chrau *dic* by interdialectal borrowing), Bahnar *dic* *slave*.

B: (Mon, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon *đik* /*đik*/, Modern Mon *doik*, Bahnar *di:k* *slave* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or A?).

C: (Mon) Dvaravati Mon *dek* ?/*dek*/ *slave*.

Cf. Thin *de* *I (respectful)*.

(BLOOD 1966 134; SMITH 1972 239.)

(**[d]ik* see 274 **diʔaak* water.)

†330 **đak* trap, to trap.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer *tək* *to trap*, Stieng, Biat *dak*, Sre, Chrau *daʔ* *trap*, Bahnar *đak* *projectile trap, to set traps*, Jeh, Halang *dak* *spear trap*, Riang-Lang *ˀdak* *(to) trap*, Semai *da:k* *trap* (TAUERN 1914); → Cham *tàʔ* (& *hataʔ*!) *trap for birds*; ~ Khmer *ʔontək* *trap, snare*; ~ Khmer *thnək* *decoy, lure*, Bahnar *ʔnak* *projectile trap*.

Distinguish 325 **đak* *to bind*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 327; SMITH 1972 274; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 200A.)

Sora *da:-[ˈtul-ən]* *trap*.

331 **đak*; (đaik* *đaik* > ?) **[k]d[ai]k* to break, snap.**

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon *dek* *đak* [prùʔ] *to snap, make snapping sound*, Central Nicobarese *dak*-[ɲə] (& by assimilation *daŋə*) *to split, break* (v.i.).

B: (Khasi) Khasi *kdiah* *to break, snap* (v.t.).

(**đaak* see 274 **diʔaak* water.)

332 **[d]ək* to stand up, to go up.

A: (Bahnaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm *dək*, Biat *dək* *to stand (up)*, Jeh *dək* *to go up*, Halang *dək* *to ascend*, (~?) West Bahnar *nək* *to go upstream, take up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 116.)

Distinguish 334 **đuk* *to mount, ride*; & separate also Sora *daʔ-*, *dai-*, Santali *deʔ* *to mount, ascend, climb*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 333), which require *-c.

Hardly all ← Rōglai [dɔ]-dək, North Rōglai dək to stand, < Proto-Aceh-Cham *dəŋ.
 North Bahnaric senses perhaps by attraction Cham di:ʔ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *naSik (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107, *na^cik).

‡333 *dɔ[]k to hammer.

A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon dək to hammer, Praok tək to nail (or ← Shan tǝk < Tai *took, cf. BENEDICT 1975 228, beat, drive in... (II)), Nancowry karuák knock on door, kumruák to knock on door (& Riang-Lang ʔkrək to knock; so *kd-?).

Proto-Austronesian *d₁akd₁ak: Toba Batak dakdak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 38, *dakdak; cf. DAHL 1973 § 14.5).

Onomatopoeic. Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *tuk to cut, knock, pound, BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 387: inter alia > Garo dok ~ dak to knock, pound, Dimasa do to knock, ...hammer down.

334 *duk to mount, ride.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon duk /duuk/, Modern Mon dak to mount, ride (on, in) (& Old Khmer duk, Modern Khmer tük to put, put away, put on one side, keep by semantic transference from causative?); ~ Old Mon -pduk to embark, take up, Modern Mon dak also to load, Khmer phtük to load; (~?) → Thai pràthúk to load with; ~ Khmer bəntük load; → Thai bant^húk to load with; ?Nancowry rúk to arrive, ranúk vehicle rather : Bru tət to come?

Distinguish 332 *[d]ək ...to go up. Sre di: to mount, ride is ← Rōglai di: < Proto-Austronesian *naSik (ib.), perhaps contaminated by *duk.

335 *duk; *duək; *dək full, complete.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon duk /duuk/ to be perfect, complete, Middle Mon dok, Modern Mon dak [pɔiŋ full] to be complete; ~ Praok naok, Lawa Umphai nauk to be full.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung nɔʔ to be full.

C: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Old Mon dik /døk/ to be perfect, complete; ~ Riang-Lang _nək to be full.

335a *duuk; *[d]uun (kind of) monkey.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng du:k, Sre dou, Chrau do:ʔ, Biat do:k, Bahnar dɔk, Jeh, Halang dok monkey.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung [ə]duŋ large long-tailed kind of monkey, Proto-Semai *dɔ^g pig-tailed macaque (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?; if so, *d-) Central Nicobarese duē Macacus cynomologus.

North Bahnaric vocalism apparently post-dental, cf. 70 *ktuuʔ, 396 *ruuk, 467 *suuk, 667 *ruuŋ[], 685 *cruuŋ, 728 *luuŋ, 744 *t₁luŋ, 892 *dkuun, 1005 *tuut, 1062 *ruut, 1738 *bt₁uul, 1744 *duul, 1763 *tb[uu]l. Connection dubious Vietnamese dộc ape; or Khmer tò:c gibbon.

(BLOOD 1966 2; SMITH 1972 278; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 129.)

336 **ɗuuk*; **ɗuk* boat, canoe.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer *tù:k*, Kuy *thù:ʔ*, Bru *tùəʔ*, Stieng *ɗu:k*, Chrau *ɗu:ʔ* boat, Biat *ɗu:k* canoe (& Sedang *tuk* ship, or as Bahnar?); → Bahnar *ɗu:k* boat, ship.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *nôc* canoe.

Connect Malay *bidok* canoe.

(SHAFFER 1965 325; SMITH 1972 271.)

337 **kr[ɗ]a[a]k* palm, sole.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kəta:k*, *kəltá:k*, Thin *kəɗak*, Lawa Bo Luang (?a)nduak, Lawa Umphai *rathuak*.

(**[k]ɗ[ai]k* see 331 **ɗak* to break, snap.)

338 **[c]ɗak* to cough, splutter.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (**[c][r]ɗak* >) Mon *həɗək*, Petchabun Nyah Kur *càɗək* to cough, Proto-Nyah Kur **ɕhəɗək* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V34; favours *s-), Central Sakai *sladík* noise of hawking; ~ (**[c]ndak* >) Chrau *ndaʔ* to choke in swallowing, cough, Bru *santùʔ* to choke.

338a **[c]ɗaak*; **[c]ɗaik* to fry.

A, B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Khasi *sɗieh* (B); ~ Kuy *nthiaʔ* to fry, parch [rice] (A; ~?, A/B) Riang-Lang *kəɗək* to fry, ?Nancowry *harát*.

339 **ɗiək*; **[t]ɗik* wet.

A: (Mon, Kuy) Middle Mon *tɗək* /*tɗək*/, Modern Mon *deak*; ~ (**tpɗiək* >) Kuy *pri:ʔ*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *tətùk* (perhaps contaminated by *tùk* water, < 274 **diʔaak*).

340 **ɗək* dirt.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *tɗ(u)ik* /*tɗək*/ [*lɿeɿ*] impurity, defilement; ~ (**tnɗək* >) Biat *ndək* filth, dirt (→ Chrau *kəndəʔ* particles of dirt).

Add perhaps West Bahnar *kəɗi:k* sediment, mud (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (then < variant **t/r/ɗi[i]k*), & to derive Mon *hənoik* power, dust, Nyah Kur *ndɣk* power, dust.

341 **t₁ɗ[o]k* slit-drum, bamboo rattle.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy *tə:ʔ tə:ʔ* cowbell; ~ (**t₁nd[o]k* >) Mon *hənək* slit-drum, (— *kləa*) cowbell; ~ (**t₁rd[o]k* >) Khmer *trədaok* cowbell of bamboo with seeds inside which rattle (& probably colloquial rather than < simplex, *tədaok*, *dədaok*, TANDART 1935; → Biat *kɗo:k* rattle), Chrau *tələ:ʔ* slit-drum (& by arbitrary variant *tələ:ʔ* small bamboo slit-drum), Riang-Lang *kərdək* bamboo rattle.

Perhaps *-u(u)k/-uək. Cf. 903 *kđiŋ, *kđuŋ *bamboo-joint*.

342 *tnək *step of stair*.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thnak**, Vietnamese **nấc**.

343 *[t]rnuk *troubles*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **kanuk** [*kanāy*] *troubles, disasters*, Khmer **dranuk** *sorrow, trouble* (GUESDON 1930).

Khmer **d-** by attraction **tùk** *sorrow*, ← Pali **dukkha-**, or Mon **k-** by phrasal assimilation?

344 *dn₂ək; *dn₂ak *ladle, hood of cobra*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **dnāk** *hood of cobra*, Modern Mon **nòk** *hood, ladle*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **lak** [*keəŋ*] *spoon*, Riang-Lang **lak** *ladle* (& **həŋ lak** [*hood-snake* =] *cobra*); → Shan **lāk** [*lám*] *ladle*.

Variation obscure.

345 *pək *to fan, [wind] to blow*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **puik** *to blow*, Modern Mon **pak**, Old Khmer **pak**, Modern Khmer **bək**, Kuy **pə?**, Bru **ʔapw?**, Stieng **po:k** *to blow, to fan*; ~ Middle Mon **pnik**, Modern Mon **noik**, Khmer **bhnak'** *fan* (GUESDON 1930); ~ (***prnək** >) Literary Mon **panik** (?), Stieng **prənɔ:k** *fan*, Bru **ranù?** *fan*.

Add perhaps Khasi **peh** *to winnow* (< ***kpək?**). Stieng **-o:k** post-labial, cf. 1025 ***kpət**; 1040 ***cət**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 22; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (b).)

346 *pək; *pəək; *pu[u]k *to open*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **pə?**, **pə?**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **pek**, Modern Khmer **baək** (→ Kuy **bə:??**), Sre **pə:**, Biat **pə:k** *to open*, Chrau **pə:?** *to take off, lift*; (or A?) → Cham **prk**, North Röglai **po?** *to open*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi **phuh** *to flower*.

C secondary. Connect 353 ***[l]pək** &c.; & cf. also 2029 ***puh** &c.; Proto-Austronesian ***bu(N)ka**: Malay **buka**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***buka**^c; add Madurese **bungka?**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 322; BLOOD 1966 414.)

(***pək** see 371 ***gəək** *to chop, hoe*.)

*347 *pɔk to peel.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Old Khmer *pak*, Modern Khmer *bɔ:k* to peel (→ Kuy *bua?* to peel ?), Stieng *bo:k* to remove [mollusc] from shell, Mường *póc* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *bóc* to peel, Thin *pək* bark, rind (or by back-formation ~ *həmpək* bark, rind, < 466 *s/mp/ɔk); → Thai *pòk*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) **puak* to remove: Cham *pɔ?* to untie, unharness, remove (& to remove bark from, contaminated by or ← Mon-Khmer?), Jarai *pək*, Karo Batak *puak* to remove, Cebuano Bisayan *puwak* to tonsure (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; by metathesis?) *(q)u(N)pak: Tagalog *upak* bark, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, **u(m)pak*; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 9.)

348 *puk; *puuk to swell, be inflated.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *puk*, Sre *pu?* to swell, Biat *pok* swollen.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Jeh *pu:k* wind on stomach, Halang *pù:k* to want to defecate, Central Nicobarese *fɔ:k* blister.

Cf. 101 **poo?* &c.; & Nicobaric *puk-oəl* to swell (< **b-* or **ḡ-*).

(**pu(u)k* see also 355 *[l]puk to dash against.)

†349 *t₁paak to pace, step.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *twek* /*twaik*/ to walk, pace, Modern Mon *kwaik* to walk, Mường *puốc* (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *bước* (to) step.

**t₁*- in view of Sora.

Sora *'dapa:-n* step.

Proto-Austronesian **tapak*: Malay *tapak* palm, sole, footprint, step, Tagalog *tapak* to tread on, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 131).

*350 *tpuuk heap, to heap up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer *pūk* to heap up, Modern Khmer *bo:k* to heap up; hump, Palaung *po?* [earth] bank (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *puk* hill, hillock, raised ground, (dry) land; to be convex; ~ Khmer *dəmbo:k* hillock, mound, anthill, (— *kò:*) hump; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *bəmno:k* heap, mound.

= following? Cf. also 369 **ḡu(u)k*.

Proto-Austronesian **tuNpuk*: Malay *tompok*, *tumpok* small hill, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 101, *(Ct)uṅpuk; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 nos. 20 (a), 22.)

351 *tpuuk; *tpuək to add, calculate.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *bo:k*.

B: (Mon) Mon *tok* to calculate (< Old Mon **twok*, as *toŋ* castor-oil tree < *twoñ*); → Burmese *twak*, → Palaung *tuə?* to count, add.

= preceding? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 27.)

†**352** ***lpak**; ***lpaak**; ***lpaik**; ***lpiək** to be broken, split in two.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **bak** (→ Cham **ḥak**), Stieng **pak** to break (v.i.), Sre **paʔ** to break (v.i.t), Chrau **paʔ** to snap, break off, Rōngao **pak** [cord &c.] to break (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **pāk** to break (v.t.); ~ (***lnpak** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **pəup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbək** to break off; ~ (***tlpak** >) Rōngao **təpak** to break (v.i.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **təlpak** v.t.; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəmbək** v.t.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Old Mon **pāk** /**paik**/ to be shattered, Modern Mon **paik** to split, (C) Khmer **baek** broken, Kuy **bɛ:ʔ** to separate (v.i.), (B) Sre [**tam**] **pa:**, (B/C) Chrau **pa:ʔ** (→ Biat **pa:ʔ**) to share out, Jeh **pā:k** to split (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **pā:k** to crack, split (v.i.), (~?) Praok **pak** half, part; ~ Old Mon **lunpek** either of two sides, Modern Mon **kəpaik** also half, part; by secondary derivation ~ Mon **həpaik** to divide, sever, separate, Khmer **bəmbaek** to break, to divide, separate; ~ Mon **həpaik** cleft, Khmer **prəbaek** fork, confluence, junction; → Cham **pabek** fork, confluence, junction; ~ Middle Mon **panāk** [**sat**], (B) Khmer **prəna:k**, Kuy **mna:ʔ**, (B/C) Stieng **brəna:k** areca shears.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khasi **phiah** to split (or C?); (by metathesis ***pliək**, or by secondary derivation ~ ***pn₂iək**, >) Riang-Lang **pliək** (to) crack.

Connect (probably, by metathesis) **446** ***pla([a])k** side; perhaps **B33** ***pəək** to break...; & cf. further **356** ***[b]iək** to tear apart; **364** ***tbaik** to cleave.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 328; BLOOD 1966 316.)

Sora **pa:-** to split (v.t.).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***yi(N)pak**: Iban **rimpak** notched, chipped..., &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 267; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***ra(N)pak**: Malay **rapak** fragile, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101-2); (iii) ***rəNpak**: Javanese **rəmpak** shattered, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***piqak**: Javanese **piyak** to give way, to push apart, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118-119, ***pijak**; DYEN 1953 § 45; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 2. See BENEDICT 1975 272, divide.

353 ***[l]pək**; by metathesis ***plək** to open.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **pok** /**pək**/, Modern Mon, Rōngao **pək** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang [**ya'**] **pəg** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 41 (a)).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **plək** to open (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **plək** to burst open, split open (& by back-formation **lək** to open (v.i.t), to reveal, to be revealed).

Connect **346** ***pək** &c.

354 *lpok to pull out, uproot.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **-puk, pok /puuk/** to withdraw from socket, to unearth, Modern Mon **pak** to pull up, pluck out, Kuy **bɔʔ** to pull out, up, Bru **bɔʔ** (!) (separate?), Biat **pək** to be uprooted (beside **pak** to pull up [weeds]); ~ Old Mon **[sjak] lupok** to withdraw, Modern Mon **kəpak** to tear out, to be torn out, uprooted.

***355 *[l]puk; *[l]puuk to dash against.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **bok** to pound, crush, ram (contaminated by 370 ***[k]bok** to pound...); ~ Mon **kəpak** to strike, dash, launder by beating on stone.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pu:** to beat.

Perhaps ***pu(u)k, *l.-puk** in view of Austronesian, below; not ***kp-** (> Mon **kw-**).

Proto-Austronesian ***pukpuk**: Tagalog **pukpók** hammering, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 121; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 227-8.

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 5 (a).)

***356 *[b]iək to tear apart.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **biəʔ** to destroy, tear apart (MILNE 1931); ~ (***on[b]iək** >) Praok **bi:ək** to convulse.

Cf. 364 ***tbaik** to cleave; 352 ***lpak** &c. ...split in two.

Proto-Austronesian ***biqak**: Tagalog **biyák** to spilt, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 30, ***bijak**; DYEN 1953 § 49; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 272, divide.

(***b[ee]k** see 365 ***[m]b[ee]k mud.**)

***357 *bək; *buuk; *buək to bind (round).**

A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) Middle Mon **buik** to encircle, Modern Mon **pək** to put round [e.g. waistcloth], Temiar **bəg**, Semelai **bək** to bind.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **puk**, Lawa Umphai **phuk** to tie, bind.

C: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mường **puộc** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **buộc** to bind, Central Nicobarese **pɔ:k-[hətə]**, **pɔ:kə** to bind, tie, fasten, Nancowry **pók** (***-uk?**).

B, C secondary. Connect 621 ***bəŋ** ...to bind round.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 213.)

Proto-Austronesian ***bæg'bæg'**: Malay **bəbat** to wrap [girdle, puttees], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; Proto-Hesperonesian).

358 *bo[]k belly.

(Katuic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Kuy **[pla:] phò:ʔ** lower part of belly, Khasi **'poh** (~ **kpoh**) belly; ~ (***bpo[]k** >) Central Nicobarese **pofwa:k** intestines, Nancowry **pufuák**.

Cf. besides 624 ***buŋ[]** &c. (i) Nahali **po(:)po(:)**, PINNOW 1959 K 115; (ii) Tibeto-Burman ***pu·k** ~ ***bu·k**, BENEDICT 1972 77 no. 358; Archaic Chinese **pjōk** 腹, ib. 165-6.

‡359 *[]buk; *[]buuk *dust*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Mon **həpək** *thabuik* &c. *fine powder or dust*, Biat [neh] **rbuk** *sand*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **habu:k** *dusty [road]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 2034 ***buh** &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bu(k)buk**: Javanese **bubuk** *powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 33, ***buk**); omitting words meaning *weevil, mildewed*, for which see 369 ***ḃuk**); (ii) ***qabuk**: Malay (**h**)**abok** *dust, powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, ***abuk**); (iii) ***yabuk**: Tagalog **gabok** *dust, powder*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 57; DAHL 1973 § 13.12; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iv) ***d₃abuk**: Javanese **dawuk** *grey [horse]*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41-2, ***d^o**; DAHL 1973 § 14.7).

Perhaps Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, but none of these are attested in Mainland Austronesian See BENEDICT 1975 222-3.

360 ***[b]uk; *[b]uuk** *to be drowned*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bu?**, Biat [da:k] **buk** *to be drowned*, West Bahnar **buk** *to be wrecked, drowned* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ West Bahnar **bəbuk** *to wreck* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **mbuk** *to immerse*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **bəmpò:k** *to flood with*; ~ Chrau **təmvu:?** [da:ʔ] *to drown*; ~ Central Nicobarese **henpo:k-[həʃe]** *to drown*.

Connect Central Nicobarese **pɾək-ŋə** *to be to drowned*, Nancowry **púakŋa** *to drown oneself*.

(BLOOD 1966 166; cf. SHAFER 1965 132.)

‡361 ***[b]uuk** *head*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Stieng **bu:k**, Sre **bou**, Chrau **vo:ʔ**, Biat **bo:k**, Orang Běnua **buj** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 50).

(BLOOD 1966 1.)

Kharia **-bɔʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 206; Proto-Munda ***bək**).

362 ***buək; *buuk** *group, company*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon **b(w)ok** /**bok**/ *sect*, Modern Mon **pòk** *company, group, sect*, Old Khmer **vvak**, Modern Khmer **pù:ək** *company, group*, Palaung **bək** *group* (MILNE 1931); → Thai **p^huak**.

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **buk** *sect*.

Connect Malay **kobok**.

(POU & JENNER 1975 no. 20 (b).)

363 ***jbɔək** *food-tray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Khmer **svok**, Modern Khmer **spò:k** *wooken tray for serving food*; ~ Mon **həpòk** *dining-table in form of large round tray with short legs*.

*364 ***tbaik** (& ***tbiək**?) *to cleave*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Mon **tbek** /**tbaik**/ *to slash*, Modern Mon **pàik** *to slash, cut (down), fell*, Stieng **be:k** *to break*, Chrau **va:ʔ**, Biat **ba:k** *to notch*, Khasi **piəh** *to cut in two* (or < variant), Sakai **bak** *to split* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 395); → Toba Batak **bak** *to be easily split* (Proto-Austronesian ***bak**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, falls); ~ Kontum Bahnar **(h)aba:k** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Jölong **səba:k**) *cleft of hoof*.

Cf. 352 ***lpak** &c. ...*split in two*; 356 ***[b]iək** *to tear apart*. Kuy **baʔ**, Kammu-Yuan **bák** *to notch* are ← Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975, below).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tə(N)bak**: Toba Batak **tombak** *to clear forest*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***t'ibak**: Malay **sibak** *to part, cleave*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 402; Proto-Hesperonesian). Rather than : ***təbək** *to pierce*, as SHORTO 1971 Cf. BENEDICT 1975 263, *cut down/off*... (III).

365 ***[m]b[ee]k** *mud*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **(ʔa:)phèʔ**, Sre **mbe:**.

If Kuy **phèʔ**, Biat **bəʔ** *wet* are cognate, root rather ***b[ee]k**.

366 ***r[b]ak** (& ***r[b]aik**?) *brittle, fragile*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rəpəək** *brittle kind of rattan*, Chrau **rəvaʔ**, Biat **rbak** *fragile*, (or variant > ?) Sre **rəba** (!) *brittle*.

Cf. Proto-Austronesian ***ra(N)pak**, **rəNpak** (under the entry 352 ***lpak**).

367 ***ʔək** *to draw [water]*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bə** (!), Biat **bək**, **bək**, Riang-Lang **ʔək**.

With Sre final cf. A19 ***tntək**; -əʔ is expected. Connection obscure Central Nicobarese **fuk**-[**da:k**].

(BLOOD 1966 114.)

*368 ***ʔuk**, (***ʔuk ʔuk** >) ***kʔuk**; ***[b]huk** *rotten, mouldy*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **pùk** *rotten* (***ʔ**-), Bahnar **buk** *rotten, mouldy* (***kʔ**-), Bru **ʔabəwʔ** *decayed, rotten of wood*, Vietnamese **mốc** *mould, mouldy* (? → East Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **muk** *rotten, mouldy*).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **phoʔ** *rotten*, Bahnar **phək** *mouldy* (& intensives **phok**, **phuk**) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***b.ʔuk**/***b.huk**.

Proto-Austronesian ***bukbuk**: Malay **bubok** *weevil*..., Fijian **vuka** *to be mildewed*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 33, in part, cf. 359 ***[]bu(u)k**). With EAST BAHNAR cf. the variant *(**q**)ə**muk** *weevil*: Cham **məʔ**, Röglai **moʔ**, North Röglai **mōʔ**, Tagalog **umok** (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian; note here Cham **pəʔ** *rotten [wood]*, North Röglai **[bu] ʔoʔ** (!) *termite-eaten*. See BENEDICT 1975 339-40; 367.

369 **ḥuk*; **ḥuuk* to heap up.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *vu?*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer *pù:k*, Kuy *phù:?* (& *phò:?*), Stieng *bu:k*;
→ Cham *bu:?*.

Old Khmer has *vak*; from a variant? **ḥ-* in view of Cham Cf. 350 **ṭpuuk*.

369a **kḥḥak* white, grey.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Kuy *bua?*, Sre *bo:*, Chrau *və:?* *white*,
Stieng *bo:k* *white, grey*, Biat *bo:k* *grey [soil]*, Bahnar *bo:k* *off- white; white [hair]*,
Mintil *bəyeik*, Temiar *bəyu:g* *white*; ~ (**kḥḥak* >) Stieng *kənbo:k* *white, clean*,
Jeh *tabo:k*, Halang *dəboak* *white*.

Add perhaps Palaung *blə?*, < **kḥḥak* by metathesis (otherwise ad 436 **kl[uə]k*).
Connection obscure 116 **kboo?* *white*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 98 (b).)

370 **[k]ḥok* to pound; mortar.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *bak* *small mortar*, Khmer *baok* *to beat against a stone &c.* (contaminated by 355 **[l]pu(u)k* *to dash against*), Sre *bo?*, Chrau *və?* *to pound, bray*.

(**kḥuk* see 368 **ḥuk* *rotten, mouldy*.)

‡371 **ḡḥak* to chop, hoe.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon *bək* *to chop, hoe, to peck, to slit open*, Bahnar *bək* *to hollow with adze, dig with hoe &c.*, Jeh *bok* *to hoe*, Halang *bok* *to cut through, carve*, Thin *bək* *to chop down*, Khasi *kboh* *to scratch*, Sakai *bigbög-[té]* *to dig* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 107 (b)); → Shan *wōk* *to hoe slash* (rather than as BENEDICT 1975 263, *cut down...* (III)), (?) → Riang-Lang *mək* *to cut with swinging motion, hew*; ~ Mon *həbək* *khaḥək* *hoe*.

Earlier **ḡḡḡḡḡ*, cf. Sakai; perhaps connected 375 **dḥək* *to hook*. Riang-Lang may reflect a variant of 866 **[]wə(ə)c* *to cut...*, which compare. Connection obscure (**pək* >) Sre *po?*, Biat *pək*, Temiar *pəg* *to dig*; as with Khasi *puh* *to dig, peck, bite* (< **bu(u)k*); Chrau *po:?* *to split wood, split off bark*.

(SMITH 1972 277.)

Proto-Austronesian **tib[ə]*: Malay *tebak* *heavy cutting or chopping blow, to dig out [earth] with hoe, &c.* (BLUST 1971 no. 130, *(*CtT*)-; Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡372 **[c]ḥuk* froth.

A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi *sboh* *to be thick, scummy (=)* *syboh* *adhesive froth*, Central Nicobarese *puk* *bubble*, Nancowry *púk* *to boil (v.i.)*.

Connect 2038 **ḥuh* &c. *to bubble, boil*.

Proto-Austronesian **bug'aq* *foam*: Tagalog *buláq*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, **bug'a[h]*).

373 *tɓak to snap at, snap up.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*tɓak >) Mon **həmək**; ~ Khmer **trəbak** (with -b- by levelling on unattested *tɓak?).

Connect Palaung **hmaʔ** to *snatch*?

374 *[d]ɓak; *[d]ɓaak to bestride, to be bestriden, have hanging down e.g. round neck.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer **pèək** to *put on, wear, to hang up, to bestride*, Kuy with secondary lengthening **phà:ʔ** to *put on, wear*, Sre **baʔ** to *carry in a shawl on one's back* (→ Röglai), Chrau **vaʔ** to *carry [baby] on back*, Biat **baʔ** to *carry [person] on back*, Bahnar **ɓak** to *wear round neck*, Thin **ɓək** to *mount, ride, be astride*, (or B) Palaung **baʔ** to *ride, drive*, Khasi **bah** to *carry on back or shoulders*; → Cham **pàʔ** to *carry on back*; ~ (*[d]bɓak >) Mon **həbək** to *hang over horizontal support, to wear round neck*, Kuy **baʔ** to *hang up*, Bahnar **təbək** to *hang over something* (with -b- by levelling), (or B) Khasi **tabah** to *throw, hang, across shoulder*; ~ (*[d]nɓak >) Lawa Bo Luang **pok**, Lawa Umphai **mbok** to *ride*; ~ (*tn-ɓak by secondary derivation >?) Bunör **m̄mak** to *hang up* (→ Sre **maʔ** to *carry in a shawl on one's back*), Biat **mbak** to *carry on a yoke*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bunör, Central Rölöm **ba:ʔ** to *carry [baby] on back*, Central Nicobarese **pa:k-[hətə]** to *carry on shoulder*; ~ Stieng **nba:k** to *carry [hoe] dangling*, (~?) Vietnamese **vác** to *carry over shoulder*; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Stieng **cemba:k** to *hang over horizontal support*; (~?) Proto-Nyah Kur ***lɓək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V42; points to *1-).

Hence Kachin, Rawang (Mutwang dialect) **baʔ** to *carry on back* (< *bək, BENEDICT 1972 19 n. 71; so ≠ Tibeto-Burman *ba)?

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; BLOOD 1966 277, 358)

375 *dɓək to hook.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thpùək** to *hook towards one*, Khasi **boh**, Vietnamese **móc** to *hook*; ~ Khmer **tùmpùək** (& **tompùək**!) *hook, crook, hooked stick for picking fruit*; ~ (*drɓək >) Literary Mon **thaɓək** *ankus*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **bnoh** *hook, hooked stick; to hook*.

Connect perhaps 371 *gɓək to *chop, hoe*.

376 *mak; *ma[a]k to like, love.

A: (Kuy) Kuy **màk** to *love*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **mək** to *hanker [after]*, Lawa Umphai **mak** to *like, love*.

†377 *mæk; *mæk ox, cattle.

A, B: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **_mæk**, (B) Palaung **muk**, (A) Lawa Bo Luang **məup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mək**.

(SHAFFER 1965 159.)

Santali **mĩhũ**, Ho **miu** *calf* (PINNOW 1959 K 541).

†378 ***mək**; ***mək** to *emerge*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **mək** /**mək**/ to *appear*, Modern Mon **mək** to *appear, emerge, come to the surface, [moon] to wax*, Bahnar **mək** [*paddy*] *beginning to form grain*, (or B?) Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mọc** [*plant, hair, nails*] to *come up, grow, [sun] to rise*
- B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **mək**, Modern Khmer **mək** to *come, come near, approach*, Nancowry **muák** to *appear*.
 Kharia **mu?** to *come out*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 109; Proto-Munda ***mu[k]**).

379 ***mək(mək)**; ***mək(mək)** to *sit still*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **mək mək** *quietly*, (or B?) Palaung **mək** to *sit*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **məmo** *quiet, inactive*.
 Add perhaps (B) Riang-Lang **_mək** to *place, put*.

380 ***mək** to *take [rice] in fingers*.

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **mo** to *take [rice] in fingers* (→ Röglai **mop?**), Biat **mək** *mouthful*, Bahnar **mək** to *take [rice] in fingers*, Bru **mək**; ~ Mon **kəmək** to *scoop up; handful [of rice &c.]*.
 Connection dubious Vietnamese **bốc**.

†381 ***muək**; ***muək** *hat*.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **muək**, Biat **mo:k** *hat*, Jölong **mo:k** *European headgear* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **muk** *hat*.
 B: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khmuic) Khmer **mùək** *hat*, Khasi [**tap**] **moh** *hat, [woman] to put on headdress*; → Thai **mùək** (→ Kuy **mùək**), Lao **mùək**, Sek **muək** *hat*; ~ (***muk muək** > ?***kmuk** > ?) Kammu-Yuan **muək** *hat, cap*, Palaung **hmək** *woman's cap*.
 POU & JENNER 1973 61 derive Khmer via Tai from Archaic Chinese **mæg**^w 帽 *headpiece*. Connection dubious Middle Mon **kamhok** *wide-brimmed conical helmet*, Modern Mon **həmök** *Shan hat* (→ Burmese **khamok**); perhaps infixed form of **khok** *cup*, ↔ Burmese **khwak**; to refer it with Palaung to ***kmhuək** is semantically improbable. Atayal (?)**umuk** to *cover (head), wear on head*, ~ **a?umuk** *cover, lid*. (BENEDICT 1975 259, *cover...*, which compare)

382 ***t₁muk**; ***t₁muək** *cheek, jawbone*.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **tmoh** *chin*; ~ Riang-Lang **_mək** *cheek*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [**soh**] **muh** (compounding form) *bearded*; ~ Sre **tərmou**, Chrau **təmo?** *cheek*.
 Connection uncertain Bahnar dialects **təbək** *bearded* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

382a *smək dirty.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **srəmɔ:k** *covered with dirt* (with secondary lengthening), Mnong Gar &c. **rəmɔ:ʔ** *dirty* (→ Jeh (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) **ramaʔʔ**), by metathesis Kuy **mphrɿʔ** *dirty, stained*; ~ (***spmək** >) Sre, Bunör **ḥəʔ**, Lawa Umphai **saʔmək** *dirty*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **_pək** [**cəʔ**] (with phrasal low tone) *to be disgusting, dirty*.

(BLOOD 1966 385, 386.)

Proto-Austronesian ***k'əmæg'** = ***k'əməd** (DEMPWOLFF 1938)

383 *ya[a]k to pound.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **yek** /**yaik**/, Modern Mon **yàik** *to pound [paddy]*, Sakai **ɛjáʔ** *to pound to pieces* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 202).

384 *yək; *yɔk to take.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **ïoh** *to obtain, receive, have* (or B); ~ Biat **chək** (?), Bahnar **ʔyək** *to take*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **yɔ:k** *to take, bring, get, accept, receive*.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **okai**, **okɛ**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

385 *yuk (& *yuək?); *yək; *yəək to lift.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **yuk**, **yok** /**yuk**/, Modern Mon **yàk** *to lift, to carry in arms*, Palaung **yuuʔ** *to rise, to raise*, Praok **yaok**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **yuak** (!) *to lift*; → Shan **yùk**; ~ Khasi **kynjuh** *to dandle, weigh in arms*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Khmer **yùək** *to lift up*, Bru **ʔayəʔ**, (~?) Mường **giắc** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **nhấc**, **nhấc** *to lift, raise*; (or C) ~ Riang-Lang **_pəkcək** *to erect, set upright*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **jư:k**, Sre **yə:** *to lift*, Chrau **yə:ʔ** *to take off, lift*, Bru **ʔayɿ:ʔ** *to raise, lift*; → Cham **ya:ʔ**.

Vocalism at least in part contextual, cf. 538 ***jũŋ**; Lawa suggests ***yuək**; C perhaps contaminated by 425 ***lɛək**. Cf. Biat **io:t** *to carry*. But Central Sakai **jujúk** *to carry on head* is ← Malay **junjong** (< Proto-Austronesian ***d'uŋd'uŋ**).

(BLOOD 1966 427.)

386 *yuuk vigorous, healthy.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon [**thət**] **yək** *to be in good health*, Bönöm Bahnar **jo:k** *in good health* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon **yiryuk** /**yəryuk**/ *vigour*; ~ East Bahnar **hio:k**, West Bahnar **hpo:k** *easy, happy, pleasant, to make easy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

387 *[,y]aak bold.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **cha:** *to be bold*, Palaung **yaʔ** *to be bold*, Riang-Lang **-yak** *to be bold, to dare*; a secondary derivation → Röglai **jəma:**.

388 *kyaak *ghost, supernatural being.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon **kyāk** /kyaik/, Modern Mon **caik** *sacred being or thing*, Stieng **cia:k** *bloodsucking male witch*, Sre **ca:** *evil spirit*, Chrau **ca:ʔ** *demon*, Biat **cia:k** *ghost*, Bahnar **kiak** *corpse, (souls of) the dead, ghosts*, Jeh **kaya:k** *to die*, Halang **kəya:k** *corpse*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SMITH 1972 286.)

389 *tya[a]k *sambhur deer, large forest mammal.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kiek**, Khmu' **tya:k** *tiger* (or separate?), Kammu-Yuan **təyá:k**, Palaung **caʔ**, Riang-Lang **ṭtyak**, Lawa **cak** *sambhur*.

(SHAFFER 1965 343.)

(*riik see 276 *riʔaak *to open, unfold*.)

390 *riək *to pluck, harvest.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Katuic) Central Rölöm **riək**, Bunör, Biat **rək** *to reap*, Lawa Umphai **riak**, Mae Sariang **ɣiak** *to break (off)*, Khasi **riah** *to pluck [e.g. herbs]*, Bru **riʔ** *to harvest*.

(BLOOD 1966 95.)

391 *r[a]k *to love; beloved, dear.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **rək** *dear, kind* (TANDART 1935), (— - **tək**) *friendly*, Thin **rək** *to be beloved, dear, to love*, Kammu-Yuan **rak**, Palaung **rək** (!) *to love*; ↔ Thai **rák**, Shan **hāk** *to love*; ~ (*rmr[a]k > ?) Khmer **mrək** *girl's friend of same sex, man's friend's wife*, Kuy **mmrək** *girl's friend of same sex*; ~ Palaung **kərrək** (!), Riang-Lang **ṭərrak** *to love each other*.

391a *raak *white ant, termite.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **[ruk]** **_rak**, Khasi **[ʔniang]** **rah**.

†392 *raik (& *raak?) *to call out, shout.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **rək** *to call out* (GUESDON 1930), Stieng **ra:k** (< *raak; or loan word?), Chrau **ra:ʔ** *to curse*, Biat **[tə:m]** **ra:k** *to call [one another] names*, Riang-Lang **_rak** *to call out*, Praok **rək** *to cry, moan*; ~ (*[c]raik >) Khmer **sraek** *to cry out*, Serau **cerik**ⁿ *to shout* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 10; or Malay, below?); ~ Old Mon **trāk** /traik/ *to shout, cheer*.

Sora **rui-** doublet of **ken-** *to sing*, **ber-** *to speak*, Santali **raʔ** *to cry, call, sing, weep, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 57).

Proto-Austronesian *t'urak *to cheer*: Malay **sorak**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157). See BENEDICT 1975 260-1.

393 *[]r[ɔ̌]k *frog, toad*.

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, North Bahnaric) Bru ʔaròʔ *large kind of toad*, Thin rōk *toad*,
 Riang-Lang rək *frog, toad*; → Shan *ruak *frog*, Nung *ruak, Dioi ruk *tadpole*
 (BENEDICT 1975 298, which compare); ~ (or =?) Palaung ərək *frog, toad*; ~
 Bahnar [kʷɛ:t] adrək (Gölar ki:t hədrək) *toad*, Khasi hynroh *frog*; → Jarai ʔrɔʔ
toad, Röglai [kieo] adro *buffalo toad*.
 Or *-uuk (Bahnar), *-uək.
 (SHAFFER 1965 220.)

394 *ruk; *ruuk *forest*.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung ruʔ *outside*, (?) Praok [caoŋ]
 raok *beach, shore*, (junction-form; or ~ *jr- >) Lawa Bo Luang [piʔ]doak, Lawa
 Umphai [pheʔ] ʔrauk, Mae Sariang [phiʔ] ʔyauk *forest*; ~ Old Khmer sruk,
 Modern Khmer srək *inhabited area, country*, Kuy soʔ *village*, Temiar sərək *forest*.
 B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang rək *forest*.
 Cf. for semantics 181 *briiʔ.
 (SHAFFER 1965 534; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 231 (b).)

395 *ruk; *ruuk; *ruək *to force in, cram in*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer rək *to cram in, to force
 one's way into*, Chrau ruʔ *to insert*; → Thai rúk *to penetrate by force*; ~ Mon prak *to
 put in, pack in, cram in*, (or C) Khasi phroh [bird] *to feed [young]*; → Malay pərok
to stuff into a drawer anyhow; ~ (*jnruk >) Sre jərok *gluttonous, intemperate*; (or
 C?) ~ Riang-Lang prək *to crowd in on, press, throng, to force one's way in*; ~ Khmer
 rənək *bar, bolt, catch, latch*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ru:k *to force in, force under*; ~ Biat ndrū:k
gluttonous, intemperate, Khasi jynruh *things lying in a disordered manner*; ~ Stieng
 rənu:k [kəplu:ŋ] *ramrod*.
 C: (Nicobaric, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Central Nicobarese yu:ək-[həŋə], yu:əkə *to
 load [boat], fill [pot]*, Nancowry ʔukyúak; ~ Kuy tra:ʔ *to pour into narrow-necked
 vessel* & Bru trɔ:ʔ (< *crɔ:k?); (~?) Bahnar srɔ:k *to pour grains into small opening*
 = Gölar hrɔ:k *to push rice into bamboo tube*.

396 *ruuk *ox*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang rək; ~ (*kuən ruuk by contraction >?) Sre kənrou, Biat
 ndrək.
 For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a *đuuk.
 (BLOOD 1966 8; SMITH 1972 283.)

397 *ruuk; *ruək; *rəək to shake, tremble.

- A: (Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Besis **krūk** to tremble, shiver (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 228); ~ Khasi **kynruh** to rinse, churn, rumble, shake.
- B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric; *ruək ruək >) Bahnar **rəhrək** to tremble (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Central Nicobarese **nyək** to shiver.
- C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rək rək** trembling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **rəhrək** to tremble; ~ Old Khmer **kamrek**, Modern Khmer **kəmraək** to move, shake, tremble; ~ (*s[b]rək >) Mon **hərak** to shake (v.t.).

398 *krak heartwood, hard wood.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **krək**, Khmer **krak** heartwood, Biat **[chi:] krak**, Bahnar **[ʔlɔ:ŋ] krak** ebony, Riang-Lang **krak** heartwood.
- Stieng **kra?** heartwood, Sre **kra** hard [wood], Vietnamese **trắc** species of hard wood, all appear to be interdialect loans.

399 *krək adapted, ready, suitable.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **krak** to suit, be s.able, Khasi **khreh** to prepare, to be ready.
- Connection uncertain Sora **ira:-** to be agreeable, favourable.

400 *[k]ruk to fall.

- A: (Khmuic, South Aslian) Thin **kruk**, Semelai **gərək**; ~ (*[k]rruk >) Kammu-Yuan **kərúk**.

401 *grik to sift, sieve.

- A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **krək**; ~ Khasi **kynric**.
- Cf. West Bahnar **həri:ŋ** &c. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

‡402 *criək to be split lengthwise.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **criək** to split (v.t.); → Thai **krìak** to split (v.t.); ~ (*cbriək >) Mon **kəreak** to split, slit open; ~ (*cnriək >) Mon **kəreak** part split off, slat, sheet, piece, Khmer by dissimilation **cəmriək** part split off, West Bahnar **jədre:k** slice cut lengthwise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Cf. 404 *craak &c. to tear, divide. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)
- (Proto-Austronesian *t₂ərak: ?) Paiwan (Formosa) **min-tsərak** split (BENEDICT 1975 391, which see).

403 *crak; *criək to incise, engrave.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **sek sak** to draw, draw a line, cross out, Biat **crak** to engrave.
- B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **cre:k** to draw a line, groove, engrave.
- B probably by secondary palatalization, cf. 487 *cʔaŋ &c. Connect Vietnamese **rach** to make incision, groove. (< *[]raik?); but Sre **sara?** written matter is ← Röglai **hara?** < Proto-Austronesian *t'urat₁.

404 *craak; *craik; *criik to tear, divide.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mon **saik** *srāk* to tear (in two, up), (—**thonj**) to be born, (A) Khmer **cra:k** to divide up (TANDART 1935), to share expenses, (B) Khmer **crè:k** (!) to part [e.g. curtains], (— **pùh**) cut way through, Mường **réch** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **rách** torn.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **cere:** to tear.

Hardly by metathesis ***cr-caak** &c. (cf. 291) in view of Austronesian, below. Cf. also **402 *criək** to be split lengthwise; **465 *saik** &c. to split, cleave, tear.

Proto-Austronesian ***t'arak**: (i) Malay **sarak** to separate the sexes, Tagalog **salak** to chop, slice, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Acehnese **criə?** to unravel [fibre], to pull to pieces, Malay **charek** to tear bits off, Iban **charik** torn, perhaps rather < Proto-Austronesian ***k'ari** []ək than ← Mon-Khmer in view of vocalism. See BENEDICT 1975 375, *separate(d)*.

(***c** []raak see **1581a *cgaar** to fence, enclose.)

405 *[c]r[ə]k to take shelter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **cruk** ?/**crək**/, Khmer **crò:k** (!)

Khmer chest register perhaps secondary, but lengthening unexplained; cf. here **694 *tr[ə]ŋ**.

406 *[c]rək to drip.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic). Khmer **srək**; ~ (***[c]brək** >) Literary Mon **tarāk** to lead off [water] by a gutter, Khmer **səm̥rək** to let drip, Bru **rə?** to let in water; ~ (***[c]nrək** >) Mon **kərək** gutter.

Cf. **842 *ruc** &c.

407 *crək to plant upright, stick in.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **crok** /**crək**/ to plant upright, Modern Mon **sək** also to place on finger, Khmer **crò:k** to put in, fill, load, to place on finger, Stieng **cə̀rò:k** to put in, fill, load, Biat **crò:k** to load [gun].

Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic contaminated by **395 *ruk** &c. ...to cram in.

408 *trak; *tra[i]k; *triək buffalo.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **shynreh**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **trá:k**, Lawa Bo Luang **khvak**, Lawa Umphai **krak**, Mae Sariang **khyak**, (or A?) Palaung **kra?**.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **tri:?**.

With Palaungic initials cf. **410 *t_[ɪ]r[ʷə]k**.

(SHAFER 1965 88; & cf. 458.)

409 *traak lead.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Stieng) **tra:**, Chrau **tra:ʔ**; ~ (***tnraak** >) Biat **ndra:k**, Tölo Bahnar **adra:k** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbrak**; → Röglai **təmra**, North Röglai **tumra:ʔ**.

‡410 *t_[1]r[ʷə]k ribs.

(Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan [**cəʔá:ŋ**] **trúak**, Mnar [**ʃʔyʔaŋ**] **ʃruʔ** (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Khasi [**ka shyieng ka**] **shruk** bone; ~ Central Nicobarese **tenyua:k**; ~ (***t_[1]pr[ʷə]k** >) Palaung **pruʔ**, Riang-Lang **phrok** side of body.

Khasi **sh-** by phrasal deformation? But with these Palaungic initials cf. **408 *trak** &c. (By metathesis) Proto-Austronesian ***yut'uk**: Malay **rusok**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 59).

‡411 *prə[]k to injure.

(Mon) Old Mon **prik** /**prək**/ to injure, harm; ~ Modern Mon **pərak** to molest, attempt to injure.

Sora **'pa'ra:-** to be hurt, wounded, **'pa:ra:-n** wound, injury (& with variant vocalism **'poru:-** to overlook, cast evil eye?).

412 *prɔk squirrel.

(Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian). Sre **pro** (→ Stieng **prɔhʔ**), Chrau **prɔ:ʔ**, Biat, Bahnar **prɔ:k**, Jeh **pro:k** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Kammu-Yuan **prɔ:k**, Palaung [**ə**]**prɔʔ** (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese [**con**] **sóc**, Sakai **prōk**ⁿ (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 136 (c)); → Lao, Ahom ***rook** (BENEDICT 1975 226, *bat...*); Cham, Jarai **prɔ:ʔ**, Röglai **proʔ**, North Röglai **pro:ʔ**.

Cf. Khmer **kəmprok**, apparently < ***ko:n prɔ:k**, for which cf. Vietnamese; → Thai **krarɔk** (with **kr-** by hypercorrection) at early stage; with vowel metathesis & irregular shortening. For Stieng **-h** < ***-ʔ** (here borrowed) in animal names cf. **39 *ciiʔ**.

(SHAFFER 1965 334d; BLOOD 1966 75.)

413 *brək brək disorderly, untidy.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **həprək** [**həprùi**] to have unkempt hair, Praok [**sibroy**] **sibruk** refuse.

414 *br[ɔ]k water-dipper.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **prək brək** water-dipper, Sre **bro** gourd container or dipper; apparently → Röglai **bro** gourd container or dipper, Acehnese **bruəʔ** coconut-shell, dipper &c. made from coconut-shell, Javanese **běruk** coconut-shell used as dipper or rice measure.

Acehnese, Javanese cannot be cognate. Connection uncertain Palaung **bruʔ**, **bluʔ** to dip up.

415 *brok to go.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **broʔ**, Bahnar **brək**.
(SMITH 1972 272.)

†416 *mraik[] peacock.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **mrek** (& **mreñ**) ?/mraik/, Modern Mon **pəràik**, Sre **bra**, Chrau **vraʔ**, Biat **bra:k**, Palaung dials. **phraʔ**, **braʔ** (Mon; → Riang-Lang **prak**), Bru **riàʔ** (< *-aak; loanword?); → Cham (a)mraʔ, Jarai **amraʔ**, Röglai **amra:**, North Röglai **amraʔ** *peacock* (→ Bahnar **amraʔ**, Gölar Bahnar **həmraʔ** *peacock, pheasant*); Malay **měrak** (probably → Central Sakai [chîm]-mëra'), Acehnese **möraʔ**, Javanese **měrak**.

Old Mon has similar orthographic variants; ad 417 *c-liik[] pig, 1051 *tmaat[] vulture; perhaps /mraik/ or the like.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 321, 532; BLOOD 1966 281.)

Kharia **ma'raʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 27).

417 *lik[]; *liik[] pig.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **leʔ**, Riang-Lang **lek**.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central & South Aslian) Kuy (?a:)liʔ, Praok **lik**, Lawa Bo Luang **lɛic**, Lawa Umphai **leic**, Mae Sariang **leic**, (or A) Sakai **lũ** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 78); ~ Old Mon **clik** (& **clīñ**) ?/clik/, Modern Mon **kloik**, (or A) Bera **jalo'** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 83); (?) → Javanese **chèlèng**, Madurese **cheleng** *wild pig*.

On Old Mon variants, cf. preceding; perhaps /clik/ or the like. Connection dubious Khmer **crù:k**.

(SHAFER 1965 332.)

†418 *l[a]k to hoe.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **lɔʔ** (!) *to hoe*, Riang-Lang **lak** *to dig, to peck*; ~ Palaung **klɔʔ** *to peck*; ~ Jeh **hlak**, Halang **təlak**, Palaung **kəlbʔ** *hoe*.

Sora **lo:-** *to hoe*, Mundari **laʔ** *to adze, to hoe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 304).

419 *lak to inlay.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **lak** /lak/ *to set with gems*, Khmer **lèak** *to groove, incise* (contaminated by 403 *crak? also lə:k); → Cham **lak** *to groove, incise*.

420 *lak weapon.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **lèak** [nèak] (→ Burmese **laknak**); ~ (*lnak >) Mon [lèak] **nèak** *weapon*, (~?) Bahnar **rənak**, **hənak** *weapons for defence* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*lak see also *[d₁]lak *good*.)

‡421 ***laik**; ***lak**; ***liək**; ***lik**; ***liik**; ***lək** to *unfold, to open eyes*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **la** to *unfold, spread* (→ Röglai **la**; so not < 191 ***la?**, which compare, but perhaps merging it); ~ (*[l]m**laik** >) Mon **pə̀làiək** (**la**)**m̥lāk** to *open [eyes]*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ləmlək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V50), Khmer **rùmlək** to *spread out and divide up, separate*; → Röglai **bla**; North Röglai **bla?** to *open [eyes]*; ~ West Bahnar **təla:k** to *peel (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang **plək** = to *open [eyes]*, Praok **plək** to *reveal*.
- B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre **la?** = **la**, Chrau **la?**, Biat **lak** to *spread out*; ~ Kuy **mpla?** to *spread open, unfold*.
- C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **lə:k** to *skin, peel, to show [teeth]*, Rōngao to *spread*, Bru **lia?** to *peel*; ~ Bahnar **tələ:k** to *peel (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ **plək** to *open [someone else's eyes, mouth, &c.]*.
- D, E: (South Bahnaric) Sre **li:** to *open [eyes], to spread, open*, Chrau **li?** *opened out*, by sandhi **li:n [mat]** to *open [eyes]* (E), (D) Biat **li?** *unfolded; to open [hand]*.
- F: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **lək** to *spread, unroll*.
(BLOOD 1966 379)
Proto-Austronesian ***bəlag**: Malagasy **velatra** to *spread out, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27, in part). See BENEDICT 1975 393.

421a ***laik** *fluttering creature*.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **lak** [lɔŋ] *flying fox*; ~ (*l**m**laik >?) Riang-Lang **rələk**, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang **mblək**, **mbrək**, Lawa Umphai **mblək** *bat*; ~ Khasi **slieh** *flying squirrel*; ~ **syllieh** (beside **syllih**) *flying squirrel*, (probably ~, but cf. 408 ***trak** &c.) Palaung **kərla?** *butterfly*.
Cf. 431 ***laik luk** &c. *flashing...*, 444a ***pliik** &c. to *flash, flicker*. Chrau has **lu?** *bat*.

422 ***laik**; ***liək**; ***liik** to *dissolve, fall into dissolution*.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng **lə:k** to *melt (v.i.)*; ~ Old Mon [**rlam**] **rlāk** /**rlaik**/ to *be in ruins*, Modern Mon **làiək** to *fall into ruin, fall away*.
- B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **lə:k** to *dissolve, melt (v.i.)*.
- C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **li:k** to *melt (v.t.)*, Sre **li:** to *dissolve, melt (v.i.)*, Chrau **le:c** to *crush, pulverize*, Biat **lə:k** *dissolved*.
Old Mon **rl-** by phrasal attraction, or contaminated by 861a ***rlaac** to *collapse...*? Cf. 718 ***la(a)ŋ** to *destroy*; 927 ***lən** to *be destroyed...*.
(BLOOD 1966 34.)

(***laik** see also 431 ***laik luk** &c. *flashing, lightning*.)

***423 *lək; *luk; *luuk; *ləc to overturn, capsize, sink, be immersed.**

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, ?Mon, Palaungic) Kontum Bahnar **la:k** [*vehicle, boat*] to overturn (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[l]nlək >) Bahnar **glək** to be drowned; ~ (*prlək >) Kuy **lɔʔ** immersed in, Chrau **pələʔ** to turn around, Biat **rləʔ** back to front, against [*the wind*], Stieng **prələ:k**, Sre **pərləʔ** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **hələk** to turn upside down; ~ (*bl- >; or **B**) Mon **plək** to sink, be submerged, inundated, (or **C**) Praok **pluk** [plək] to be transformed; ~ (*tnlək >?) Biat **ŋkləʔ**, **ŋklɔʔ** to overturn, to knock down.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Kuy **lùʔ** to mix, Bru **luʔ** (!), Bahnar **luk** to overturn, to mix together (contaminated by 222 *brlu[]ʔ); ~ (*[l]nluk >) Praok **nok** to sink, Khasi [*tyllep*] **pluk** (!) [*water*] to cover; ~ Kuy **phlùʔ** to topple over; ~ Bahnar **bəluk** = **luk** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **phlù:k** to overturn, capsize (*v.i.*); ~ **bəmphlù:k** to overturn, capsize (*v.t.*) (GUESDON 1930), to cause to crash.

D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lật** to turn upside down; ~ (*lmlək >?) Biat [**mbla:c**] **blər** [blər] upside down; ~ **plac** to turn upside down; ~ Sre **pərlac** to turn (*v.t.*).

Add perhaps Riang-Lang **ləc** to sink, be drowned (then < *[c]ləəc; otherwise < 854 *ləəc, which compare). But Palaung **lək** to be transformed is ← or contaminated by Shan **lək** to separate, be separated, (— **khəp**) slough skin. Cf. further 1079 *lət to be extinguished; 721 *lɔŋ to be immersed.

(BLOOD 1966 410; SMITH 1972 265.)

Proto-Austronesian ***balik**: Malay **balek** behind, to go back, **těr-balek** inverted, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 22); → Semang **bilē'** to turn round, over, &c. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 255).

424 *lək; *l[ə]c to sleep.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer **lùək** to be asleep, Stieng **la:k** to lie down, sleep; ~ Bahnar **hlək** to sleep heavily, Temiar **sələg** to sleep; ~ (*[s]rlək >) Vietnamese **giấc** to sleep.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic) Thin **lɔ̀ik**, **lɔ̀ic** to sleep, go to sleep; ~ Kuy **slec**, **hleec** to fall asleep.

Cf. B66 *[l]aac &c. to lie abed; originally probably *lək ≠ *laac, with mutual contamination

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 249.)

425 *ləək to lift, raise.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lɔ̀:k**, Kuy **lɔ̀:ʔ**, Stieng **lù:k**, Biat **lə:k**.

Cf. 385 *yuk &c.

426 *lɔk; (*lɔk lɔk >) *klɔk container.

- A: (Palaungic, Aslian, Katuic) Kensiu, Temiar *lɔg*, Semelai *luuk* *quiver*, Bru *ʔalɔʔ* *section of bamboo (container)*; ~ Palaung *səɔʔ* *cup*, Lawa Umphai *ralok* *skull*.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Middle Mon *tlɔk* /*klɔk*/ [*tinder-*] *box*, Modern Mon *klɔk* [*pɔn*] [*lime-*] *casket*, Khmer *khɭak* *small tubular container with lid*, Riang-Lang *ʔklɔk* *cup, bowl*, Praok *klɔk* *valley*, Mường *tróc* *head* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207), Mah Meri *hluk* *quiver*; → Thai *klàk*, Shan *kɔk* *cup, bowl*, → Praok *kɔk* *cup, bowl*; ~ (**kmlɔk* >) Kuy (*k*)*blɔʔ* *brains, fontanel*, (~?) Bahnar *kəɔk*, *kəɔʔ* *container made from split bamboo-joint* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Stieng *rəklɔ:k* *brains*.
- Cf. Khasi *khlieh* *head*, with unexplained vocalism (but note Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., *khlou*). ~ B34 **[pɔ]k* *quiver*. ?Connect Iban *telak* *bamboo cup with lid*.

427 *lɔ[]k tadpole.

- A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *[kon]* *lòk lɔk*; ~ (**.nlɔ[]k* >) Vietnamese [*con nòng*] *nọc*.
- Cf. Palaung *əglo* (MILNE 1931).

428 *lɔk; *lɔk to dye.

- A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Middle Mon *lɔk*, Modern Mon *lòk* *to paint (on)*, (B) Kuy *là:ʔ* *to dye*; ~ (A/B) Middle Mon *lwɔk* *dyed material*; ~ Literary Mon *calɔk*, (A) Khmer *crəlùək* *to dip into liquid, dye*.
- Connection obscure Riang-Lang *_ruak* *to dye, paint*.

(**lɔk* see also 855 **lɔc* *penis*.)

429 *luk stone.

- A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre *lu* (!), Biat *luʔ*; ~ Semang *bālog* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 462).

430 *luk; *luuk to have a hole in, make a hole in.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon *lɔk* *to be torn, punctured*, Bru *luʔ* *to be torn, have hole in*, Nancowry *kalók* *to pierce*.
- B: (South Bahnaric) Biat *lo:k* *to make a hole in*.
- Connect 2069 **luh* *to pierce*?

431 *laik luk; *laik luuk; *laik luək flashing, lightning.

- A, B, C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *lɔɔʔ* *sheet lightning* (MILNE 1931) (C), Riang-Lang *_lak _lɔk* (*flash of*) *lightning* (A), by vocalic assimilation perhaps following metathesis Khasi *leileih* *lightning*, by inversion (B) Biat [*ko:ɲ*] *lo:k* [*ko:ɲ*] *la:k* *firefly*; so ~ Lawa Umphai *pluk plak* *lightning* (& Mae Sariang *puk plak*, Lawa Bau Luang *puk pleak*).
- Connect 444a **pliik* &c. *to flash, flicker*; & cf. 421a **laik* *fluttering creature*.

432 *luuk; *luək to touch, explore manually.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **l̥ək** to touch, come in contact with, collide with, Khmer **l̥ək** to reach out one's hand, Chrau **luːʔ** to grope in holes for [fish] (contaminated by **438 *gl[ɔ̌]k?**).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **l̥əːʔ** to grope in holes for [fish]; → Cham **lwaʔ** to insinuate (oneself); ~ Stieng **cə̀lək** to try temperature of water with finger. (SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

433 *klak blocked, blind.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Mon **klək** to be filled in, closed, blind, Kammu-Yuan **luək** to be blind, Riang-Lang **ṽklak** to be hard, stubborn (?), Khasi **[mat]lah** (compounding form) blind [person].

Connect perhaps Jeh **ʔloːk**, Halang **ʔloak** blind (< *k/p/luək?). But connection dubious Praok **duk** blind; or Bahnar **klik** deaf. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

434 *klək navel.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kloʔ**, Chrau, Biat **kləʔ**, Bahnar **klək**; → Stieng **kləː** by interdialectal borrowing.

(SHAFFER 1965 334c; SMITH 1972 280.)

(*klək see also **426 *lək** container.)

435 *kləək to spill over.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ Khmer **krələːk** to spill over, be displaced; ~ (*kpləək > ?) Khasi **phaloh** to spill, splash over (& by secondary derivation **kynphlok** (!) to spray [water]?).

Connection dubious Mon **kələk** to splash about, be scattered.

436 *kl[uə]k white.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **kl̥ək**, Bateg Nong **hal̥ək**; ~ Palaung **bləʔ** (?), < *kml[uə]k; or ad **369a *kḍək**; ~ Kuy **pluːʔ** grey [hair], Bru **pl̥uaʔ** (< *-ḍək?).

Add perhaps Khasi **lieh** (then compounding form, < *klək with secondary lengthening).

437 *gnlak uneven [ground].

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[hələk]** **hən̄ək**, Khmer **[kùənl̥ək]-kùənl̄ək**.

438 *glək to insert hand into or remove from hole.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **kl̥ək gl̥ək** to take out with hand, insert hand, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khl̥ək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V51), Riang-Lang **klək [ṽthəŋ]** to pluck out, gouge out (→ Shan **kh̥ək** to pry out), Khasi **kl̥oh** to push hand into hole.

Cf. Stieng **glu:k** (< ***glæk**) *to uproot tree for transplanting*.

439 *gluk to tap repeatedly.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **klok** *to tap, rap*; ~ Old Mon **girluk** ?/gərlu:k/ *to beat [drum]*, Khmer **krəlùk** *to pat in, knead*.

440 *cla[a]k piece of roofing material.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Old Mon **clāk** /claik/ *shingle*, Modern Mon **klaik** *wedge*, Bahnar **hla:k** *quantifier for pieces of thatch, fields, flat things*, ? Bru **sule:ʔ** *wall of bamboo twill* (then *-aik); ~ (?; ***cmla[a]k** > ?) West Bahnar **məna:k** *piece of thatch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

441 *jlək (& *jlæk?) to be choked, stifled.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Aslian) Mon **klāk** *to be stifled*, Khmer **chlùək** *to be choked, suffocated*, (?; then variant >) Semelai **jələ:k** *smoke*.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 300.)

(***tlak** see 322 ***[l]tak** *to hammer... .*)

441a *t₁la[a]k intestines.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:k**; ~ Chrau **təla:ʔ**.
(SMITH 1972 288.)

442 *t₁luk; *t₁luuk; *t₁luək; *t₁lək dirty.

A: (Khmuic, Khmer, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **rùk** (!) *dirt*, perhaps Khmer **thlok** *puddle*, Kuy **loʔ** *wallow*.
B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru **nlò:ʔ** *mud*, Bahnar **tro:k** *mud* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***t₁bluuk** by levelling > ?) **tətro:k** *to get mud on, soil* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **ruak** *dirt, to be dirty, foul, unclean*; ~ (***t₁bluək** by levelling >) Riang-Lang **təkruak** *to defile*, (or ~ ***t₁mluək** > ?) Vietnamese in compounds **trọc** *to be impure, muddy*.
D: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klak** *to be dirty, dusty*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khlək** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V53); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prələk** *soiled, to soil* (~ ***plak** < ***t₁plək**).

Cf. Mon **hlak** *to be dirty*, probably contaminated by **hlak** *mud* < 482 ***lhək**.

443 *[d₁]lak good.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Jeh **lak** *healthy* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **laʔ**, Riang-Lang **rak** *to be good*.
Or ***lak**, if Riang-Lang contaminated by 391 ***r[a]k** *to love... .* Distinguish 193 ***ləʔ**.

444 *dlɔk kind of creeper.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [cɔk] klòk *Willoughbeia edulis* Roxburgh, Khmer thlò:k
Parinarium species, with edible nut.

444a *pliik; *pliək to flash, flicker.

A: (Khmer) Khmer phle:k bright, twinkling.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang [puk] pleak lightning, Khasi phliah sparkle of fire.

Connect 431 *laik luk &c. *flashing, lightning*; & cf. 421a *laik *fluttering creature*.

445 *pliik; *klip (& *kliip?) shoulder.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *pnliik >) Stieng pəli:k, Sre pəni, Chrau pəni:?, Biat mli:k.

B: (Palaungic) Praok klip (< *kliip?), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang klep.

Direction of metathesis undetermined.

446 *plak; *pla[a]k side.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese in compounds trắc.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ̀plak side, direction, fraction, Praok plak side, direction, half; perhaps by back-formation ~ Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang lak side.

Probably by metathesis 352 *lpak &c. ...*split in two*; cf. there Praok pak; Old Mon lunpek.

*447 *pla[a]k sole, palm.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ̀plak.

Proto-Austronesian *palag' palm: Toba Batak palak, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 350.

(*plək see 353 *[l]pək to open.)

448 *pluk pigeon.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng pluk large wild pigeon, Chrau plu? kind of small bird (→ Sre [ntə:p] plu pigeon?), Bru [cɛ:m] plù? pigeon; ~ (*kuən pluk by contraction >) Khmer kəmphlɔk pigeon.

(SHAFFER 1965 334.)

449 *[blak] blak nightjar.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [həcem] əplək nightjar, Khmer pəplək kind of nocturnal bird.

450 ***bluk**; ***bluək** *tusk, ivory*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **phlùk**, Stieng **bluk**, Lawa Umphai **phlok**.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **phlùəʔ**.

Cf. **225** *[**m**]laʔ. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 126 (a).)

451 ***rlaak**; ***rlaik** *to split, divide*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **làiik** *to split [bamboo] into fibres*, Khmer **rəlè:k** *to divide up, share out* (B; → Cham **ralaik**), Biat **rla:k** *to divide up*, (~?) Khasi **thlieh** (B) *to split*; ~ Sre **tərla:** *piece of bamboo from which fibres have been split* (DOURNES 1950; A).

452 ***sliaək** *to put round lower part of body*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **sliaək** *to put on [lower garment]*; ~ (***snliaək** >) Bahnar dialects **sənək** *(to put on) man's lower garment* (GUESDON 1930).

Connection dubious **453** ***sl[u]k**.

452a ***snlak** (& ***snlaak**?) *joint*.

A: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **sənlak** *joint*, Central Nicobarese **henla:kə-** *[shoulder] joint* (& **okla:kə** *joint*; < variant?).

Connection uncertain Biat **rpak**.

***453** ***sl[u]k** *to put on, wear*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **sluk**, **slok** /**sluuk**/, Central Sakai **lok**; → Karo Batak **seluk**.

Connection dubious **452** ***sliaək**; but cf. **762** ***sləəŋ**. Note also Bahnar **hruk** & Bru **saruəʔ** (perhaps < ***srluuk**); ← Indonesian?

Proto-Austronesian ***t'a[y/r]uk** (Mon-Khmer implies *-y-): Malay **sarok** *putting one's foot down into [sarong]*, &c. (BLUST 1972 no. 70).

454 ***wik**; ***wək** *to shake, wave*.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer **vùk** *to s. up, mix up, stir*; (or B) ~ Mon **kəwak** *to wave*; ~ Mon **həwək** *to wave, wag, shake, worry*, Khmer **gravik** *to shake, disturb* (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **vuk** [**vət**] *to shake*; ~ Khasi **kaweh** *to wave, wag, fan, sway*.

455 ***wiik** (& ***wiək**?) *nightjar*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **wè:k** *kind of parrot*, Sre **wi:**, Bahnar dialects [**sɛ:m**] **wik** (& **wè:k**, < variant?) *nightjar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Khmer **khvaek** *night heron, Nycticorax griseus* is onomatopoeic & not connected. (BLOOD 1966 225, owl; correct to *fern-owl*, i.e. *nightjar*?)

456 *[]waik *ladle, spoon*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Khmer *vè:k ladle, dipper*, Kuy (ʔa:)wè:ʔ *ladle*, Bru ʔawè:ʔ *spatula*, Stieng *ue:k spoon*, Chrau *ua:ʔ wooden spoon*, Bahnar *wa:k to draw, dip up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang *āweg spoon* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 397); (?) → Cham (a)wa:ʔ, Jarai *awaʔ*, Rōglai *awa:*, Acehnese *awöəʔ rice-ladle*, perhaps → Vietnamese *vá*; ~ Biat *rwa:k ladle, dipper*; ~ Stieng *kua:k*, Sre *kua to remove mash from empty wine-jar* (DOURNES 1950).

Vocalism against Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, so if Cebuano Bisayan *luwag, lúwag ladle* &c. are connected, Austric!

457 *waik *larva, worm*.

A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *wà:k (intestinal) worm*, Palaung *vaʔ insect, caterpillar, grub*, Praok *vək worm*, Lawa Bo Luang Lawa Umphai *wuak kinds of insect*, Khasi *wieh earthworm*.

(*[]wək see 866 *[]wəc to cut, reap.)

458 *wək *bent round*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon [wèn] *wòk to be crooked, deformed*, Praok [kək] *vək to be crooked*, Riang-Lang *wək to be curved, slightly bent*, Khasi *woh to hook, fasten with a hook*, Tembi *wṣṣkⁿ bent, crooked* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (c)); ~ Khmer [krəvək]-*krəvək zigzag*, Bahnar *gəwək to be hooked, to hook*, Palaung *kəvəʔ iron hook* (MILNE 1931), Khasi *kyrwoh link, ring*.

Cf. 286 *(k)ṇək *bent, crooked*; B35 *p[u]k *lame, crippled*.

(*[]w[uə]k see 866 *[]wəc to cut, reap.)

459 *kwak *to hang (up)*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *kwak v.i.t.*, Modern Mon *kwək*, Kammu-Yuan *wak v.t.*, Palaung *hvaʔ v.i.*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *wok*, Mae Sariang *wuk*, Khasi *wah* (& *tawah* by secondary derivation), Mường *quắc v.t.* (BARKER 1966 18); → Cham *waʔ to hang [hammock]*; ~ (*kmwak >) Vietnamese *mắc v.t.*

Connected further Vietnamese *ngoặc hook*.

460 *kwuuk; *kwuək *to claw*.

A: (Mon) Mon *kək to stick one's nails into* (< Old Mon **kwūk*, as *toṇ castor-oil tree* < *twon*; → Burmese *khup to strike with paw?*).

B: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy *wəʔ to scratch, claw*, Bru *kuwəʔ* (implies *-ək!), Khasi *khwoh to pull with hook or claws*.

(*t₁rwiək see 774 *t₁rwiəŋ *potsherd*.)

461 *twa[a]k *kind of palm.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **twa:ʔ** *fan-palm*, Bahnar **tua:k** *kind of palm* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

If Khmer **thva:k** *curving outwards* is cognate, *-aak.

462 *swa[a]k *to walk, travel.*

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Palaung **vaʔ** (!) *to pass by, through, over*, Semelai **suwak** *to walk*, ?Nancowry **ʔukwák** *to step on*.

Cf. **A83 *cwaat** *to step*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 43.)

463 *saak *form, characteristic.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **sāk** /**saik**/ *colour*, Modern Mon **saik** *colour, kind, sort*, Khmer **sa:k** *shape, form*.

†464 *saak; *saik *to skin, peel.*

A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kuy **sa:ʔ** *to remove [bark &c.] by prying up* (A), Bahnar **tsa:k** *to peel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **tườc** (A) *to skin, peel*, Praok **hak** *skin, leather*, Lawa **hak** *skin*; ~ (***spaik** >) Khmer **sbaek** (→ Kuy **sbe:ʔ**, Stieng **səbe:k**) *skin*; ~ (B) Khasi **snieh** *skin, leather*.

Cf. **466 *sɔɔk**.

(SHAFER 1965 334a.)

Sora **sa:-** *to peel off* (v.t.), **sʔa:-** v.i.

465 *saik; *siək *to split, cleave, tear.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **tách** *to split, divide*; ~ Old Mon **snāk** /**snaik**/, Modern Mon **hnaik** *two-edged sword*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Jeh **siak** *to tear* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); (or A?) ~ Khasi **shniah** *chisel*.

Add perhaps (i) in part Mon **saik** *to tear* (*in two, up* (**sāk**; otherwise < **404 *craak** &c.); (ii) Bahnar **tsɛ:k** *to divide up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), otherwise < **291 *ciək**; (iii) Riang-Lang **hak** *to break, split, smash* (v.i.), otherwise < **472 *haak** &c.

466 *sɔɔk *to peel.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **sɔk** *to peel, skin*, Khmer **sɔ:k** *to peel, remove bark, to slough*, Kuy **sa:ʔ** *slough, to slough*; ~ Mon **hənok** *peel, rind, bark, shell, slough*, Khmer **sɔmmɔ:k** *slough, [onion-] skin, [bamboo-] sheath*; ~ Khmer **sɔmbɔ:k**, (→?) Kuy **mphùəʔ** *skin, bark, shell, husk*, Kammu-Yuan **həmpɔ:k** *bark*; ~ (***smɔɔk** >) Chrau **mɔ:ʔ** *bark*, Bahnar **hmɔ:k** *thick bark of certain trees*; ~ (***srsɔɔk** >) Biat **rchɔ:k** *[egg]shell*; ~ (***sɔk** >) Bru **sɔʔ** *to peel*.

Cf. 464 *saak &c.; 347 *pɔək. Note also (i) Khasi *khoh* to skin, peel, perhaps ← Tibeto-Burman (*kwāk, BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 342 & n. 229; cf. e.g. Lushei *khok*), but conceivably < *skɔək by metathesis < *ksɔək < *sɔək sɔək; (ii) Karo, Toba Batak *suak* broken off, *uak* to come away, peel away; suggesting Proto-Austronesian *(t'-)[]uak ~ *p-[]uak = *puak : Proto-Mon-Khmer *pɔək. (SCHMIDT 1905 14; cf. SMITH 1972 293.)

†467 *suk; *suuk; *suək; *sək hair.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Old Khmer *suk* (or D?), Sre *soʔ*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar *sək*, Jeh *suk* (!), Halang *sok*, Palaung *huʔ*, Riang-Lang *huk*, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *hawuk*, Lawa Umphai *hawuk*, Kensiu *sək*, Temiar *so:g*, Semelai *suk*; ~ (*snuuk >) Danaw *ɲok*, Khasi *shñiuh* /ʃnuʔ/, *ñiuh*.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon *sok* /sok/, Modern Mon *sok*, Stieng *sɔ:k* (or D?; beside *cɔ:k*, see there), Praok *haək*, Vietnamese *tóc*; ~ Chrau *sənɔ:ʔ* body hair (contaminated by A24 *tpn[ɔ:k]); ~ (? , *srsuək by metathesis > *sruək >) Central Nicobarese *yɔ:k*, Teressa-Bompoka, Chowra *he:ək* hair.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer *sək* (→ Chrau?), Kuy *sɔʔ*, Biat *chək* (→ Stieng, rare, *cɔ:k*?), Mường *thắc* (BARKER 1966 18).

Sre vocalism apparently post-dental (as North Bahnaric, cf. 335a *đuuk); Praok suggests secondary *suək.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32; SHAFER 1965 252; BLOOD 1966 269; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 1.)

Sora *uʔu:-n*, (compounding form) *u:-n*, Kharia *sɔ(?)*- (PINNOW 1959 143; Proto-Munda *sok).

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *buSuk (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, *bu^cuk; cf. DYEN 1965; BLUST 1969 p. 91 n.; SHORTO 1976 n. 10).

468 *suk; *suuk; *suək placenta.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *sok*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon *sək*, Sre *so:* (→ Röglai).

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *sɔ:ʔ* womb; ~ (*srsuək >) Biat *rchɔ:k* [kɔ:n] placenta.

Cf. Khasi *sieh* (< *sək?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

468a *trsik; *trsək kind of cucurbitaceous plant.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *rəsi:k* small yellow kind of cucumber, Chrau [rəpuŋ] *sic* musk-melon, Biat [plai] *rchiʔ* water-melon.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *trəsək* cucumber.

469 ***[t]sa[a]k** to wash.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **tsāk** to wash [clothes] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa **sak** to wash; ~ (***[t]psa[a]k** >) Palaung **pha?** to scour with sand (MILNE 1931), Praok **phak** to wash [cups], Lawa Bo Luang **phak** to wash.

470 ***hak**; ***haak** to vomit.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ha?** vomiting, Bahnar **hak** to vomit.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang **ha:k** to vomit.

Cf. 474 ***hɔk**; 473 ***hə(ə)k** sated; 476 ***khaak** &c. to hawk and spit.

(SMITH 1972 273; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

471 ***hak**; (***hak hak** >) ***khak**; ***hək**; ***khək** to catch, stick, to have something stuck in throat.

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **khək** to snag on, catch, stick, stick in mud, Palaung **ha?**, **hak** to lodge [thorn] in, to have [bone] stuck in throat (MILNE 1931); ~ (***.lhak** >) Bahnar **hlak** to be caught, stuck.

C, D: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **khək** to have sth. stuck in throat, choke, Kuy, Bru with secondary lengthening **ha:?** to have [bone] stuck in throat & 474?

472 ***haak**; ***haik**; ***hiək**; ***hiik** to tear, split.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Northern Aslian, ?Palaungic) (B) Khmer **haek** to tear, to lacerate (→ Stieng **hɛ:k** to tear, cut), Kuy **hɛ:?** to tear, to force open, (A) Sre **ha:** [wood] to split, (A/B) Biat **ha:k** to split (v.i.), Bahnar **ha:k** to split (v.t), pull apart, open wide (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **hak** (or < 465 ***saik?**) to break, split, smash (v.i.), Semang **haek** to tear (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 32); → Thai **hɛ̀ek** to break through, force open, Shan **hāk** to be broken across, to break across; North Röglai **ha:?** ripped; ~ (***ch-** >) Mon **chàik** (!) to claw, scratch (with chest register by expressive deformation), (B) Khmer **chaek** to cut up; forked, split, cut up (→ Thai **chʰɛ̀ek** indented, serrated, bifurcated), (A) Vietnamese **xước** to be scratched; ~ (B) Kuy **rhɛ:?** to be torn, (A/B; ~?) Chrau **təha:?** to split, divide; → Cham **taha:?** torn, Röglai **trəha** to split, to get torn; ~ Riang-Lang **hakhak** to break in pieces, smash (or ad ***saik**).

C: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **hɛ:k** to tear; ~ Chrau **təhɛ:k** torn, worn.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **hɛ:c** (? → Bahnar **hɛ:c** broken in pieces (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)), Biat **hɛ:k** torn; ~ (***hiik hiik** > ***khiik** >) Biat **khe:k** torn, Praok **khik** [phuay] pieces, fragments.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20, 28; SHAFER 1965 329.)

473 ***hək**; ***həək** sated.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **hɔ?** [hə:m].

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **hu?**.

Connect following & 470 ***ha(a)k** to vomit? Cf. 1424 ***həəm**.

‡474 ***hɔɔk** to vomit.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Biat **hɔ:k**, Chrau **hɔ:ʔ**.

Cf. 470 ***ha(a)k**; & preceding; 271 ***kʔɔk** to cough.

(BLOOD 1966 72.)

[Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[aə]k:] Malay *m-uak* nauseating, revolting, Rōglai **oʔ** to vomit, &c. (cf. BLUST 1971 no. 340; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***huk** see 267 ***ʔuk** to pour out.)

475 ***huək**; ***ʔuək** brains.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hɔʔ**; ~ (***huək huək** > ***khuək** >) Riang-Lang **khuak**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Vietnamese **óc**; ~ Biat **ɲɔ:k** (or A?), Bahnar **ʔɲɔ:k**.

Cf. Khmer **khuə** *khuər* [kba:l]; by interdialectal borrowing from unrecorded source? (SMITH 1972 292.)

(***khak** see 471 ***hak** to catch, stick... .)

476 ***khaak**; ***khaik** to hawk and spit.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon **khaik**, (B) Khmer **khaek**, (A) **kha:k**, Kuy (!), (A/B) Bahnar **kha:k** to hawk, clear the throat; → Thai **kʰàak** to hawk and spit; ~ Khmer **kəmha:k**, **kəmhaek** phlegm, (A/B) Kammu-Yuan **kəmhá:k** phlegm, to hawk and spit; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Biat **runha:k** phlegm (~ ***rha:k** < **krh-**); (ii; A) Khasi **kyrkha** phlegm, to clear the throat.

Bahnar **gahak** to spit in disdain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) & Vietnamese **khạc** to spit are ← Cham **kàha:k** < *[g]aqa[kg], a Proto-West-Indonesian variant (cf. Karo Batak **kahak** phlegm) ?Contamination by Mon-Khmer of Proto-Austronesian ***daSak** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, ***da^cak**). Onomatopoeic. Cf. 470 ***ha(a)k** to vomit; & see BENEDICT 1975 257, cough, which compares Proto-Austronesian ***kukak**. (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(***khək** see 471 ***hak** ...to have something stuck in throat.)

477 ***chaik** wet.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **jhie** (& **jhih**); ~ (***cnhaik** >) Riang-Lang **ɲak**.

Connect by metathesis 795 ***kʔaac**.

478 ***chɔɔk** rice straw.

A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon **chɔk** **chǎk**; ~ Kuy **ɲcha:ʔ**.

479 *[c]huk; *[c]huək to go up.

- A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *xóc* to lift [prone person], set on feet, (~?)
 Praok **haok**, Lawa Bo Luang **hoak**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **haok** to go up.
 B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **həʔ** to go up.
 Palaungic **h-** (suggesting *jh-) also ad **253** *chaʔ.

(*chuək see **272** *cʔuk corner; *t₂hiik see **273** *t₂iik to sob... .)

480 *thak; *thək to pant, sob.

- A: (Mon) Literary Mon **thak** [kluɪ cuip] [to come] in haste; ~ (*tnhak >) Mon **kəhək** to pant.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat [ɲum] **thək** to sob, to swallow the wrong way; ~ (*tnhak >) Literary Mon [yuim] **samnuik** (!; implying *kəhak) to breathe audibly, pant, Khmer **dəŋhək** to be out of breath.
 Originally probably onomatopoeic. Cf. **273** *t₂iik &c. to sob... .

480a *[t]hək to pour (out).

- A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) Kuy **thəʔ** to pour, tip out, Bru **thn:ʔ** (implies *-ɔək?), Stieng **tɔ:k!** to pour, Biat **tɔʔ!** to pour out, water (contaminated by **2002** *tuh &c.), Palaung **thəʔ** to pour (or, as Riang-Lang **thək**, ← Shan **thɔk?**), Khasi **theh** to pour, spill.
 Cf. Proto-Southwestern Tai *thook (BENEDICT 1975 358, pour out; not Thai); & **267** *ʔuk &c., *huk.

481 *phɔək; *pʔɔək fish-paste.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric; ~ *prhɔək >) Mon **hərək** fish-paste, Khmer **prahak** grey fish-paste (GUESDON 1930; usually **prəhok**, **prəhùək!**), (by expressive deformation *mrhɔək >?) Kuy **mphrə:ʔ**, Stieng **brəhɔ:k** fish-paste.
 B: (Khmer) Khmer **phʔɔ:k** milder-smelling red kind of fish-paste; ~ **pra'ak** fish-paste (GUESDON 1930).
 B perhaps contaminated by **275** *prʔɔək thorn (Stieng, Biat fish-bone). Khmer **prəhùək** < *prhək? **prəhok** obscure; cf. perhaps Vietnamese **mắm ruốc** (< *prhuək?). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 23.)

(*[b]huk see **368** *ʔuk rotten, mouldy.)

482 *lhək mud.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **lhuk** /lhək/, Modern Mon **hlak**, Proto-Nyah Kur *ləhuk (DIFFLOTH 1984 N226; implies *-[u]k?); ~ Stieng **ləmhɔ:k**; ~ (*lphək > ; or =?) Khmer **phùək** (→ Thai **pùak**; rather than : **A26** *[b]ɔk).
 (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 23; BENEDICT 1975 277, earth... .)

(*ʔiŋ see **492** *diʔuŋ house.)

482a *ʔiəŋ happy, well.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre iəŋ happy, [a]ʔiəŋ [un]happy, homesick, Biat [lbut] iəŋ homesick, Khasi eng-eng sound and healthy.

483 *ʔeəŋ self, oneself.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon 'iñ oneself, Khmer ʔəəŋ self, oneself, this very, Kuy ʔe:ŋ (one)self, alone, Stieng i:ŋ oneself, alone, individual (≠ other, different, < 490 *[c]ʔiiŋ), Biat e:ŋ in person, alone.

Distinguish I (e.g. Bahnar iŋ), for which see 2 *ʔiiʔ.

†484 *ʔaəŋ to open [mouth], to gape open.

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan à:ŋ, Palaung (MILNE 1931), Praok aŋ, Riang-Lang ʔaŋ to open [mouth], Khasi ang to open, to crack, Besis ang to gape (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (a)), Central Nicobarese [tom]-a:ŋ-[hələ] to open mouth, Nancowry ʔáŋ, tumʔáŋ; ~ Sakai rě-ang mouth (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 199 (c)); ~ Khasi kyr-ang to crack; ~ rynghang (& ryngheng) open, ajar.

Connect 605 *paəŋ mouth, opening?

Sora a(:)ŋ- to open [mouth, eye].

485 *ʔuəŋ; *ʔuəŋ; *huəŋ; *huəŋ wasp, hornet.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre oŋ wasp; (probably, rather than C) → Jarai ho:ŋ, Röglai, North Röglai hoŋ.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Biat ɔ:ŋ hornet, Chrau, Bahnar ɔ:ŋ, Jeh o:ŋ, Halang oəŋ wasp, Kammu-Yuan ɔ:ŋ kind of wasp, Palaung ɔŋ, Riang-Lang ʔuəŋ fossor wasp, Vietnamese ong bee, wasp.

C: (Mon, Aslian) Mon haŋ, Central Sakai hōⁿk hornet.

D: (Katuic) Kuy ha:ŋ kind of hornet.

GUESDON 1930 has Bahnar (h)o:ŋ hornet, wasp; ←/ contaminated by western Malayo Polynesian? Connect 886 *kʔaiŋ &c. (kind of) wasp.

(SMITH 1972 168; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 135.)

486 *kʔəŋ (& *kʔəŋ?) knee.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (*knʔ- >) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang ɲəŋ, Lawa Umphai ɲoŋ, (variant >?) Central Nicobarese [ko:l]-kəno:əŋ, Nancowry kúykanuáŋ (referred kuáŋ to be supported); ~ (*k[p]ʔəŋ >) Old Mon kʔəŋ /kʔəŋ/, Modern Mon bəŋ.

Röglai taʔuŋ is probably < Proto-Chamic *t[ai](S)uŋ shin contaminated by Proto-Austronesian *tusud₁ knee (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144, *[t]u^cud).

(SHAFFER 1965 387.)

487 *cʔaŋ; *cʔaaŋ; *chaŋ; *chain; *cʔiəŋ *chiəŋ to expose to heat.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer ʔaŋ *to roast, to warm oneself*, Kuy ʔaŋ, Bru ʔaŋ, Stieng aŋ *to grill*, Chrau aŋ *to broil, roast*, Khasi s'ang *to roast, toast*; ~ Mon hæŋ *to warm, dry, at fire, to toast*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [rəmʔòk] rəmʔàŋ *burnt, scorched*.
- B: (Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [oŋ]-a:ŋ *to cook [meat, fish]*, Nancowry ʔuŋʔáŋ *to boil*, ʔuŋsəŋ *to cook* (or 524?); ~ (*cnʔaaŋ >) Mường náng (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese nướng *to roast, toast*.
- C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [əŋ]-[hələ] *to reheat [food]*.
- D: (Katuic, Bahnaric) ~ (*cnhaiŋ >) Kuy ŋhə:ŋ *to put close to fire*, Biat nha:ŋ *dried [fish]*; ~ (*cphaiŋ >) Bahnar pha:ŋ *to warm, dry, at fire, to roast; dry season*, Jeh pha:ŋ, Halang pəha:ŋ *to roast*; by back-formation (?) ~ Jeh ha:ŋ *to feel heat of fire* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
- E: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ (? , *crʔiəŋ >) Biat crə:ŋ *to warm oneself [in sun]*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar tə:ŋ *to warm in sun or at fire* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- F: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar təhə:ŋ *to warm oneself at fire* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- E-F by secondary palatalization, cf. 403 *crak &c. Besis cho'ong *to burn, bake* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)) is probably rather < 524 *cəŋ *to set light to*.
(SMITH 1972 158.)

†488 *cʔaaŋ; *cʔaiŋ; *cʔi[]ŋ bone.

- A, B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Khmer [chʔɿŋ] chʔaəŋ (*bare*) bones (B), Kammu-Yuan cəʔá:ŋ, Palaung kəʔaŋ, Praok siʔaŋ, Lawa saʔaŋ, (B) Khasi sh'ieng, (A) Vietnamese xương, (A/B) Temiar jəʔa:k, Semelai jəʔaŋ *bone*; ~ (*cnʔ- >) Kuy ŋha:ŋ (A), Palaung kənʔaŋ, Riang-Lang ʔənʔaŋ *bone*.
- C: (Khmer, Khasi, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer chʔɿŋ, Khasi sh'ing, 'ing, Kensiu ʔiʔiŋ, Central Nicobarese [oŋ]-eŋ, Nancowry ʔuŋʔiŋ (referred ʔiŋ *hard*).
- C secondary.
(SHAFFER 1965 277a, 370; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 336.)
Sora ə-ja:ŋ-ən, Kharía jaŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 7).

489 *cʔaiŋ to shine, be light.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Stieng a:ŋ *light, to shine; light (n.)*, Biat a:ŋ *light, to shine*, Sre a:ŋ, Bahnar à:ŋ *light* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ánh *beam, ray*, ?Nancowry həŋ *sun*; (— sang) *light*; ~ (*c[r]ʔaiŋ >) Chrau səla:ŋ *light*, Danaw tă_ʔa:ŋ *sky*.
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Kuy je:ŋ, Bru je:ŋ, Chrau yà:ŋ *gold*; & cf. 523 *caŋ *to glitter*, 535 *scaŋ *to shine*.
(SHAFFER 1965 367; BLOOD 1966 275.)

490 *cʔa[i]ŋ; *[c]ʔiiŋ *other*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *cʔāñ* /*cʔaiŋ*/; ~ Modern Mon *həaiŋ*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *i:ŋ*, Biat *e:ŋ*; ~ Biat *rʔe:ŋ*.

B secondary, but not regular, cf. preceding; perhaps contaminated by *alone*, *individual* < 483 *ʔeeŋ.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

491 *t₂ʔɔŋ *tree, wood*.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *səʔɔ:ŋ* *wood*, (*tu:t* —) *tree*; ~ (*t₂ʔɔŋ >) Kuy (*ʔa:*)*lù:ŋ* *wood*, Sre *lon* (!; BLOOD 1966 *lɔ:ŋ*), Stieng, Chrau, Biat *lɔ:ŋ* *firewood*, Bahnar *ʔlɔ:ŋ* *tree, wood*, Jeh *ʔlɔ:ŋ*, Halang *ʔloaŋ*, Semelai *dəlɔ:ŋ* *tree*.

(SHAFFER 1965 229; BLOOD 1966 74; SMITH 1972 167; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207.)

492 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *diʔuŋ > *ɗuŋ, Pre-Khasi *ʔiŋ *house*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy *ɗuŋ*, Bru *ɗɔŋ*, Khasi *üŋ*, Central Sakai *dök*, Semai *ɗuŋ* (TAUERN 1914).

Kuy excludes *ɗ₂uŋ. Cf. Laqua **nd[ia]ŋ* *house*; proto Thai **thiaŋ* *hut*..., BENEDICT 1975 319.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (a).)

493 *[b]ʔooŋ; *[b]hoŋ *dry*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Semang *ba'ong* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 177); ~ Biat *nʔo:ŋ* *to dry [over fire]*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *hɔŋ* *to be dry, dried, to dry*, Riang-Lang *ṭhɔŋ* *to dry v.i.*; → Shan *hón* *to dry v.i.*

493a *mʔuŋ; *mʔəŋ *to await, expect*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre (→ Röglai) *moŋ* *to intend to, be about to*, Palaung *muŋ* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *mɔŋ* *to hope (for), expect*, Praok *maŋ* *to look up*; → Shan *mɔŋ* *to hope (for), expect* (& *muŋ* *to look for, watch for?*).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer *ɔŋ* *to wait, rest, briefly*, Kuy *mùŋ* *to expect*, Biat *mʔəŋ* *to intend to, be about to*; (*tə:m* — *nap*) *facing*.

(*riʔaaŋ see 276 *riʔaak *to open*... .)

494 *lʔiəŋ(?) (& *lhiəŋ(?)) *to slant, be skewed*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Khmer *lʔiəŋ* *out of the vertical, sloping* (→ Thai *iaŋ*), Khasi *r'eng* *propped up on one side*, (variant >?) Vietnamese *hiếng* *to squint*, Bru *ʔi:ŋ* *leaning against* (< *-iŋ?); ~ (*lnʔiəŋ >) Mon *həeaŋ*, Vietnamese *ngghiêng* *to be out of the vertical*.

Cf. Khmer *kŋiəŋ* *bent to one side*; & 759 *sliŋ &c. *to be tilted, to squint*.

‡495 *k[]uŋ kiəŋ *small hornbill*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Sre **kiouŋ kian** *small hornbill*, *Anthracoceros albirostris* (→ Röglai ?), Chrau **ku:ŋkiəŋ** *kind of hornbill*, Bru **rake:ŋ** *Anthracoceros albirostris*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **kəŋiaŋ** *small hornbill*.

Sre **kiouŋ** by chiming deformation? Connect Khmer **kə:ŋ ke:ŋ**, **ke:ŋ kə:ŋ** *kind of hornbill*; North Röglai **balakiak** (< *-ŋ) *kind of hornbill*.

(Proto-Austronesian *k/al/iŋkiŋ >) Malay [**burong**] *kēlengking*.

‡496 *kaŋ; *kaaŋ; *kaiŋ[]; *kiəŋ; *kaik (& *kaak?) *transverse, to branch, stretch horizontally*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Nancowry **kāŋ** *to (form a) cross*; ~ Old Mon **knañ** /**knaŋ**/ [**ko'**] *collar-bone*, Modern Mon **neŋ** *crosspiece*; ~ (***crkaŋ** >) Kuy (c)**kaŋ** *purlin*, Sre **rəkaŋ** *roof-timber, roof*, Biat **rkaŋ** *breadth; transverse, across*.

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Khmer **ka:ŋ** *to spread [wings], stretch [arms] sideways*, Kuy **ka:ŋ** *to stretch out (v.t.)* (B), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **kaŋ** *side; to spread*, (C; ~?) Mường **kenh** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **cánh** *wing* (also **canh**, BARKER & BARKER 1976; & Mường **kènh**, BARKER 1966 20, Vietnamese **cành** *branch*, by arbitrary differentiation?); ~ Middle Mon **knāñ** (beside **tnāñ**, which separate; merged in) Modern Mon **naŋ** *branch*, Khmer **khnaeŋ** (C) *in the shape of a cross; side-shoot, bud, twig* (GUESDON 1930), (?) Sakai **kěning** [**luukⁿ**] *branch* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 207), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **ngang** *to be horizontal. level, to be wide; across* (B), Vietnamese **ngánh** (& **ngành!**; C) *branch (of river &c.)*; ~ Khmer **chka:ŋ** *to crucify* (B), Stieng **cⁿka:ŋ** *cross*; ~ Chrau **təka:ŋ** *main beam*.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **pyngkiang** *crosswise*.

E: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Palaung **ka?** [**he**], Riang-Lang **ʔkak**, Praok, Lawa **kak** *branch*; ~ Vietnamese **ngách** = **ngánh**; (? , ***knaak** >) Khasi **knañ** (!) *cross-stick in bird-trap, scaffold*.

(SHAFFER 1965 344.)

Proto-Austronesian ***kaŋkaŋ**: Malay **kangkang** *straddling...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 74; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note ***t'ə(N)kaŋ** *crossbar*, BLUST 1971 no. 397; ***t'akaŋ** *bow-legged, straddling*, ib. no. 373; ***t'ikaŋ** [*legs*] *wide apart*, ib. no. 404, Proto-Hesperonesian. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 62.)

Cf. with E Tibeto-Burman ***kaⁿk** *fork, branch*, BENEDICT 1972 71 no. 327.

496a *[]kaŋ (& *[]ka[a]ŋ?) *to demarcate, fence*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **ka:ŋ** (& **taka:ŋ**, **ta-** reciprocal; < variant?) *to demarcate ricefields*, Biat **kaŋ** (— **nhar**) *to demarcate*, (— **rdɔl**) *to block [path]*, Bahnar **kán** *field boundary marker* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **kán** *to block [road]*; ~ Bahnar **cəkán** *to demarcate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Add perhaps (***krnaŋ**, originally n., >) Middle Mon **kanan** *square compartment, to divide into square compartments*, Modern Mon **kənɛŋ** (*line in*) *check pattern. To block by attraction* 785 ***ghaŋ**, which compare.

497 *kaaŋʔ chin, jaw.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre, Chrau **ka:ŋ jaw**, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ka:ŋ chin, jaw**, Mường **cáng chin** (BARKER 1966 25); → Jarai **ka:ŋ**, Rōglai **kak**, North Rōglai **ka:k jaw**.

Connect Kuy **khì:ŋ chin** (contaminated by 1318 ***dgaam**, which compare?); South Nicobarese **ka:ŋən tooth**. Thai has **kʰaaŋ chin**, with cognates widely distributed in Thai-Kadai (BENEDICT 1975 321, *jaw*; ***g-**); cf. here Rōglai **bələw khaŋ beard**. (BLOOD 1966 299; SMITH 1972 154.)

498 *kɔŋ; *kɔɔŋ; *kɔ[]k ring-shaped artefact.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kɔŋ**, Kuy **kaŋ**, (→?) Biat **kɔŋ wheel**, Sre **koŋ ring**; ~ Kuy **ŋkaŋ bracelet**.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer **kan** (&/or A?), Modern Khmer **kɔ:ŋ bracelet, anklet, circle, ring; to make a circle**, Stieng **kɔ:ŋ (rim of) wheel**, Sre **ko:ŋ bracelet**, Biat **ko:ŋ bracelet, ring**, Chrau, Bahnar **kɔ:ŋ bracelet, metal collar**, Jeh **ko:ŋ bracelet**; → Cham **kɔ:ŋ**, North Rōglai **ko:k bracelet**, Rōglai **ko:k ring**; ~ Halang **həkoaŋ bracelet**.

C: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kək bracelet, anklet**, Palaung **kɔʔ waistbelt of silver rings**. Connect Lawa Bo Luang **kuaŋ ring**; Biat **khɔŋ spinning-wheel, winder**. Cf. 500 ***koŋ bent**.

(BLOOD 1966 80; SMITH 1972 170.)

499 *kɔɔŋ copper.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ko:ŋ copper** (→ Rōglai), Bahnar **kɔŋ copper, brass, bronze** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Chrau **kaŋ** (contaminated by ***kaŋ** > Sre **[glah] kaŋ small copper cooking-pot?**). (SHAFFER 1965 53.)

***500 *koŋ bent.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **kaŋ to be arched, bent; ribs of boat** (→ Burmese **kuiñ:**), Khmer **kaŋ to bend** (→ Thai **koŋ**), Kuy **kɔ:ŋ bent, crooked**, Palaung **koŋ to droop** (MILNE 1931), Khasi **khong[dong] angle, zigzag**, Vietnamese **cong to bend**.

Cf. further (i) Khmer **koŋ bent**; (ii) 498 ***kɔŋ** &c. *ring-shaped artefact*; (iii) Bahnar **kək bent, humpbacked** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), intensive **kok**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:k curved, (lying) coiled up**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bə(N)kuŋ**: Malay *běngkung* *bent out of shape*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26-7); (ii) ***lə(N)kuŋ**: Acehnese *lōngkong* *curved, arched, curled round*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (iii) ***li(N)kuŋ**: Malay *lengkong* *circular*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 96; Proto-Western-Indonesian). For Proto-Austronesian ***dəkuŋ** see 892 ***kuŋ**. See BENEDICT 1975 231-2.

501 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ *village, settlement*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **kúŋ** *village*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **kuŋ** *town, state*.

(***kuŋ** see also 890 ***k[i]ŋ** *work*.)

502 *kuəŋ; *kwaəŋ *male animal*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **kuəŋ** *male animal*, Palaung [ə]kəŋ *male [bird]*, Mường [kà] *kông* *cock* (CUISINIER 1951); ~ Biat ŋkwəŋ (→ Chrau kwəŋ) *male [animal]*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **kuəŋ** *male [animal]*, *male sexual organs*, Khasi [ʔniang] *kwang* *boar*.

Variation obscure.

(BLOOD 1966 88.)

503 *k[ʷə]ŋ *to dig*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **khúəŋ**! *to dig [ground]*, Palaung **kuəŋ**, Riang-Lang ʔkəŋ, Praok **kaəŋ** *to dig [hole]*, Lawa Bo Luang **koəŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kaəŋ** *to dig*.

Palaung **has also kuəŋ** *to dig up, mine*; suggesting ***kuuŋ** ~ ***kuŋ**. Khmuic **kh-** unexplained; as connected Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese *cuốc* *pickaxe, to dig*.

504 *jkii[ŋ]; *jkiə[ŋ]; *jkai[ŋ] *side, edge*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **kiŋ** *edge, direction*, Biat **ke:ŋ** [mɛ:ŋ], Jeh **ki:ŋ** *edge*; ~ (***jnkii[ŋ]** >) Sre **səkiŋ** *on one's side, to one side*, Chrau **ŋke:ŋ**! *on one's side*, Biat **ŋke:ŋ** *on one's side; to lean over*; by secondary derivation ~ Halang **kəni:ŋ** *edge*.

B: → Röglai **kiaŋ**, **kiak** *side, flank*; ~ → **dəkiaŋ** [to lie] *curled up*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **khè:ŋ** *on one's side, to one side*; ~ **ŋkhè:ŋ** *to tilt, lean*, Bru **sakè:ŋ** *v.t. to tilt*.

Jeh, Halang imply *-ŋ; Chrau (& Hre **keŋ**) then by progressive assimilation? Sre shortening regular. Cf. further Khasi *kynring* *by the side, towards the side*; but connection dubious.

Sora **'sʔe:ŋ-ən** *side, direction* in view of Kharia **si'niŋ** *side, direction*, PINNOW 1959 286. (SMITH 1972 93.)

505 *tk[ɔɔ]ŋ (*nape of*) *neck*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (t)kɑ:ŋ *neck*, Bru takɔ:ŋ, Bahnar kɔ:ŋ [kɔy] *nape of neck, occiput*, Danaw ꞑkɔŋ *neck*.
Connect 17 *kɔʔ &c.

506 *tkuəŋ; *tkəəŋ *stalk*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cuống*; ~ Biat ŋkɔ:ŋ *stalk*, Chrau ŋkɔ:ŋ *quantifier for stalk-like objects*.
B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar akə:ŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 *təkə:ŋ*; beside Jölong *təki:ŋ*).
Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 516 *[t]guəŋ &c.
(SMITH 1972 110.)

507 *giŋ *to row*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon giŋ /gøŋ/, Modern Mon kàŋ, Khasi *king*.

508 *[]gaŋ *stiff, bristling*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer kəəŋ *obstinate, opinionated, bristling, jammed*, Sre gaŋ *stiff, straight, rigid* (DOURNES 1950); → Thai kʰāŋ *obstructive, congested, jammed*; Cham kàŋ *motionless, paralysed*; ~ Bahnar təgaŋ *sticking up, erected* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
Or *dgaŋ? Connect perhaps Malay *rěgang taut*, referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 103 to Proto-Austronesian *[ry]əgaŋ *to grasp* (under the entry 510 *gəŋ &c.). (Cf. SHAFER 1965 107.)

509 *ga[a]ŋ *house*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kà:ŋ, Palaung gaŋ, Riang-Lang _kaŋ.
(SHAFER 1965 26.)

*510 *gəŋ; *guŋ *to grasp*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, South Bahnaric). Old Mon guŋ, goŋ /gøŋ/ (A), /guŋ/ (B), Late Middle Mon -guŋ (A?) *to grasp, take*, Modern Mon kàŋ also *to keep*; ~ Khmer phkùəŋ (A; & phguŋ, GUESDON 1930, B?) *to supply, provide*, Stieng goŋ (B), gəŋ (A) *to hand over [person, animal] as pledge*.

Cf. 516 *[t]guəŋ &c. *stalk, handle*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *pigəŋ: Malay *pegang*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 235; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *pəgaŋ: Malay *pěgang*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 116; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *[ry]əgaŋ: Toba Batak *rogang*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103; Proto-West-Indonesian).

511 *gəŋ sacrifice post.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gəŋ** *sacrifice post*, Jeh **gàŋ**, Halang **gəŋ** *spirit pole*; (probably) → Cham **kàŋ**, Röglai, North Röglai **gək** *post*, Jarai **gəŋ** *sacrifice post*; ~ (***gnɡəŋ** >) Biat **ŋgəŋ** *post, support for betel vine*; ~ (***g[r]nəŋ** >) Sre **gəŋəŋ** *post erected in spirit cult*.

(SMITH 1972 98.)

512 *gəŋ warrior-like.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **goŋ** /**gəŋ**/, Modern Mon **kòŋ** *to be brave*, Khmer **kùəŋ** *invulnerable* (→ Thai **kʰoŋ** *endure, persist*, → Kammu-Yuan **khóŋ**), Kuy **khòŋ** *having magical powers*, Biat **gəŋ** *invulnerable*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

***513 *guəŋ; *gəŋ to cook in water.**

A: (Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **kò:ŋ** *to boil down, stew, make soup*, ?Nancowry **kuáŋlan** *to ferment (rice)*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **gəŋ** *to stew*, Riang-Lang **kaŋ** *to boil, cook by boiling*.

Cf. A112 *[]**gəŋ** *to cook, boil*.

Kharia **gəŋ** *to cook [rice]* (PINNOW 1959 194; Proto-Munda *[**g**][**ɔ**][**ŋ**]).

514 *cɡiŋ to project at right angles.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chkəŋ** *upright, sticking up, [e.g. arrow] sticking by point*; ~ Chrau **səŋgi:ŋ**, Biat **ŋgi:ŋ** [**chi:**] *branch of tree (contaminated by 496 *kaŋ[] &c., which compare?)*.

515 *[c]guəŋ; *[c]g[əə]ŋ ladder.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ghu:ŋ**, Chrau **gu:ŋ** *ladder*, Biat **gu:ŋ**, Bahnar **ku:ŋ**, *ladder, stair*, Jeh, Halang **gùəŋ** *house-ladder*.

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **jynkieng, jingkieng** *bridge, ladder*.

(BLOOD 1966 232; SMITH 1972 113.)

516 *[t]guəŋ; *tɡəŋ stalk, handle.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Sre **guan** *handle, tiller*, Palaung **gəŋ** *stalk, handle*, Riang-Lang **kuəŋ** *stalk*, Bru **ŋkùəŋ** *stubble*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **taŋgəŋ** *paddy- stalk, rice-straw* (with **ta-** by attraction 543 ***t₁aŋ** *joint, joined stem*).

= following? Cf. 506 ***tkuəŋ** &c. *stalk*; 510 ***gəŋ** &c. *to grasp*.

517 *tɡ[uə]ŋ; *tɡ[ə]ŋ (bony) ridge.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **gəŋ** [**mur**] *nose*, Bru **ŋkùəŋ** *ridge of nose*; ~ (***trɡ[uə]ŋ** >) Bahnar **təkəŋ** *profile, ridge [of nose], shin*; ~ (***tng[uə]ŋ** >) West Bahnar **təŋə:ŋ** *profile, ridge [of nose], shin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **ŋkhəŋ** *leg, shin*, Bru **səŋkòŋ** *leg*.

Or *tga(ɔ)ŋ, if ≠ preceding.

(*dgaŋ see 508 *[]gaŋ stiff, bristling.)

518 *pɣaŋ; *pɣaŋ beam.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer (B) **bəŋkəŋ** *beam, prop, scaffolding, pole*, (A; with head register by levelling on unattested simplex?) **bəŋkəŋ** *baulk, flat sheet of wood forming part of structure of house*; ~ (*prg- >) Mon **həkòŋ** *beam, baulk*; → Cham **pagauñ** *perch*.

***519 *lɣuŋ; *lɣəŋ mentally abstracted.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **lɣuŋ** *to be lost in thought, to mope*, Khmer **lɣəŋ** *very confused, close to fainting*; ~ (*lɣuŋ >) Mon **təŋəŋ** *abstraction of mind*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **ñòñ** *to be dazed* (& **ññ**; GUESDON 1930); (?) → Thai **lɣaŋ** *slow, sluggish, inactive, slothful*, → Khmer **lɣuŋ** *to be dazed*.

Khmer has further, by expressive variation, **lɣəŋ**-[**lɣəŋ**] *dizzy*; **lɣəŋ**-[**lɣəŋ**] *confused, dizzy*. Note also Vietnamese **ngượng** *embarrassed* (< *-aaŋ; perhaps ← Indonesian, below).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *lɣuŋ >) Malay **lɣngong** *plunged in thought*; (ii) *lɣəŋ: Malay **lɣngang** *silent*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95, *lɣ[ə]ŋ; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, assuming Toba Batak ← Malay); & cf. Proto-Malayo-Javanese *bɣuŋ *at a loss* (NOTHOFFER 1975 138; Toba has **bingun**), → Semai **bɣuŋ** *silly* (TANDART 1935); &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 206. Mon-Khmer ↔ Indonesian? Indonesian is against constructing Proto-Mon-Khmer *-aaŋ.

520 *[]ciŋ elephant.

A: (Mon, Katic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **cīñ** /ciŋ/, Modern Mon **coiŋ**, Kuy (ʔa:)ciŋ, Bru ʔaciaŋ, Central Sakai **chi'k**.

Not explicable from Burmese **chari**, on which see BENEDICT 1972 133 & n. 362; SHORTO 1971 under the entry **cīñ**¹.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 49.)

521 *ceŋ point, angle, ridge.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North & South Aslian) Old Mon **cīñ** /ciŋ/ *gable* (?), Modern Mon **coiŋ** *ridge pole of roof*, Khmer **caŋ** *joint of roof-truss or rafters*, Semang **saeng** *point* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 63).

Connection dubious 529 *ʔcu(u)ŋ *upper end*.

***522 *caŋ to shut.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **son** *to bolt*, Palaung **səŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **saŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **səŋ** *to shut*; ~ (*[c]ncaŋ >) Biat **ncaŋ** *to shut*.

Sora 'saŋ-ən *door* (compounding form, ~ sa'naŋ-ən), Kharia 'saŋ- *to shut*, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 290, Proto-Munda *səŋ; cf. ib. 268).

523 *caŋ to glitter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **caŋ** *shining, bright, to reflect the light*; ~ (*c[n]caŋ >) Late Middle Mon **dacañ** [**baḃañ**] *to be resplendent*.

Cf. 489 *cʔaiŋ *to shine...*, 535 *scaiŋ *to shine...*; but connection uncertain A35
*[c]a[a]ŋ *clear, limpid*.

†524 *cəŋ to set light to.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Asian, ?Nicobaric) Old Mon **coñ** /cəŋ/, Modern Mon **cəŋ**, Kuy **caŋ**, Bahnar **so:ŋ** (!) *to set light to*, Vietnamese **chong** *to keep [lamp] lit*, (probably, rather than ad 487 *cʔaŋ &c. *to expose to heat*) Bisi **cho'ong** *to burn, bake* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 468 (a)), ?Nancowry **ʔuŋsəŋ** *to cook* (or 487).

Bahnar vocalism obscure. Connect A36b *.c[ɔ]ŋ [*lightning*] *to strike*? For Biat **chup** see A11 *jhuuʔ. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Kharia **səŋ-**, -**səŋ** *fire*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252, 324).

Proto-Austronesian *ga(N)t'aŋ: Javanese **gasang** *lit*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 53). See BENEDICT 1975 329.

525 *c[o]ŋ; *cok to make into a bundle.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) obs. Khmer **coñ** *to tie together* (TANDART 1935; Modern Khmer **cə:ŋ**!), Khasi **song** *bundle; to pack, tie up*.

B: (Mon) Mon **cak** *to make into a bundle*.

526 *cuuŋ axe.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **cu:ŋ**, Stieng **sù:ŋ** (!), Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **su:ŋ**, Jeh **cù:ŋ** *axe*, Halang **cù:ŋ** *axe-blade, mattock*.

Perhaps ← Indonesian, cf. Cham (a)cù:ŋ, Jarai jù:ŋ, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *[ji]juŋ (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 22, *bali[j]juŋ, a Proto-West-Indonesian prefixed form); Stieng suggests a byform in *ʔc-!

(BLOOD 1966 241; SMITH 1972 112.)

527 *cuuŋ to eat [rice].

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **su:ŋ**, Bunör **so:ŋ**, Biat **cho:ŋ**, Bahnar **səŋ**, Jeh, Halang **coŋ**.

With North Bahnaric vocalism cf. 986 *cuut; 1559a *cʔuur; 1984 *cuh; probably by secondary diphthongization (*cʔuuŋ > *cəuŋ) as in 43 *cuuʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 15; SMITH 1972 145.)

528 *cu[ə]ŋ; *cəŋ; *ciəŋ kind of small mammal.

A: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi **bsong** *mongoose, weasel* (with **b-** perhaps by attraction **bshad** *civet-cat, mongoose*).

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **cəŋ** [ŋkah] *porcupine*, Sre [pi] **səŋ** *paradoxure*, *Paradoxurus indicus*, Biat [mpi:k] **chəŋ** *fox*.

C: (Khasi) ~ Khasi *myrsiang* fox, jackal.

Cf. Khmer *kəpɔ̀rò:ŋ* fox, perhaps by contraction < **kuun* *crcuun*.

Proto-Austronesian **mut'aŋ* civet-cat (DEMPWOLFF 1938 107; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Vietnamese *chồn* fox.

‡529 **[ʔ]cuŋ*; **[ʔ]cuuŋ* upper end.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *coŋ* end, tip; (or B) → Acehnese *cong* above.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre *couŋ* end, top, Chrau *co:ŋ* tip, branches, of tree, Biat *co:ŋ* end.

Cf. 299 **pc[ɔ]k*; but connection dubious 521 **ceŋ* point... .

Proto-Austronesian **qu(N)d'uŋ*: Malay (*h*)*ujong* end, tip, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65, **hud'uŋ*; cf. SHORTO 1975 91 n. 25). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 48.)

†‡530 **kcəŋ* stretched, to stretch.

A: (Palaungic, ? North Asian) Palaung *cəŋ* to be stretched, to stretch (MILNE 1931), Praok *coŋ* to be firm, stiff, Semang *chong* to stretch out legs (if correctly glossed; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 488); ~ Riang-Lang *kəsəŋ* to be straight.

*-c- confirmed by Indonesian, below. Cf. A36 **[c]oŋ* straight. 567 **st₁iŋ* &c. *taut*, to stretch is hardly connected

Sora *jo:ŋ*- to stretch [body], Kharia *juŋ* to stretch out legs, &c. (?; PINNOW 1959 361; Proto-Munda **joŋ* or **jəŋ*?).

Proto-Austronesian **kəNk'aŋ*: Javanese *kěncĕng* taut, straight..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

With Munda cf. also Proto-Austronesian **kə(N)d'aŋ* stiff, DAHL 1973 § 20.7 (Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 399-400.

531 **tca[a]ŋ* to wait, to attend on.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar *ca:ŋ* to wait, Jeh *ca:ŋ* to stay with dying person, Halang *ca:ŋ* to support; probably → Cham *ca:ŋ*, Röglai [*do*]caŋ, North Röglai *ca:k* to wait; ~ (**tpca[a]ŋ*) → Jarai *p'ca:ŋ* to wait.

Hardly connected, as SCHMIDT 1905, 1325 **ca(a)m*. (SMITH 1972 166.)

†532 **bciŋ*; **bciŋ*; **bciəŋ* to incline, be aslant.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *chênh* to be tilted, slanting.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ci:ŋ* to lean; ~ Biat *nchi:ŋ* to lean against (v.t.), (~?) West Bahnar *həci:ŋ* on a slope (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Middle Mon *ceñ* /*ceŋ*/, Modern Mon *ceaŋ* to decline, Khmer *jiəñ* leaning towards (GUESDON 1930; → Thai *c^hiaŋ* deviating, deflected, → Khmer *chiəŋ* = *jiəñ*, → Kuy *chi:ŋ* leaning), Bahnar *ce:ŋ* (with c-, for *j-, by levelling on derivation) on a slope; ~ West Bahnar *həce:ŋ* leaning (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *pasiang* inclining, slanting; by secondary derivation ~ Mon *həceaŋ* *daceñ* to incline, Khmer *jajiañ* leaning, to go to one side (GUESDON 1930).

Cf. further Khmer **cɹiəŋ** *leaning over* (by back-formation from ***cəcriəŋ** < ***crciəŋ**?); Khasi **pashŋ** *sideways*; Kuy **sɛiŋ** & Bru **sɛiŋ** *to go down, descend*.
Sora **ob'seŋ-** &c. *to be turned round, to turn [something] over* = **ob'seŋ-[le]** *sideways, leaning*; **seŋ-** *to squint*.

‡532a ***[r]caŋ** *to prick, pierce, insert*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **cɛŋ** *to prick, pierce, to thread through*; ~ (***[r]ncaŋ** >) Kammu-Yuan **[ɲiat] ɲàŋ** *to prick, pierce, stick in, put (into)*.

Proto-Austronesian ***[ɣr]aŋk'aŋ** *to insert*: Malay **ranchang** *sticking up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, ***[l]**°; less Javanese, ad following; Proto-West-Indonesian). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

‡533 ***[r]caŋ** *rack, framework*.

(Mon) Mon **cɛŋ** *rack, bin, framework, staging*; → Burmese **cañ**.

Connection uncertain Khasi **rynsan** *platform, gallery*. For Mon **hneŋ** *spoke, rib of side of cart* see 598 ***cnəŋ**.

Proto-Austronesian ***raŋk'aŋ**: Karo Batak **ranchang** *drying-rack for tobacco*, Acehnese **rancang** *fowl-basket*, Javanese **ranchang** *set up, framed, (-an) framework* (Proto-West-Indonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 101 refers Javanese to base cited ad preceding. Note also ***raŋd'aŋ** *twilled work* (ib., Proto-West-Indonesian), with which Acehnese shows contamination.

534 ***lmcəŋ** *kind of water-lily*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kəcəŋ** **lacañ** *kind of water-lily*, Khmer **lùmcəŋ** *blue lotus*.

535 ***scaŋ** *to shine*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **sāñ** *to shine*, Khmer **caŋ** *shining* (& *to explain, make clear*); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **cəŋcaŋ** *bright...*

Cf. 489 ***cʔaŋ**; 523 ***caŋ** *to glitter*. But connection uncertain A35 ***[c]a[a]ŋ** *clear, limpid*.

535a ***jiəŋ** *friend*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **yiəŋ** *friend (term of address)*, Biat, Jeh **jiəŋ** *friend*, Halang **jiəŋ** *friend (term of address)*.

(SMITH 1972 149.)

536 ***jaəŋ** *to fish with scoop-net*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **càŋ**; ~ (***jrjaəŋ** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔacuaŋ** *to net [fish]*; ~ Mon **hnàŋ**, Khmer **chniəŋ** *scoop-net*.

Connection dubious Riang-Lang **viŋ**, Shan **wiŋ** *scoop-net*.

537 *j[ol]ŋ; *j[ool]ŋ *long, high*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Bahnar **yɔŋ** *important, great*, Khmu' **joŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **coŋ**, Central Nicobarese **cəŋ** *high*, Nancowry **cóŋ**.
 B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **jɔ:ŋ** *long*, Sre **jo:ŋ** *long, high, tall*; ~ Bahnar **kəju:ŋ** *high, long, big*.
 Connect 690 *jruŋ &c.?

†538(I) *juŋ; *juəŋ; *jəŋ; *jəəŋ *foot, leg*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon **juñ** /**juəŋ**/, Modern Mon **cəŋ**, Palaung **juəŋ**, Riang-Lang **cəŋ**, Praok **caŋ** *foot, leg*, Temiar **juk**, Semelai **jəŋ** *foot*; ~ Old Mon **jiñjuñ**, Middle Mon **dayon**, Modern Mon **həyəŋ** *post*, Praok **[num]** **jaŋ** *foundation*.
 B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cuaŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **[hlaʔ]** **cuaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **[hlaʔ]** **chuaŋ** *foot*.
 C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Biat **jəŋ**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar **jəŋ** *foot, leg*; (or D; ?) ~ rare Old Mon **jiñjiñ** ?/jəŋjəŋ/ *post*.
 D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **jeñ**, Modern Khmer **cə:ŋ** *foot, leg* (→ Thai **chəəŋ** *foot, base*, → Kuy **chə:ŋ**), Kuy **juə:ŋ** & Bru **ʔayə:ŋ** (!) *feet*, Stieng (or C?) **jə:ŋ**, **jə:ŋ** *foot, leg*, Jeh, Halang **jə:ŋ** *foot*.
 C, D secondary, perhaps (in part) regular in context; cf. here 254 *jhooʔ &c., 385 *yuk &c. Sep. Vietnamese **chơn** *foot*, **chân** *leg*, < 1138 *cə(ə)n.

†538(II) *jəŋ (& *jəəŋ?); *jiŋ; *jiəŋ; *juəŋ *to stand*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) East Bahnar, Jölong **jə:ŋ** *to become* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < variant?; beside Rōngao **je:ŋ**), Palaung **jəŋ**, Praok, Mae Sariang **cəŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **coŋ**, Lawa Umphai **choŋ**, Khasi **iəŋ**, Mah Meri **jək** *to stand*; ~ (*jŋjəŋ >) Palaung by dissimilation **kəŋjəŋ** *to be, set, upright*, Praok **juŋ** *to be upright*, Semai **jijək** *to stand*; ~ Central Nicobarese **cəŋəŋ** *quantifier for trees, posts, &c.*
 B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **cəŋ** *to stand*; ~ Kuy (t)**yəŋ** *to stand*, (~?) Riang-Lang **təncəŋ** *to be vertical*.
 C: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **je:ŋ**, Bahnar **ji:ŋ** *to become*.
 D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **yəŋ** *to get up*, Halang **yəŋ** *to stand*, (~?) Bahnar **ʔyu:ŋ** *to stand up*.

Connected further North Aslian forms (Kensiu **həŋjaŋ**). A probably originally by arbitrary variation (though old, cf. Austronesian); other variants then secondary. *To become* contaminated if not ← Indonesian, cf. e.g. Rōglai **jəŋ** *to be, exist*, Rade **ji:ŋ** *to become* (BLOOD 1966), < *d'əŋd'əŋ, below. Connected with (I) or (II) 691 *jruŋ &c. *post; upright*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 28, 30, 536; BLOOD 1966 36, 119; SMITH 1972 111; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 220.)

Sora **jʔe:ŋ-ən**, (compounding form) **je-ŋ-ən**, Kharia **-juŋ** *foot, leg*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 365).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'əŋ**: Javanese **jěŋ** *stand* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; BENEDICT 1975 adds Ami); (ii) ***d'əŋd'əŋ**: Toba Batak **jongjong** *to stand*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) Javanese **jěŋěŋ** *post*, **njěŋěŋ** *to stand*. Not ← Mon-Khmer in view of Formosan! See BENEDICT 1975 396. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 53.)

†539 ***juuŋ** *rain, to rain*.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Palaung **juŋ** (*to*) *rain*, Riang-Lang **_cuŋ** *rain*, (?) Khasi **juŋ** *to urinate*.

Cf. 1606 ***jur**[] &c. *to descend, fall*.

Sora **əje:ŋ**-[**'gum-**] *to shower*, (**-əŋ**) *shower*.

540 ***sjaŋ** *kind of sword*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **səŋ-sjaŋ** &c. *sword*, Bahnar **saŋ** *small curved sword or knife*, Jeh **caŋ** *small knife*, Halang **caŋ** *knife*.

(SMITH 1972 126.)

541 ***naŋ** *larva*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **_naŋ** *caterpillar*, Khasi **'niang** /**naŋ**/ (~ **khñiang**) *worm, insect*.

Sep. Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **puŋ** *mosquito*, ← Tai.

(***[b]**rpuəŋ see 706 ***briəŋ** *rainbow*.)

542 ***t₁iə[ŋ]** *tail*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **tiaŋ**, Chrau **tiəŋ**, Biat **ciaŋ**, Bahnar **kieŋ**, Jeh **te:ŋ**, Halang **teaŋ**. (SHAFER 1965 81, 543; BLOOD 1966 108; SMITH 1972 92.)

‡543 ***t₁aŋ** *joint, jointed stem*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **tañ** /**taŋ**/ *joint*, Modern Mon **teŋ** *joint, section between joints, stalk*, Bahnar **taŋ** *pipe*; ~ Khmer **thanŋ** *joint*; ~ Jeh **kataŋ** *section*, Halang **kətaŋ** *water-pipe*; ~ Khasi **gyntang** *stalk*; ~ Nancowry **pintáŋ** *cane*.

Connect Riang-Lang **ṭkətəŋ** *elbow, cubit*; perhaps Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **taŋ** *shoot* (< ***t₁a[a]ŋ**; contaminated by 562 ***bt₁əŋ** *plant...*?); & note Praok **joŋ** *joint*. Cf. following. (SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Proto-Austronesian ***taNkai**: Malay **tangkai** *stem*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128).

543a ***t₂aŋ**; ***t₂a[a]ŋ** *knee*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang **[kɪŋ]** **saŋ**, by contraction of compound (cf. Bahnar **below** & 1706 ***[]kuul**) Sre **kətaŋ**, by vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir **kaltoŋ**, Semelai **kaltuŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[ku:k]** **ta:ŋ**, Bahnar **[ku:l]** **ta:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40 (a).)

544 *t₁aŋ to roast, bake.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **təŋ** to roast, steam, heat, Riang-Lang **ˈtaŋ** to bake in open dish, Praok **toŋ** to broil, Lawa Bo Luang **taŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təŋ** to broil, grill, Khasi **thang** to burn, roast, cremate.

(SHAFFER 1965 396.)

544a *taaŋ to extend, stretch

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Muong) ~ Khmer **trədaŋ** to stretch out [limbs], (or next?) Vietnamese **đang** to stretch out, spread out, extend; ~ Kuy **ntaŋ** widely spaced.

Cf. **567 *st₁iŋ** &c. ...to stretch; **577a *jdaŋ** &c. spread wide, outstretched. (Cf. POULSEN & JENNER 1975 no. 31 (a).)

545 *t₁a[a]ŋ to take the place of.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **taŋ** substitute, to take the place of, Bahnar **taŋ** to take the place of, Jeh, Halang **taŋ** in place of.

(SMITH 1972 162.)

546 *təŋ; *təwŋ to pull, to draw water.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon **tān** to bring away, rescue, Modern Mon **təŋ** to pull, draw [water inter alia], lead, (B) Khmer **dəwŋ** to draw water, (A) Bahnar **təŋ** to draw, scoop up.

Connect obscure Sre **gəltuŋ** to pull towards one (DOURNES 1950); or Vietnamese **duong** to open [umbrella], draw [bow]. Cf. **570 *dəwŋ**.

547 *t₁əwŋ handle.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **dəwŋ** (→ Cham **ḍaui**), Kuy **taŋ**, Stieng **toŋ**, Chrau **təwŋ** handle, Biat **təwŋ** (— **jra:**) crutch, (— **nji:**) balance, Bahnar **təwŋ** quantifier for guns, swords, axes, &c., Jeh **toŋ** quantifier for tools, Halang **toaŋ** quantifier for long tools; ~ (***təwŋ** >) Biat **ntəwŋ** handle.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SMITH 1972 173.)

***548 *t₁uuŋ to carry on pole between two.**

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **tuŋ**, Jeh **tuaŋ**; ~ Halang **hətuaŋ**; ~ Sre **təruŋ** (→ Röglai), Biat **[gre:] rnuŋ** litter, Bahnar **tənuŋ** carrying-pole, (pole of) litter, Jeh **tanuaŋ** carrying-pole, load (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Cf. **565 *rt₁uuŋ** &c. ladder, bridge.

(SHAFFER 1965 78; BLOOD 1966 242; SMITH 1972 114.)

Proto-Austronesian ***ut'uŋ**: Malay **usong-an** litter, hammock, stretcher, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163; Proto-Hesperonesian). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, given consonantism.

†549 ***t₁uɯŋ** *to light*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **tuŋ** *to light [lamp &c.]* .

Connect 1004 ***t₁ut** c.?

Sora **tuŋ- in tuŋ'(g)eb-** *to burn (v.t.)*, '**tuŋab-** *to set fire to cleared timber*.

Proto-Austronesian ***tutuŋ**: Toba Batak **tutung** *to burn*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

550 ***[ʔ]t₁eeŋ** *to do*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **taeŋ** *to create, to have the habit of, [do &c.] habitually*, Khmu' **te:ŋ** *to make*; ~ (***[ʔ]bteen** >) Stieng **te:ŋ** *to direct, be in charge*.

†551 ***[ʔ]nt₁aŋ** *brain*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **həntaŋ**; ~ Thin **kəntaŋ** *brain, skull*.

Sora **ə'taŋ-ən**.

Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***qu(N)tək** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163, ***c₁utak**, ***u(n)tək**; DYEN 1953 § 118).

†552 ***ʔt₁uɯŋ** *afraid, to fear*.

A: (Kuy, Khasi, Aslian) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**tu:ŋ**, Khasi **tieng** (!; & Mnar, IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM., **tyoŋ**), Temiar **tu:k**; ~ Kensiu **ʔəntəŋ**; ~ Semelai **bəthəŋ**.

***t₁** in view of Munda

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 48.)

Sora **'bato:ŋ-**, Kharia **'bətəŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 261).

553 ***knt₂iin** *bone*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ti:ŋ**, Sre, Chrau, Biat **nti:ŋ**, Bahnar **kəti:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **kasiaŋ**. (SHAHER 1965 371; BLOOD 1966 221; SMITH 1972 83.)

†554 ***kt₂aŋ** *bitter*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **kəteŋ**, Katuic, (Chrau ←) Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **taŋ**, Rōngao **saŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **cáŋ**, Palaung **səŋ**, Riang-Lang **ˀcaŋ**, Praok **soŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **saŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **səŋ** (*to be*) *bitter*, Khasi **kthang** *bitter*, **ksang** *bitter; bile, gall*, Vietnamese **đắng**, Semang **kedeg** *bitter* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 232 (a)); ~ Literary Mon **gamtaŋ** *bitter*, Modern Mon **həteŋ** in **hləm həteŋ** *Persian lilac, neem*, Sre **bətaŋ** (→ Rōglai), (probably =, by assimilation) Jeh, Halang **ʔnaŋ** *bitter*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Khasi **byrthang** *bitter*, (**lam-** —) *bitterish*; (ii) Central Nicobarese **pentəŋ** *bile*, Nancowry **pintán** *gall-bladder*.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Hence Proto-Yao ***ʔnáaŋ** (BENEDICT 1975 369, *salty...* (II))?

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAHER 1965 75; SMITH 1972 136.)

Sora ə'sa'ŋ-, Kharia ɔ'sɔŋ, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 247).

555 *kt₁əŋ; *kt₁aŋ to hear.

A: (Bahnaric, Aslian) Central Rölöm təŋ, Bahnar təŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Sedang taŋ); ~ (*krt₁əŋ >) Bahnar kətəŋ, Sakai gərtêk to hear (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 6 (c)); ~ (*knt₁əŋ >) Kensiu ʔəntiŋ, Temiar gentək, Semaq Beri ntəŋ, Semelai təŋ ear.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau caŋ to hear, listen, Stieng ta:ŋ, Biat taŋ to hear.

B secondary; post-dental?

Connect Central Nicobarese na:ŋ ear, Nancowry nán ear, hintúaytanán message. Cf.

575 *kndaŋ to listen to.

(BLOOD 1966 272; SMITH 1972 102.)

556 *kt₁ɔŋ pot, jar.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) (~?) Thin k(ə)təŋ; ~ Lawa Bo Luang taŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndoŋ.

***557 *kt₁uŋ *kt₁uəŋ, hole, pit.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon kton /ktuŋ/, Modern Mon kətaŋ hole in ground, mine, Chrau chuŋ hole [in ground], Palaung tuŋ (?) ditch (MILNE 1931).

B: (Khmer; ~?) Old Khmer antvan, Modern Khmer ʔondo:ŋ well, (— rae) mine (contaminated by ʔondau ditch, hole, cave < **72 *nt₁uu?** → Biat [ndrəm] du:ŋ well).

Palaung perhaps correct to təŋ, implying a variant *[k]t₁əŋ; for which cf. Cham taŋ, Röglai təŋ, North Röglai tək deep place in river.

(?) Sora kuntuŋ-[sa:m-ən] rectum (referred by RAMAMURTI 1938 to kun'tuŋ-ən tube).

***558 *jt₁uuŋ; *jt₁uəŋ; *jt₁əŋ to strike, beat, make resonate.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer tū:ŋ to beat; kind of drum, Sre touŋ jew's harp, Bahnar du:ŋ resonant percussive sound (& duŋ short percussive sound, by expressive var); ~ Chrau gəto:ŋ jew's harp, Riang-Lang sətəŋ drum (< *jrt₁uuŋ; by metathesis *t₁ruuŋ >) Palaung kruŋ, Lawa Bau Lua khrauw, Lawa Umphai krauw, Mae Sariang khyauŋ drum.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer tū:ŋ = tū:ŋ, Bahnar dɔ:ŋ to hit hard and long.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Sre təŋ to strike, Bahnar dəŋ short percussive sound (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& dəŋ resonant percussive sound GUILLEMINET 1959-63, by expressive variation); ~ (*jbt₁əŋ >) Old Mon ju'tuŋ /jətəŋ/ to beat [spear on shield], Literary Mon jatuiŋ to strike [drum, ball] with stick.

Cf. **318 *[j]tək to strike, beat.** (Cf. SMITH 1972 176.)

(?) Sora tuŋ- to cuff, taŋ- to thump, cuff, to pound.

‡559 ***tntəŋ** *to shake, to tremble.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ntəŋ** *to shake* (v.t.), Bahnar **tətəŋ** *to shiver, tremble* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jölong also *to shake* (v.t.).

Proto-Austronesian ***tiŋtiŋ**: Malay **tinting**, Cham **tatiŋ**, **katiŋ** *to sift by shaking*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 138-9).

560 ***tnt₁uŋ**; ***tnt₁uuŋ** *to steal.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Bunör **ntuŋ**, Central Rölöm **tuŋ**, Biat **ntoŋ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **tu:ŋ** (or A?), Bahnar **təto:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **tu:ŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 170; SMITH 1972 117.)

‡561 ***nt_[2][e]ŋ** *nerve, sinew.*

A: (Mon, Katuic) Mon **kəteaŋ** *nerve, sinew, muscle*, Bru **satiŋ** (contaminated by 567?). Sora **ne'neŋ-ən** *nerve, vein, tendon* (presumptively < ***nejeŋ** < ***neen** < ***nesen**).

‡562 ***bt₁əŋ**; ***bt₁əəŋ**; ***bt₁uuŋ** *plant, trunk, to plant.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Khmer **tə:ŋ** *stem, trunk* (with unexplained lengthening), Biat **[reh] təŋ** *tap-root*, Palaung **təŋ** *trunk, plant, beginning*, (or B; ~?) Besis (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132) **mětōŋ** *to plant*.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **təŋ** *trunk, plant*.

C: (Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **thù:ŋ** *to transplant*, Khasi **thung** *to plant*.

Note also Kuy **stù:ŋ**, Bru **satùəŋ** ← Khmer **smtūŋ** *transplanted (rice) seedlings* (< ***jduuŋ**?).

Proto-Austronesian ***bataŋ**: Malay **batang** *trunk*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 24). See BENEDICT 1975 413.

‡563 ***[b]t₁uuŋ**; ***[b]t₁uəŋ** *to soak.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **təŋ** *to soak, steep*; ~ (***[b].t₁uuŋ** >) Vietnamese **đúng** *to dip in vat*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tə:ŋ** *to dip, soak, dye* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **də:ŋ**; so of dialect origin?).

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. ***t₁** in view of Sora.

Sora **'tuŋ-[da:-]** *to soak [boiled rice in sour water]*.

564 ***rmtiŋ** *kind of aromatic plant.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **latiŋ** *kind of flowering plant*, Old Khmer **ramtyaŋ**, Modern Khmer **rùmde:ŋ** *galanga*.

(***rt₁iŋ** ***rt₁iəŋ** see 693 ***t₁raiŋ** *kind of reed*.)

565 ***rt₁uəŋ**; ***rt₁uəŋ** *ladder, bridge*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ ***rant₁uəŋ** >) Sre **ntu:ŋ** *ladder, stair*, Chrau **rətu:ŋ** *bridge*, Biat **ntu:ŋ** *footbridge*, Thin **rəntonŋ** *ladder*.

B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Palaung [**təŋ**] **təŋ** *ladder, stair*; ~ (***rant₁uəŋ** by metathesis > ***[t₁]nruəŋ** >) Kuy **nthrù:əŋ** *stair*, Bru **ntrùəŋ**.

Connected further forms in *-**ɗ**:- Kammu-Yuan **rəŋtò:ŋ**, **rəntò:ŋ**, Riang-Lang **rəŋduəŋ** *ladder, stair*; Central Nicobarese **hendurəŋə** *bridge, poultry-ladder*, Nancowry **hinrúəŋə** *bridge*. Originally ***rant₁**- by metathesis 548 ***t₁/rn/uəŋ** *carrying-pole, litter*, Palaung by back-formation; or ***r(n)ɗ**-, *-**t₁**- by contamination?

(BLOOD 1966 233.)

566 ***[l]təəŋ** *to toss up*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tə:ŋ** *to throw up, to weigh in hand* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Literary Mon **latuiñ**, **katuiñ** *to toss (up)*.

***567** ***st₁iŋ**; ***st₁iəŋ**; ***[s]t₁aŋ** *taut, to stretch*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **sɗəŋ** *stretched out, to stretch [cloth]*; → Thai **təŋ** *to be stretched*, → Khmer **təŋ** *to be stretched*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **ləŋtəŋ** *[small object] stretched out*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon **steñ** /**steŋ**/, Modern Mon **teəŋ** *to be stretched, taut*, Palaung **teəŋ** *to stretch, tighten*; → Burmese **tañ**: *to become taut*; ~ Old Mon **sirteñ** *to measure with a cord*.

C: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Biat **thaŋ** *stretched, taut*, Bahnar **taŋ** *to stretch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or < 574 ***kdaŋ**, which compare), (?) Vietnamese **thẳng** *straight*; → Röglai **khaŋ** *stretched, taut*; ~ Bahnar **cətaŋ**, **djətaŋ** *taut, stiff* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham, North Röglai **cataŋ** *stretched*; ~ → Röglai **tanhaŋ** *long*.

C post-dentally < earlier ***[s]t₁aŋ**, cf. 555 ***kt₁aŋ** &c.; or contaminated by ***kdaŋ**. Cf. further Khmer **sənthuəŋ** *to stretch (v.i.t.)*; Kammu-Yuan **ləŋtəŋ** *[large object] stretched out*; & 544a ***taəŋ** ...*to stretch*; 577a ***jdaəŋ** ...*out stretched*. Hence by metathesis 781 ***[t][s]iəŋ** *crossbow string*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 18.)

Proto-Austronesian ***ʔə(N)təŋ**: Malay **rəntang** *to stretch out tight*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 58; Proto-Hesperonesian); & note Malay **gətang** *taut*. See BENEDICT 1975 399. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 31.)

568 ***[s]təəŋ**; ***[s]taŋ** *thin*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **sdaəŋ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khasi **stang** (or variant? cf. here 592 ***[n₁][əə]ŋ**); ~ Bahnar **hətaŋ**.

Or ***c**-. Connect Biat [**chak**] **nti:ŋ** *thin, puny*?

569 *[d]a[i]ŋ; *[d]iŋ; *[d]əŋ *large*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **daŋ**.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **tiŋ**.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **dəŋ**.

Variation obscure; expressive? A perhaps contaminated by **577a** ***jdaŋ** *spread wide*... .

570 ***dəŋ** *to pull*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **tùəŋ** *to pull back and forth*, Stieng **dəŋ** *to pull, push*, Stieng dialect **dəŋ** *to pull down*, Khasi **təŋ** *to draw [water &c.]*; ~ Kuy **nthəŋ** *to drag, pull*.

Cf. **546** ***tə(ɔ)ŋ**. But connection dubious Sora **diŋ**-, Kharia **ɗiŋ** *to draw, pull, &c.*, PINNOW 1959 322 (with which cf. Biat **njeŋ**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

571 ***d[ɔ]ŋ** *to help*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **dəŋ** (→ Röglai), Bahnar **dəŋ**.

(SHAFER 1965 128.)

572 ***duŋ** *pelican*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **təŋ** *kinds of bird including stork and pelican*, Khmer **tùŋ** *pelican*; → Burmese **dum**; ~ → Thai **krat^huŋ**; Cham **kaḍuŋ** (!).

573 ***d[ʷə]ŋ?** *to receive*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Old Mon **dūn** /**duŋ**/, Modern Mon **təŋ** *to receive, accept*, Kuy **thəŋ**, Bru **to:ŋ**!, Biat **dəŋ** *to collect [rainwater]* (or : Riang-Lang, below?), Stieng **dəŋ** *to receive*, Thin **duəŋ** *to take, accept*, Vietnamese **đựng** *to contain, hold, (chịu —) to bear, endure*; (?) ~ Chrau **vədəŋ** *to collect [rainwater]*.

Connect obscure Riang-Lang **ˈdəŋ**; or Khasi **ˈdiang, pdiang**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

***574** ***kdaŋ** *stretched, stiff*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **daŋ** *stretched, stiff*, Biat **daŋ** *hard, stiff, strong*, Bahnar **daŋ** *to tighten* (by levelling on derivation? GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **taŋ** *to stretch*, perhaps rather < **567** ***[s]t₁aŋ**, which compare); ~ Sre **kəldaŋ**, Bahnar by assimilation **tədaŋ** *hard, stiff*.

Cf. further **577a** ***jdaŋ** &c. ...*outstretched*.

(BLOOD 1966 343.)

Proto-Austronesian ***gə(N)daŋ**: Jarai **daŋ** *to stretch[arm] out* (→ Chrau **daŋ**), b^a-**g^ana:ŋ** *to lean [something] against*, Röglai **gənaŋ** *to stretch out, to lean against*, North Röglai **ganāŋ** *to lean against*, Karo Batak **gedang** *length*, Malay **kědang, gědang** *to stretch [arm] out*, Iban **kedang** *to straighten* (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, early.

†575 ***kndaŋ** *to listen to*.

(Mon) Mon **kələŋ**.

Cf. 555 ***kt₁əŋ** &c. *to hear*.

Sora **am'daŋ-**, **andaŋ-** *to hear, listen*.

576 ***[k]duuŋ** *to project*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Mon **hətəŋ** *promontory*, Khasi **kyrtung** *prominent (ly), bulging*; ~ (***[k]bduuŋ** >) Praok **taoŋ** *to hold out*.

577 **Kdiŋ**; ***Kdu[]ŋ** *wild ox*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **khtì:ŋ**, Thin **k(ə)tiŋ**; → Thai **krat^hiŋ** *Bos gaurus*; ~ (***Kndii[ŋ]** >) Mon **kəloŋ** *gaur*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəntiŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N8).

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **kyrtong** *bull, ox*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 248, *cattle, buffalo*; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 38

but connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***baNtiŋ** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 25, ***baŋtiŋ**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

577a ***jdaŋ**; ***jdaaŋ**; ***jdaŋ** *spread wide, outstretched*.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) ~ Khmer **cəmtəəŋ**, **cùmtəəŋ** *to stand with legs wide apart*, Kuy with secondary lengthening **nthà:ŋ** *to plant [feet] wide apart* (contaminated by 687 ***jnraaŋ**, which compare).

B, C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Mon **tàŋ** *to be outstretched*; ~ (B) Khmer **srətì:əŋ** *stretched out*, (C) Khasi **jyrtieng** [*to sit*] *with legs stretched out*.

Cf. further 327 ***daik** &c.; 574 ***kdaŋ** *stretch, stiff*; 544a ***taaŋ** *to extend, stretch*; 567 ***st₁iŋ** &c. ...*to stretch*.

*578 ***t₂diŋ**; ***t₂diŋ**; ***t₂diəŋ** *wall, fence*.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂ndiŋ** >) Praok **diŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **təiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ndeŋ**, Mae Sariang **ndeŋ** *wall*; → Shan **tèŋ**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **di:ŋ** *wall*.

C: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **tadeŋ** /**tədeŋ**/ *screen, railing*, Modern Mon **hətəŋ** (merging 580 ***bdaŋ**, which compare) (*wall of*) *twilled bamboo*; ~ Khasi **syrdeng** *fence, plank partition*.

Proto-Austronesian ***diŋdiŋ**: Malay **dinding** *wall*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40).

(***dndu(u)ŋ** see following.)

†579 ***nduŋ**; ***dnduŋ**; ***dnduŋ**; ***[l]nduŋ** *eel*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ʔəntùəŋ** (!; cf. B), Kuy **nthùŋ**, Stieng **ndhu:ŋ** (or C?), Sre, Chrau, Biat **nduŋ**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **tùəntùŋ** (TANDART 1935; & **tùəntùəŋ**, by assimilation?).

C: (Mon) Mon **həlèŋ** *dalun* *small variety of eel*.

D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rənuŋ** *kind of eel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also East Bahnar **nənuŋ**).

B, C secondary unless ← Indonesian (i), below. D ↔ Indonesian (iii); for variant cf. 320 *(l)nt₁aak.

Kharia **ɖuŋɖuŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 124).

Proto-Austronesian (i; ***ɖuŋɖuŋ**) Karo Batak **dungdung**, → Gayo **dëndung**; (ii)

*(q)[i]Nduŋ: Acehnese **ndong** *eel*, Cebuano Bisayan **indung** *kind of moray eel* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) ***liNduŋ** ~ ***luNduŋ**: Acehnese **linɔŋ** *kind of eel*, Cham **lanuŋ** *eel*, &c., Malay [**ular**] **londong** *kind of sea-snake*, Iban **lundong** *eel*. Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***maluŋ** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, Proto-West-Indonesian).

580 ***ɖdaŋ** *walling material*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon **hətèaŋ** (*wall of*) *twilled bamboo* (in part, **phadaŋ**; merging Old Mon **tadeŋ** < 578 ***t₂diəŋ**, which compare), Khmer **phtèaŋ** *panel, leaf, partition*, Nancowry **tán** *fence, to fence, to erect walls*; (?) ~ Khasi **lyntang** *plank*.

(***[l]nduŋ** see 578 ***nduŋ** *eel*; ***ɖuŋ** see 492 ***di?uŋ** *house*; (*bag, pocket*) 791 ***d₁huŋ** *tub*.)

581 ***ɖuŋ** *clan territory*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon **ɖūn** /**ɖuŋ**/, Modern Mon **dəŋ** *city, town, state*, Kammu-Yuan **tò:ŋ** *section of village with meeting-house*.

(***ɖuŋ** *bag, pocket*. see 791 ***d₁huŋ**; ***[d]uŋ** see 335a ***ɖuuk** (*kind of*) *monkey*.)

582 ***kdiŋ** *navel*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənti:ŋ**, Thin **kəndiŋ**, Riang-Lang **kəndiŋ**; ~ Thin **kədiŋ** (?), Palaung **kərdiŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **tiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rathiŋ**, Mae Sariang **yatiŋ**, **latiŋ**.

Suffixed form ad 85 ***ɖii?** *middle*...? Kammu-Yuan **liŋ**, Thin **liŋ** *middle* conceivably reflect a variant ***kdiŋ**. But connection dubious Sakai **pariŋ** *navel*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 17.

†583 ***kdaŋ** *to cook*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **jaŋ**, Riang-Lang **dəŋ**.

Sora **djŋ**-(**djŋ**-), Kharia **dəŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 342; Proto-Munda ***ɖdiŋ**?).

Proto-Austronesian ***rə(N)d₁aŋ**: Acehnese **röndang**, Karo Batak **rendang**, Malay **rëndang** *to fry*, Cebuano Bisayan **lárang** *to seethe in coconut milk* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); → Sakai **rëndang** *to fry* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 239), &c.

(***kduŋ** see 903 ***kdiŋ** bamboo-joint.)

584 *jduuŋ; *jduəŋ winnowing-basket.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **du:ŋ**, Biat **do:ŋ**; → Röglai **cədok**, North Röglai **cadok**; Shan **lòŋ**; ~ (*jnduuŋ >) Sre **douŋ**, Chrau **gədo:ŋ**; ~ (*j[p]duuŋ >) Khasi **pdung**.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **nong**.
(BLOOD 1966 3.)

585 *t₁duəŋ stalk, tail.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer by dissimilation **stò:ŋ** *stem of bananas*, Kuy **thù:əŋ** *stalk*, Bru **duŋ** *tail of fowl* (< *-əŋ?), Kammu-Yuan **tò:ŋ** *tail of bird*, Khasi **tdong** *tail*.

Note *stalk, tail* may be separate. Cf. semantically French *queue*.

***586 *tduŋ; *tduəŋ; *td[ə]ŋ umbrella.**

A: (Mon, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tdon** /**tduŋ**/, Modern Mon **dan**, Kuy **thùŋ** [hù:], (?) Stieng **do:ŋ** [iu:].

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **də:ŋ** [yu:] *umbrella*, Palaung **duŋ** *quantifier for umbrellas*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **tan-**, **təəŋ-**[yù:].

Proto-Austronesian ***tuduŋ**: Javanese **tudung** *sun-hat*, Samar-Leyte Bisayan **turóng** *protection from rain*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 140; Proto-Hesperonesian).

***587 *d₁rduŋ; *d₁rduəŋ egg-plant, bottle-gourd.**

A: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang **tərdəŋ** *bottle-gourd*, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaton**, Lawa Umphai **rathon** *snake-gourd*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon (in toponym) **daḍon** /**dəḍon**/, Modern Mon **hədon** *egg-plant*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***tərʔəŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N90), Palaung **kərdəŋ** *bottle-gourd*.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***dVʔuŋ** &c., cf. Austronesian. Cf. 747 ***n[l]uŋ** &c.

Proto-Austronesian ***t/ar/əuŋ** (?) *egg-plant*: Acehnese **truəŋ**, Cham **trəŋ**, Malay **těrong**, &c.; Javanese **těrong**, with secondary **é** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134-5, ***təluŋ**, discarding Javanese **těrong** *sea-slug*; Proto-Hesperonesian); → Bahnar **tro:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

588 *p[d]aŋ dry season.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **prañ**, Modern Khmer **praŋ** *dry season*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau **praŋ** *dry [weather]*, Biat, Bahnar **praŋ** *dry [weather]*, [rain] to stop, Mường **đẩng** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **nắng** *sunshine, to be sunny*; ~ Proto-Semai ***pnraŋ** *sunshine* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

With consonantism cf. 1363 *p[d]am. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Cham **pha:ŋ**, Jarai, Röglai **phaŋ** *dry [season]*; so perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *p/Vr/[]ʔaŋ.

(SHAFFER 1965 456; BLOOD 1966 371; SMITH 1972 133.)

589 *pdaaŋ *crack, to crack*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **da:ŋ** *crack [in wood, earth]*, Sre **da:ŋ** *to crack*, Khasi **pdang** *crack, crevice, to crack*; ~ (*pndaan >) Biat **da:ŋ** (to) *crack*; ~ (*prdaan >) Sre **radaŋ** *[earth] cracked by drought* (→ Röglai), Bahnar **həda:ŋ** *[wood, earth, skin] to be liable to cracking*.

590 *rdiŋ; *rdiəŋ *road, track*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **den**; ~ Palaung **raden**, Riang-Lang **rəŋden**.

B: (South Bahnaric) → Vietnamese **dường** *road* (?); ~ (*prdiəŋ >) Sre **pədyan** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **diəŋ**, Biat **rde:ŋ** *to cart*; → Jarai **pədi:ŋ**. (BLOOD 1966 101.)

(*rnduəŋ see 565 *rt₁uŋ *ladder, bridge*.)

591 *naaŋ *kind of hardwood tree*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **nə:ŋ** - [nù:əŋ &c.] *kind of hardwood tree*, Stieng **na:ŋ** *superior kind of ironwood*; ~ Middle Mon **'anān** in toponym, Modern Mon **ənàin** *Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh*; → Burmese **'anan**: *Fagraea fragrans Roxburgh*.

592 * []n₁[əə]ŋ *to know*.

(Khmuic, Khasi). Kammu-Yuan **nə:ŋ**, Thin **nuaŋ**, **hnuəŋ**, **ʔnuəŋ** *to know*, Khasi **nang** *to be able, to know*.

With Khasi vocalism cf. 568 * [s]təəŋ.

593 * []n₂uŋ *in*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ləŋ**; ~ Khmer **knəŋ**, Kuy (k)**noŋ**, Stieng **kənu:ŋ** *in, inside*, Biat **knəŋ** *in*.

(?) Sora **lo:ŋ** *inside*.

594 *kn₁a[i]ŋ; *kn₁iəŋ *kind of resinous tree*.

A: (Mon) Mon **naiŋ** [sem] *pine*.

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang **kəniəŋ** *Dipterocarpus resin*.

595 *kn₁ɔŋ *floor timber*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **nəŋ** **knān** *timber supporting joists, sill*, Khasi **khnon**, by assimilation Central Nicobarese **tənəŋ** *joist*.

Cf. 598 *cn₁ɔŋ *framework*.

596 *[g]n₁iŋ; *gn₁iŋ to lean, incline.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung kərnəŋ to bend, bend over (v.i.t.).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic; ~ *g[n]n₁iŋ >) Sre gəniŋ to take refuge with a protector (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar gəniŋ to lean, prop, against, Kammu-Yuan kəlnè:ŋ to go down, [sun] to decline, to put down.

Connect B50 *[j][]n₁əŋ to lean, recline?

597 *gnaiŋ; *gniəŋ (& *gniŋ?) tusk, eye-tooth.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) ~ (*gnnaiŋ > ?) Stieng gəne:ŋ (→ Sre gəneŋ, or < *-iŋ?); ~ (*gpnaiŋ >) Kuy (k)ne:ŋ tooth, Vietnamese nanh tusk, eye-tooth.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau gəniəŋ boar's tusk, Biat ne:ŋ, Jölong gəniəŋ tusk, eye-tooth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connection dubious 603 *p[e]ŋ to attack with boar's tusk (but vocalism in part by contamination?). Note also A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

598 *cn₁ɔŋ framework.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer chnɔŋ rim, back [of chair], framework [of side of cart], bar [of window], (~?) Palaung sənɔŋ trellis (MILNE 1931).

Mon hnəŋ spoke, rib of side of cart by attraction cəŋ rack, bin, framework, staging, < 533 *[r]caŋ. Cf. 595 *kn₁ɔŋ floor timber.

†599 *t₁n₁iəŋ forehead.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon tneñ /tneŋ/, Modern Mon neaŋ; ~ Mnar tənjaŋ (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Sora tənɪŋ-[kaɣ-ən], ta'niŋ-[kaɣ-ən].

Proto-Austronesian *[k]əniŋ eyebrows: Malay kəning, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 78; Proto-West-Indonesian); → Serting (i.e. Semelai) kening, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 431 (d).

On distributional grounds Proto-Austronesian *t- might equally be reconstructed, with dissimilation Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer?

600 *[t₂]n₁iəŋ fin.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon (h)neaŋ [kaʔ] fin, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai saniaŋ dorsal fin.

Mon hn- probably by dialect borrowing, favoured by popular etymology from hneaŋ wing, < following. Note Khmer trənùŋ backbone, dorsal fin, central vein of leaf.

(*[l]nuuŋ see 747 *n[l]uŋ gourd, egg-plant.)

†601 *sn₁iəŋ *wing*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, North & Central Asian) Middle Mon *sneñ* /sneŋ/, Modern Mon *hneŋ*, Khasi [*thap*]-*niang* (compounding form!), Semang *sinyeng* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 117), by dissimilation Jehai *kəŋeŋ*, Temiar *kenye:k*.

~ B51 *[]piəŋ?

Sora [ər]-ə'ne:ŋ-ən.

602 *piŋ *pool, marsh*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *paŋ* *reservoir fish-trap of permanent type*, Old Khmer *piñ*, Modern Khmer *bɿŋ* *lake, pool, marsh*; → Thai *buaŋ* *marsh, marshland*, perhaps → Lawa Bo Luang *mbəiŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *mbiŋ* *mud*.

Cf. 628 *[d]baŋ[] &c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13 (b).)

603 *p[e]ŋ *to attack with horn or tusk*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Kuy *pɛ:ŋ* *to attack with horn*, Bru *tape:ŋ* *to gore*, Sre *pɛŋ* *to attack with horn, tusk*, Chrau *pɛ:ŋ* *to stub one's toe against*, Biat *pɛ:ŋ* *to attack with tusk*; (?) ~ Mon *neŋ* *barb [of fishhook]*.

Cf. 597 *gnaiŋ &c. *tusk, eye-tooth*.

604 *paŋ *to listen (to)*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon *pañ* [*rmiñ*], Modern Mon *pɛŋ* [*mòiŋ*], West Bahnar *paŋ* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham *paŋ* *to hear*, Röglai *pak* *to listen*. (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

605 *paəŋ *mouth, opening*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Asian, Nicobaric, ?Khmuic) Old Mon *pāñ* /*paŋ*/, Modern Mon *paŋ* *mouth, opening*, Khmer *ba:ŋ* *bay, gulf, seaport*, Mah Meri *pak*, Central Nicobarese [*oal*]-*fa:ŋ* *mouth*, Nancowry *ʔuálfáŋ*; ~ Semai *mpa:k* *mouth*; ? ~ Thin *pənnəŋ* *cave*.

~ 484 *ʔaəŋ *to open [mouth]...*? Cf. also following.

(SHAFFER 1965 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 202.)

606 *pa[a]ŋ *to open*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin *paŋ*; ~ (*[p]npa[a]ŋ >) Praok *baŋ*.

= preceding? or causative ~ 276 *riʔaəŋ?

607 *pəŋ *to hammer, nail*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *pəŋ* *to hammer on, pound*, Sre *pəŋ*, Biat *pəŋ* *to drive in*, Bahnar *pəŋ* *to nail, to peg*, Jeh *pàŋ* *to drive nail*, Halang *pəŋ* *to hammer*.

(SHAFFER 1965 101; BLOOD 1966 128; SMITH 1972 99.)

608 *p[ɔ̌]ŋ *tuber*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy **pɔ̌ŋ** *kinds of tuber*, Bru **pə̌ŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṽpɔ̌ŋ** *tuber*.
 Connection uncertain 614 *t₁pu(u)ŋ *cucumber, melon*; perhaps *puŋ (Riang-Lang),
 *pə̌ŋ. Biat has **bu:m rpoŋ** *yam*, by attraction **rpoŋ** c. < *t₁rpuŋ.

608a *pɔ̌ŋ *window*.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru **pɔ̌ŋ** *hole, wall aperture*, Kammu-Yuan **pɔ̌ŋ[yem]**,
 Lawa Bo Luang **paŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **pɔ̌ŋ**.
 Cf. A41 *lnpuuŋ *door, window*.

(*poŋ see 101 *pooʔ *to swell, expand*.)

609 *puuŋ *butterfly*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **pɔ̌ŋ** [həmao] *butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly*, Riang-Lang **ṽpuŋ** [ṽpaʔ] *butterfly*.
 Cf. Palaung (Mon, songs) **paŋ pa**; & B53 *ɓuuŋ.

610 *[]puuŋ *cooked rice, rice mash*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **pūn** /puŋ/, Modern Mon **pɔ̌ŋ** *cooked rice*,
 Bahnar **pūŋ** *mash from which rice-wine is made* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~ ?) Khasi
 [ja]-sapung.

611 *kpa[a]ŋ *palm, sole*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pà:ŋ**, Sre **paŋ** [ti &c.]; ~ Sre **kəlpəŋ** *palm, sole, flat surface*,
 Chrau **ləpə:ŋ**, Bahnar **təpə:ŋ** by assimilation, Kontum Bahnar **kəpə:ŋ** *palm, sole*,
 Jeh **kapa:ŋ** *quantifier for hands, feet*, Halang **kəpə:ŋ** *foot*; ~ (*knpa[a]ŋ >) Biat
mpə:ŋ *palm, sole*.

Connect Chrau **paŋ** *quantifier for flat things*; Vietnamese **phẳng** *flat surface*?
 (SHAFFER 1965 533; BLOOD 1966 308; SMITH 1972 155.)

612 *[c]puuŋ *to wallow*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **phu:ŋ**, Biat **pu:ŋ** [bək], Bahnar **pūŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~
 Sre **apuŋ**; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Biat **nu:ŋ** *lair of rhinoceros*; ~ Sre
pərnəŋ *lair* (DOURNES 1950), Stieng **prənu:ŋ**, Bahnar **pənu:ŋ** *wallow*.
 Connect obscure Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ (under the entry 628 *[d]baŋ[]).

613 *t₂p[oo]ŋ *to bind round*.

(Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Mon **kowiŋ** (!) **twiŋ** &c. *to bind round something, bind something round* (contaminated by **həmoŋ**, below), Khasi **spong** *turban, to put turban on*; ~
 Thin **həmpɔ̌ŋ** *turban*.
 Mon shows contamination with **həmoŋ** *to wind round, coil round, swathe*, ~ **həmoŋ**
[dɔp] *turban*. < Middle Mon **tam'in** *kind of ceremonial waistcloth*, probably <
 *tnɓ[ə, i(i)]ŋ.

614 ***t₁puŋ**; ***t₁puuŋ** *cucumber, melon.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [**yu:əŋ**]-**poŋ**! *Cucurbita lagenaria* (?); ~ (***t₁rpuŋ** >) Sre **rəpuŋ** *cucumber*, Chrau **rəpuŋ** *melon*, Biat **rpoŋ** *cucumber*, (— **khə:** &c.) *melon*; ~ (***t₁npuŋ** >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmpóŋ** *head*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **tbo:ŋ** *head*, Kuy [**ŋkɛ:l**] **po:ŋ** *melon*; ~ (***t₁rpuuŋ** >) West Bahnar **kəpu:ŋ**, **təpu:ŋ** *water-melon* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **kapu:ŋ**, Halang **təpu:ŋ** *cucumber*.

Connect Nancowry **tamifõ?** *melon*. Cf. **608** ***p[ɔ]ŋ** *tuber*.

(SHAFFER 1965 474; BLOOD 1966 169.)

615 ***pnpuŋ**; ***pnpuuŋ**; ***pnpiəŋ** *kinds of tree with bright red flowers.*

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **vông** *flamboyant*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon [**chu**] **pum̐puñ** /**pəmpuŋ**/ *flame of the forest*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **pum̐peñ** /**pəmpen**/, Modern Mon **həpeaŋ** *coral tree*, *Erythrina indica* Lamarck.

616 ***lpuŋ**; ***lpuuŋ**; by metathesis ***pluuŋ**; ***pləŋ** *to blow.*

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **puŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*].

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **pauŋ**, Lawa Umphai **pauŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*]; ~ (***lmpuuŋ** >) Praok **baəŋ** *wind*.

C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **plauŋ** = **pauŋ**.

D: (Kuy) Kuy **pləŋ** *to play* [*wind instrument*], *to inflate*.

Cf. **2028** ***puh** &c.

[†]**617** ***[s]piəŋ** *(kind of) cooked rice.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sbiaŋ** *supplies, provisions, food for journey* (→ Thai **sabian**), Sre, Biat **piaŋ**, Chrau **piəŋ** *cooked rice* (SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFFER 1965 552; BLOOD 1966 106.)

Kharia 'əmpəŋ *flat rice* (PINNOW 1959 K 504a).

Proto-Austronesian *əNpi[]əŋ *young paddy cooked in husk and pounded*: Gayo **t-ěmping**, Acehese **ömpiəŋ**, Malay **ěmping** (→ Javanese), Iban **k-emping** (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

618 ***spəŋ** *long waistcloth.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **sbəŋ** *monk's waistcloth*; → Thai **sabon**; ~ Old Mon **sirpuñ** /**sərpəŋ**/ (*ceremonial*) *waistcloth*, Modern Mon **həpaŋ** *monk's waistcloth*; ~

(***snpəŋ** >) (Mon **həpaŋ** in part?) → Burmese **sai:puin**: *monk's waistcloth*, → Shan **shāŋ**ṣṣ, → Riang-Lang **san_pəŋ** *waistcloth*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

619 *baŋ; *ba[a]ŋ terrace, embankment.

A: (Mon) Mon **pəaŋ** *embankment, earth platform, convex slope*; ~ Late Old Mon **bnan̄** /**bnan̄**/ *unit of land measure, Modern Mon nən̄ paddy-bund, compartment of paddy-field as land measure.*

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon **bān̄** *neceding tiers at base of stupa*; ~ Sre **bəna:ŋ** *levelled ground*; ~ Palaung **maŋ** *embankment* (MILNE 1931).

Cf. 626 *kbaiŋ *rampart*.

620 *baiŋ cup.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **pè:ŋ** *beaker*, Stieng **be:ŋ** *small copper cup for rice-spirit*; ~ (*[b]nbaiŋ >) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbaŋ** *dish, kind of earthenware bowl*; ~ (*brbaiŋ >) Mon **həpàŋ** **babān̄** *offering-vessel of plantain stalk.*

Old Mon **birben̄** /**bərben̄**/, Modern Mon **həpəaŋ** *almsbowl*, compared at SCHMIDT 1905 60, is perhaps < a variant *brbiəŋ.

621 *bəŋ to surround, to bind round.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **biŋ** /**bəŋ**/ *to surround, besiege*, Modern Mon **pàŋ** *to surround*, Bahnar **bəŋ** *to put round waist, wrist, &c., to bind cover over mouth of jar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also **pəŋ**).

Connect Khmer **pùŋ** *to reinforce by binding*; Stieng **ba:ŋ** *to fence in*; & 357 *bək &c. *to bind (round)*.

†622 *b[o]ŋ hole, to bore.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **bəŋ** (or **buŋ?**) *hole*, (MILNE 1931) *to bore a hole* (→ Shan **mǎŋ n.**, → Riang-Lang **ṽbəŋ**), Khasi **pong**, Sakai **puk v.** (i.e. Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 342); ~ Semang **ěmpoŋ n.** (i.e. Jehai; ib. H 108); ~ (*ko[o]ŋ >) Mon **kwàŋ** *hollow in tree*; ~ Khasi **kpoŋ** *to dig a hole*; ~ Bru **rampò:ŋ** *large hole in tree* (? < *knboŋ).

Kharia **fəŋ**-['ga?] *to bore*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 380; Pinnow connects Khmer **prəhaŋ** *hole* as well as 790 *dhoŋs, & suggests Proto-Austroasiatic *piGəŋ).

Proto-Austronesian ***buŋbuŋ**: Toba Batak **bungbung** *to be hollow*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36).

623 *[]b[oo]ŋ feeding-trough.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **bo:ŋ** [sur], Chrau **və:ŋ**, Biat **bə:ŋ** *feeding-trough*, Bahnar **bə:ŋ!** *feeding-trough, pig-food bin* (by arbitrary differentiation **bə:ŋ** *large container?*), Bru **tapùəŋ**.

Connect 627 *gb[o]ŋ *paddy-bin?*

(*[b]ooŋ see 108 *[b]oo? *to swell, bulge*.)

†624 *buŋ[]; *buuŋ? belly.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **pùŋ** (→ Thai **p^huŋ**), Kuy **phùŋ**, Bahnar **buŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **pəŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **po:ŋ**, Vietnamese **bung**.

There is contamination throughout Austric with *to swell* (cf. 101 *poŋ, 108 *[b]ooŋ &c.); note then Chrau **gəŋ ləpə:ŋ**, Biat **poŋ wə?** &c. *flank*, Kammu-Yuan **pó:ŋ**, Palaung **kiŋ pəŋ groin** (Palaung MILNE 1931 *lower part of belly*), Nancowry **kinpón** *kidney*. Cf. also 358 *bo[]k.

(SHAFFER 1965 576.)

Sora **kəm(')puŋ-ən**, (compounding form) -'puŋ-ən (contaminated by **puŋ-** *to swell*, cf. 101).

Proto-Austronesian *kəNpuŋ: Javanese **kəmpung**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 79).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 230-1. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 6 (b).)

624a *buŋ; *buuŋ large cooking-pot.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **[glah] boŋ** *large vessel for heating water*, Bahnar **[gə?] buŋ** *largest size of cooking-pot*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[glah] bouŋ** *large cooking-pot*.

= preceding?

(*buŋ see also 629 *[d]buŋ *foetus*; *[b]uŋ see 108 *[b]oo? *to swell, bulge*.)

†625 *buuŋ; *buəŋ bunch, collection.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **tərpun** *clump, collection* (**tər-** *reciprocal*).

B: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy **phù:əŋ** *bunch, cluster*, Palaung **bəŋ** *bundle*, (MILNE 1931) *bunch*, Vietnamese **buồng** *bunch*, Nancowry **púŋ** *group, collection*.

Sora **tum'buŋ-** *to heap up*; (-ən) *heap* ~ **tənum'buŋ-ən** *collection*.

Not Proto-Mon-Khmer *tb- in view of Vietnamese tone.

626 *kbaŋ rampart.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **keba:ŋ-[kebəŋ]** *hillock*; ~ Old Mon **kumbeŋ** /kəmbaŋ/ *city &c. wall*, Modern Mon **kəmaŋ** *brick or stone wall*, Old Khmer **kaŋveŋ**, Modern Khmer **kəmpə:ŋ** (*city*) *wall*; → Thai **kamp^hεŋ**, → Khmer **kəmpəaŋ**.

~ 619 *ba[a]ŋ (then *baŋ) *terrace, embankment*?

627 *gb[o]ŋ *paddy-bin*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Mon **kwàŋ** *large wicker basket for storing paddy*, Khmer **pò:ŋ** *paddy-store under house*, Sre **boŋ** [ko:y], Bahnar **buŋ** *paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary*, (?) Palaung **buŋ** *receptacle*; → Cham **pùŋ**, Röglai **boŋ** [pədey] *paddy-bin of twilled bamboo in granary*; probably ~ → Toba Batak **hombung** *large chest* (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 76 to *kə(m)buŋ *to swell*), Malay **kěmbong** *paddy-bin*.

Connect 623 *[]b[oo]ŋ *feeding-trough*? Cf. further Malay **těrubong** *bark rice-bin*; Khmer **səmpùŋ**, **səmpùəŋ** *container*; Bahnar **bɔ:ŋ** *large chest* (&c., see SMITH 1972 172);

Proto-Austronesian *lu(N)buŋ *granary* (BLUST 1973 no. 210, Proto-Hesperonesian). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

628 *[d]baŋ[]; *[d]buuŋh *pool, marsh*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon **bañ** [*bway* &c.] *marshy pool*; ~ Old Khmer **travañ**, Modern Khmer **trəpəəŋ** *pool, marsh*, Kuy (th)**phàŋ** *pond*, Stieng **trəba:ŋ** *pool*, Sre **tərbaŋ** *tank fish-trap dug at edge of rice-field* (DOURNES 1950; & **pəbaŋ**).

B: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **pung** *pool*; (?) → Shan **pŭŋ** *mud, puddle*, → Riang-Lang **puŋ**; ~ Vietnamese **vũng** *pool*.

Cf. 602 *piŋ. Connection uncertain (i) Mon **həmèəŋ** **damañ** *funnel-shaped fish-trap moored to stake in tidal waters*, → Burmese **damañ**; (ii) Kharia **ḍobha** *pool*, &c., PINNOW 1959 379; (iii) Karo Batak, Malay **kubang** *buffalo wallow*, &c. (Proto-Austronesian *kubaŋ, Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 139).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 13.)

629 *[d]buŋ *foetus*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **buŋ** *foetus; to die in childbirth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[d]nbuŋ >) Mon **həməŋ** [**həlèəŋ**] **damuñ** &c. *foetus*.

Or *buŋ? Connect perhaps 108 *[b]uŋ *to swell, bulge*.

*629a *lmb[ə]ŋ *shoot*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North & South Aslian) Khmer **lùmpùəŋ** *young shoots from pruned tree*, Bru **lambuŋ** *young [bamboo]*, Semang **abbong** (?) *bamboo shoots* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 33), Besis **lembong** *shoot* (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. S 162).

Connect by metathesis 756 *blə[]ŋ *shoot, sapling*; but connection dubious 636 *t₁baŋ *bamboo shoots*. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

Proto-Austronesian *rəbuŋ: Malay **rěbong** *bamboo shoots*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 102).

630 *ḡiŋ; *biŋ; *ḡiəŋ; *ḡuŋ; *ḡhiŋ; *bhiəŋ spider.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung [ə]bɛŋ.

B: (Khmer) Khmer pì:ŋ[pì:əŋ] *spider*, (*huup ḡiŋ > ?) [ho]pì:ŋ *edible spider*, Bru ʔapìəŋ *spider*; ~ Khmer rəpì:ŋ *spider*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Stieng bɛ:ŋ *spider* (& Khmer [pì:ŋ]pì:əŋ if for *-pì:əŋ).

D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?South Aslian) Sre buŋ *spider*, Besis bo'ng [*spider's*] *web* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 381; ?); ~ (*lḡuŋ by metathesis >) Khasi [thap]bulong *black widow spider*; → Röglai bluŋ *spider*; ~ → North Röglai gabuŋ *spider*.

E: (Mon) Mon phaŋ [cèa], [yèa] phaŋ *spider* (& by secondary deformation cèa paŋ).

F: (Mon) Mon [yèa] phean.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *bV?- ~ *bVh-; tabu deformation likely. Connect Thai bân *edible spider*; & perhaps Kharia 'bendi, &c., PINNOW 1959 344 (< *bɛŋ-di?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

***631 *ḡa[a]ŋ butterfly.**

A: (Palaungic) Praok [puŋ]pɛŋ, Lawa Bo Luang [mbuŋ]mbaŋ, Lawa Umphai [mboŋ]mbuaŋ.

Cf. B53 *ḡuŋ.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kalibaŋbaŋ: Gayo kalang mɛmbang, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 144; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *b[aa]lə(N)baŋ: Siocon Subanun bilimbaŋ, &c. (ib. no. 85; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 245.

632 *[]ḡaaŋ canal.

A: (Kuy, Viet-Mường) Kuy bi:əŋ *canal, small stream*, Vietnamese mường *gutter, ditch, canal* (→ Mường; BARKER 1966 13).

Cf. 637 *tḡo(o)ŋ *ditch* Kuy b- & Vietnamese vocalism suggests earlier *bVʔaŋ.

***633 *kḡaŋ ship, boat.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon kḡaŋ /kḡaŋ/, Modern Mon bɛŋ *ship*, Biat baŋ *coffin*; → Moken kabang *boat, house-boat, ship*, ultimately Malay [balai] gambang *house-boat*; ~ Sre gəbaŋ *coffin*.

Coffin from shape, or as *ship of the dead*. Cf. Central Nicobarese kopək *ship*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *qabaŋ: Kanakanabu (Formosa) abaŋu *boat, canoe*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 307); (ii; by metathesis?) *baNkaq: Tagalog bangkaq *ship*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *-a[h]); & cf. further Iban bong /buung/ *long shallow boat*,

Tagalog, Bikol kabaong *coffin* (< Proto-Philippine *kaba'oŋ, ZORC & CHARLES

1971), (so by metathesis?) Iban bangkong /baŋkuŋ/ *boat*; Proto-Austronesian

*uaNkaŋ *ship*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 114.

634 *kḡəŋ to scoop up.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer kbəŋ *to scoop up with hands*, Khasi kbong *to scoop, clutch, claw*.

635 *[j]biin swollen, fat.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **spì:ŋ** *distended, bloated*; ~ Khasi [*heh* &c.] **lbing** (l-adverbial) *big and fleshy*.

†636 *t₁baŋ (& *t₁baaŋ?) bamboo shoots.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon **t̪aŋ** /**t̪baŋ**/, Modern Mon **bəŋ**, Katuic, Biat **baŋ**, (variant >?) Stieng **ba:ŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **təpán**, Palaung **bəŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **poŋ**, Lawa Umphai **phoŋ** (→ Mae Sariang **phoŋ**, **phuŋ**), Vietnamese **mǎng** [*tre*]; ~ Khmer **tùmpɛəŋ** (*bamboo shoots*, Sre **baŋ** *bamboo shoots*, Chrau **davaŋ** *sprout*; ~ Bahnar **təbaŋ**, Jeh **tabaŋ**, Halang **dəbaŋ** *bamboo shoots*).

Connection dubious **629a *lm[b][ə]ŋ shoots**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; SMITH 1972 127.)

Sora **'ta:bəŋ-ən** *bamboo shoots*.

Note Tagalog **usbong** *shoots*, Cebuano Bisayan **usbung** *top of plant*.

637 *tbəŋ; *tbəoŋ ditch.

A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar **bə:ŋ** *gully, water-channel, ditch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (B); ~ (A) Old Mon **tar̥bən** /**tər̥bawŋ**/, Modern Mon **həbaŋ** *moat*, (A/B) Sre **rəbəŋ** *ditch*, (B) Bahnar **həbə:ŋ** = **bə:ŋ**; → Röglai **rəbəŋ**, North Röglai **rubə:k** *ditch*.

Cf. **632 *[j]baaŋ canal**.

638 *maŋ; *maaŋ night, evening.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **maŋ** *evening, night*, Biat, Jeh, Halang **maŋ** *night*, Bahnar **maŋ** *night, dark*; ~ (***mnaŋ** >) Sre **bənaŋ** *night*, Chrau **naŋ**, (*quantifier*) **vənaŋ**, Biat **naŋ** *quantifier*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre **ma:ŋ** *night*; ~ Stieng **na:ŋ** *quantifier*.

(SHAFFER 1965 164; BLOOD 1966 355; SMITH 1972 125, 135.)

†639 *[g]ma[a]ŋ to possess.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_maŋ** *to be, exist, to have, to be rich*, Central Sakai **mang** *to be*; ~ Thin **rmaŋ** *wealth, possessions*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Palaung **pərmaŋ**, Praok **siməŋ** *chief*; (ii) Palaung **bərmaŋ** *how much?*

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)

Sora **'gaməŋ-**, **'gumaŋ-** *rich, to become rich*.

640 *cmiəŋ to look round.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **chmiəŋ**, Chrau **miəŋ** *to look round*, Bahnar **mi'əŋ** *to look round furtively* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

641 *jrm[a]ŋ *spurs of cock*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre jərmaŋ (→ Rōglai), Chrau jəmaŋ, Biat rmaŋ, Bahnar dialects həməŋ, səməŋ (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Conceivably ~ 538 *jəŋ *foot, leg*; otherwise Bahnar vocalism by phrasal rhyme in bəməŋ &c. jəŋ.

642 *t₁m[uə]ŋ? *nail, claw*.

(Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin hməŋ, Vietnamese móng; ~ Kammu-Yuan təmmə:ŋ, Thin tǝmhməŋ.

643 *dməwŋ *to remain, continue, be*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon dmon /dməwŋ/ *to remain, be (located), reside, stay*, Modern Mon mōŋ *to remain, stay, continue, reside*, Sre mo:ŋ *to be accustomed to*, Central Sakai mong *to be*; ~ (*dnməwŋ >?) Bahnar pəmə:ŋ *to be accustomed [to]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88.)

644 *[n]məŋ *gnat*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer məməŋ (& məməŋ), Chrau rəməŋ.

Or *m(r)məŋ? If *nm-, connected perhaps Proto-Austronesian *ŋamuk, DEMPWOLFF 1938 108 (& *lamuk, DEMPWOLFF 1938 91; Proto-Hesperonesian); with nasal final by assimilation

(*məməŋ see preceding.)

645 *rmaŋ *kind of deer*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon mēaŋ *Rucervus thamin*, Old Khmer ramañ, Modern Khmer rəməŋ *Cervus aristotelis*, Kuy lmaŋ *Cervus eldi*; → Burmese [sa]mañ *Rucervus thamin*; Thai lamāŋ *Rucervus thamin*, → Khmer lmēaŋ *Cervus aristotelis*; ~ (*rmaŋ >) Old Mon ramañ /rəmmaŋ/ *Rucervus thamin*, Old Khmer rmmāñ *Cervus aristotelis*.

646 *rməŋ *to hear*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon rmeñ, rmiñ ?/rməŋ/, Modern Mon mōiŋ *to hear*, Khmer thmēaŋ *to prick up ears*, Bahnar məŋ *to listen to*, Praok moŋ, Lawa Bo Luang hmaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hməŋ *to hear*.

Besisi miong, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60 (d), is probably rather ~ 649

*ky[ə]ŋ. Cf. 833 *mə(ə)c.

(SHAFFER 1965 388; SMITH 1972 104.)

647 *[]yəŋ; *[]yəəŋ *deer, venison*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yəŋ *meat*, (~?) Sre (→ Röglai) ayəŋ *Panolia eldi deer*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat yə:ŋ *large kind of deer*, Palaung yuəŋ *meat*.

648 *yuŋ; *yuuŋ; *yuəŋ *to hang*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy yùŋ *to hang on to, hang from*; ~ Khmer prəyùŋ *to hang on to, hang from*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy yò:ŋ *to hang [rope &c.]*, Bru tayŋ, Stieng ju:ŋ, iu:ŋ, Sre youŋ, Biat yo:ŋ *to hang up*; ~ Chrau tənyo:ŋ *to hang up* (tən-causative); ~ Khmer rəyò:ŋ *dangling*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese ðòng (for **giòng) *to let [rope] hang, lower by rope*. Connect Kuy (t)ɲaŋ *to hang up*; ← South Bahnaric?

649 *ky[ə]ŋ *to hear*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Kensiu kəjəŋ, Temiar kəyək, Mah Meri kayək, Central Nicobarese ya:ŋ, Nancowry yán; ~ (*kny[ə]ŋ >) Halang ɲəŋ *to hear*, Jeh ɲàŋ, Kammu-Yuan kəmpjəŋ *to hear, listen*, Semelai ɲyəŋ *to hear*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 60.)

†650 *ky[o]ŋ *elbow*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre coŋ [moŋ], Semang kayong (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42); ~ Sakai kanyong (i.e. Lanoh; ib.).

Palaung koŋe?, kaŋ kə? are prima facie ← Shan kǝŋ *bend*, kǝk *to be crooked*, but with them cf. Chrau kuŋ kiəŋ ti: *elbow*, Bahnar ku:ŋ(ke:ŋ) *hollow of elbow*. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), kəŋ *arm*, (— ke:ŋ) *elbow*, Central Nicobarese det-oŋke:əŋ *elbow*, Nancowry rétʔuŋkián. Connect 891 *kiŋ[] &c.?

Sora kuŋ-['si:-n] (or : Chrau &c.? Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 517).

†651 *gy[u]ŋ *to be alive*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon càŋ gyuiŋ *to be alive, to be raw*, East Bahnar dji:ŋ, Kontum giəŋ *to grow well, flourish* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (contaminated by 538(II) *jiŋ *to stand, to become?*); ~ Middle Mon gamyoŋ /gəmyuŋ/, Modern Mon həyàŋ *(to be) living*.

Connection dubious Mường khǝŋ (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese sống *to live, be alive, to be raw*; as Tibeto-Burman *śriŋ, BENEDICT 1972 85 no. 404 & n. 252. Sora ə'jaŋ, ə'jeŋ *raw*; (?) mʔe:ŋ- *to live, be alive*.

652 *gyuŋ *spouse*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Vietnamese chồng; ~ (*gryuŋ >) Middle Mon gayoŋ /gəyuŋ/ *husband*, Modern Mon həyàŋ *spouse*; ~ Jelai pərgiōkⁿ *to marry* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 54A).

653 *dyuŋ; *dyuŋ black, dark.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (***dnyuŋ** >) Sre **ɲuŋ** [animal] having a black coat; (**jəŋo** —) dark; ~ Old Mon **duŋyoŋ** /**dəmyuŋ**/ black (?), Modern Mon **həyàŋ** dark brown.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **ɲu:ŋ** very dark, Jeh **ʔɲu:ŋ**, Halang **ɲu:ŋ** black.

Connect obscure **654 *syuəŋ**.

(***[b]ryu(ə)ŋ** see **706 *briəŋ** rainbow.)

653a *[s]ya[a]ŋ female [animal].

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **yá:ŋ** ~ (***[s]nya[a]ŋ** >) Riang-Lang **ɲaŋ**.

654 *syuəŋ black.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Sre **soaŋ**, Khmu' **hiaŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **yáŋ**, Khasi **ïong**.

Sre -**ɲ** by assimilation; Khmuic vocalism environmental. Connection obscure **653 *dyu(u)ŋ**.

655 *riŋ; *riiŋ level, equal.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **riŋ**; ~ Sre **pənriŋ**, Biat **ndruŋ** to level; ~ Palaung **kərpren** to be equal (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang **tərkren** equal amount.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar **ri:ŋ** [**rə:ŋ**] level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh **pri:ŋ** to go along on the level (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Lawa Bo Luang (**ʔa**)**mbrin**, Lawa Umphai **mbrin** to line up, make equal. (contaminated by **659 *riəŋ** to form a row?).

656 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ edge, border.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **reŋ** to skirt (→ Röglai).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Bahnar **re:ŋ** to skirt (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar dialects **ri:ŋ** edge, vicinity; ~ Old Mon **brin** vicinity, Nyah Kur **phriiŋ** edge, rim.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (***juŋ riəŋ** by contraction >?) Old Mon **jünren** /**jənren**/ immediate vicinity; ~ Biat **mɛ:ŋ** edge, margin, Khasi **rmiang** rim, edge, border.

Cf. Proto-Tai ***brin** near, border..., BENEDICT 1975 344; & 1383 ***rim** &c. edge, rim.

657 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ *rəŋ hard, savage, harsh.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon **ràŋ** (→ Burmese **ruin:**) to be wild, savage, coarse, rude (or D?), Khmer **rùŋ** hard, hard, firm, severe (& by phrasal deformation [**trəŋ**] **rəŋ** to compel forcibly, be adamant); ~ Khmer **kùmrùŋ**-[**kùmrèəŋ**] rough, rugged.

B: (Khmer, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **kùmrì:ŋ** rude, coarse, Nancowry **ʔiŋ** hard.

C: (Khasi) Khasi [**dom**] **riang** angry and severe.

D: (Khmer, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer [**kùmrùŋ**]-**kùmrèəŋ** rough..., (~?; or C) Khasi [**mradi**] **mreng** animals.

658 *riŋ; *riiŋ; *riəŋ; *rəŋ (& *rəəŋ?) veranda.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) ~ Old Mon *trīn* [jīn] *gallery? surrounding building* (or B, D); ~ (*knriŋ >) Bahnar *kədrīŋ veranda*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau *ndri:ŋ* [ɲi:] *veranda*, Biat *ndri:ŋ* [ɲih] *house platform, veranda*.

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *rəbiəŋ* *corridor, veranda, porch*.

D: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre *rəŋ veranda*; ~ (*[r]nr- >; with perhaps secondary lengthening) Kuy *thr̥:ŋ veranda* (ad 684?).

Perhaps variously ~ 654 *riŋ &c. *edge, border*.

(BLOOD 1966 219.)

659 *riəŋ to form a row.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon *reñ* /reŋ/ *to arrange*, Modern Mon *rèaŋ* *to form a row, to place in a row* (→ Burmese [cī]rañ *to arrange*), Khmer *rìəŋ* *to arrange in series or order; continuously, in succession* (→ Cham *rjōñ*), Stieng *riəŋ* *perpetually*, Bahnar *reŋ* *arrange*, Khasi *riang* *in order, in a row*; ~ Middle Mon *preñ* *to have arrangements made, to prepare, arrange*, Modern Mon *preaŋ* *to prepare, arrange* (→ Old Burmese [plu] pryañ *to repair*, Modern Mon *prañ* *to prepare, repair*), Lawa Umphai *priaŋ* *to mend*; ~ Middle Mon *rweñ, lweñ* *order, orderly succession*, Khmer *rapiañ* *continuance* (GUESDON 1930).

Connect B58 *br[uə]ŋ *to arrange...*? Cf. also 665 *rəəŋ *row*; 655 *ri(i)ŋ *level, equal*. (SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

†660 *raaŋ? light, to shine.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Muong, North Aslian) Bahnar *ra:ŋ* *light, to shine*, Palaung *raŋ* *lamp*, Praok *reŋ* *to be light*, Khasi *rang* [weather] *to be fine*, Vietnamese *rang* *to dawn*, Semang *riag* *glitter, (ya' —) to shine* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 158); ~ (*craaŋ? >) Khmer *sra:ŋ* *to glimmer*, Biat *cra:ŋ* *reflection, to reflect*, Vietnamese *sáng* *light*, Sakai *chěrang* *daylight* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 154); ~ (*pmraaŋ? >) Khmer *bəmpri:əŋ* (→ Kuy *bri:əŋ?*) *dawn*, Kuy *mphri:əŋ* [sai] *moon*, (*pnraaŋ? by assimilation >, or ~) Praok [simuŋ] *greŋ* *morning* [star].

Kharia *le'raŋ*, Juang *leraŋ* *moon* (PINNOW 1959 58).

Proto-Austronesian *təraŋ: Malay *těrang* *bright*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 378, *shine*.

661 *ra[a]ŋ to be disseminated.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon *rān* [chāy], Modern Mon *ràŋ* [chai] *to become widespread, flourish, prosper*; ~ Bahnar *pra:ŋ* *to go, be carried, far and wide* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***raaŋ** see also 276 ***riʔaak** to open, unfold.)

662 *rain to sieve.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **rè:ŋ**, Biat **ra:ŋ**; ~ Sre **səra:ŋ** (to) sieve, (~?) Bahnar **gra:ŋ** fish-basket.

663 *rə[]ŋ; *raŋ to wander.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Rongao **rə:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **kraŋ**.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **kreŋ**.

Cf. further (i) Vietnamese **rong**, **rông**; (ii)

Sora **'enduŋ**.

664 *rɔŋ; *rɔaŋ to watch (over).

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon **ròŋ rân** to look (at) (or B), Khmer **rùəŋ** to wait for, Sre **roŋ** to watch over, bring up, raise (→ Rōglai), Central Nicobarese **[oŋ]-yɔŋ-[hələ]** to guard, protect, watch over, Nancowry **yáŋ**, **yúŋ** to wait; (or B) ~ Khasi **mrong** expectantly, waitfully.

B: (Bahnaric) Bunör **rɔ:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **ro:ŋ** to bring up, raise, Bahnar **rɔ:ŋ** to look after, bring up, raise, keep, preserve; → Cham **rɔ:ŋ**, Jarai **ro:ŋ**, North Rōglai **ro:k** to bring up, raise; ~ Bahnar **grɔ:ŋ** to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 78.)

665 *rɔaŋ row.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:ŋ** ridge for planting crops, (TANDART 1935) row of plants, avenue, Vietnamese **giòng** (for ****ròng**) line; ~ Stieng **ndrɔ:ŋ** row, Chrau **[a:] kəndrɔ:ŋ** in rows; ~ Chrau **tənrɔ:ŋ** line.

Cf. 659 ***riəŋ** to form a row.

***666 *ruŋh; *ruuŋ[]; *rəŋ[]** hole, hollow.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Asian) Vietnamese **rõng** hole in tree; (or B) Besis **səro^kng** pit, cavity, bore of blowpipe (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66); ~ Kuy **proŋ** pit, hole, Bru **prùŋ**; ~ obsolete. Khmer **bruñ** hollow, Sre **broŋ** hollow in tree; ~ Biat **ndroŋ** **[bo:k]** fontanel.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:ŋ** hollow, cave, den; to hollow out, Stieng **ru:ŋ** cave, burrow.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Mon) ~ Old Mon **sruñ** /**sruŋ**/, Modern Mon **saŋ** hollow, Proto-Nyah Kur ***gruŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N230); ~ Khmer **prùəŋ** hole, Kuy **phràŋ** hole, crack, cavity.

Cf. 724 ***luŋ[h]** &c. Praok **rɔŋ** ravine is probably ← Shan **hòŋ**, under the entry 668 ***ruŋ**.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ruaŋ**: Javanese **rong** hole, hollow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 104); (ii) Proto-Formosan ***bəruŋ** hole, cave, den (BENEDICT 1975). See BENEDICT 1975 316; 353, pierced.

***667 *ruŋʔ; *ruuŋ[]; *ruəŋ[]** *ridge, spine, back.*

A: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese *sống* *midrib, ridge, spine.*

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar *rəŋ* *back, behind*, Jeh, Halang *roŋ*, Mường *đuŋ* *back* (CUISINIER 1951); → Cham *rəŋ*, Jarai *ro:ŋ*, Rōglai *rok*, *rək* *back.*

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) → Acehnese *ruəŋ* *back*; ~ Palaung *krəŋ*; ~ Bru *krəŋ* *back*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəntɹə:ŋ* *back*; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang *ṽkhruaŋ* (— *ṽpə*) *spine...*

For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a **đuuk*. Sakai *krökⁿ* *back*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 4, is rather < 1844 **krawʔ*.

(SMITH 1972 143.)

Sora *kə'ruŋ-ən* *backyard*; ~ *kən'duŋ-ən*, compounding form *dəŋ-ən* *back* (PINNOW 1959 367).

668 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruəŋ *channel, river.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang *rəŋ* *river*; (or C?) → Thai *rəŋ* *channel, ditch*, Shan *həŋ* *gully*; ~ Sre *rənoŋ* *channel*; ~ (**kruŋ* >) Thin *hrəŋ*, Mường *không* (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese *sông* *river.*

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Biat *ro:ŋ* [*da:k*] *channel, ditch*, Rōngao *ro:ŋ* *drainage channel, side-channel of river* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Old Mon *kruñ* /*kruŋ*/, Modern Mon *krəŋ*, Central Rōlōm *krə:ŋ* *river*; (or A?) → Shan *khōŋ* *Salween*, → Riang-Lang [*om*] *kroŋ*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Palaung *rəŋ* *torrent* (MILNE 1931), *canal*, Vietnamese *giòng* (for **ròng*) *current, flow, stream*; ~ Bunōr (or B?), Bahnar *krə:ŋ* *river*, Kammu-Yuan *krə:ŋ* *Mekong* (or by back-borrowing ← Lao *khəwŋ*?); (& variants?) → Cham *krə:ŋ*, Jarai [*i:a*] *kro:ŋ*, Acehnese *kruəŋ*.

Connect Burmese *mroñ* *gully*, *mroñ*: *canal* (→ Mon *pəroŋ*). Cf. further 733 **kləŋ* *perennial water*; & for Tibeto-Burman **klu:ŋ* BENEDICT 1972 39 no. 127 & 39-40 n. 129.

(BLOOD 1966 76.)

669 *ruŋ; *ruuŋ; *ruəŋ *to fall, drop off.*

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre *ruŋ* [*object*] *to fall to the ground*, Biat *ruŋ* [*fruit*] *to fall, [teeth, hair] to fall out*, Bahnar *ruŋ* *to fall (down), [leaves] to fall; to abort* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Nancowry *yóŋ* *to drip*, *kuyóŋ* *to thresh (by shaking)*; ~ (**təruŋ* >) Biat *groŋ* *to shake [fruit] down.*

B: (South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Stieng *ru:ŋ* *fallen leaves. or fruit* (or A?); ~ (**təruuŋ* >) Chrau *təru:ŋ* *to spill, pour out*; ~ (? , **tərruuŋ* >) Bahnar *təru:ŋ*, *təroŋ* *to be blown away* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat *rə:ŋ* *scantiness [of hair]*.

(**ruŋ* see also 703 **pruŋ* *to pass through*.)

670 *ruuŋ; *r[ə]ŋ unpartitioned building.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) (Old Mon *ruñ* (open-sided) hall if ≠ *rañ*, below,) Middle Mon *ruñ* large building, Modern Mon *rəŋ* large building, shed, Khmer *rò:ŋ* hall, pavilion, large building, shed, Kuy *rò:ŋ* large building, field shelter, Biat *ro:ŋ* shed, Bahnar *ro:ŋ* assembly house; → Burmese *ruñ* shed, *ruñ:* court; Cham *ruñ* hall, shed; Thai *rooŋ* hall, shed.

B: (Mon) Old Mon *rañ* (& *ruñ*?) /*rəŋ*/, Literary Mon *ruñ* hall.

Cf. 697 *[t]ruŋ &c. stable, sty, cage; 725 *luŋ &c. stable, sty, cage.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

(*ruuŋ see also 703 *pruŋ to pass through; *ruəŋ see ib.; 705 *[p]nruəŋ report, news.)

†671 *krii[ŋ] kind of bamboo.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *kriŋ*, Biat *kre:ŋ*.

Sora 'uruŋ-ən (PINNOW 1959 275, cf. 337a), Gorum *uruŋ* bamboo (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976.)

672 *kriiŋ; *kra[i]ŋ great hornbill.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau [ku:ŋ]kri:ŋ rhinoceros hornbill, Sre, Bahnar *kri:ŋ* great hornbill, *Dichoceros* [= *Buceros?*] *bicornis*; ~ Bru *tri:ŋ* hornbill.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang *khraŋ*, Lawa Umphai *kraŋ* hornbill.

673 *kriəŋ (& *kraiŋ?) Eugenia.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Old Mon *kren* /*kren*/, Modern Mon *kreaŋ* *Eugenia*, Kuy *kre:ŋ* (< variant?) *Eugenia jambolana*, Mnong Gar *krieŋ* *Eugenia*, Bahnar [ʔlɔ:ŋ] *kreŋ* kind of wild cherry.

674 *kr[ɔ]ŋ hard.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon *krəŋ* to be h., firm to the touch, Khmer *kraŋ* to be hard, dried and cracked (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Biat *krə:ŋ* [early-]ripening [paddy]; → Röglai *krəŋ* early-ripening.

Khmer vocalism post-liquid? GUESDON 1930 has *kantrañ* to grow stiff, suggesting *-ɔəŋ.

†675 *kruŋ to confine.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Mon *kraŋ* to store, to shut up, imprison, Khmer *kroŋ* to catch by placing net, pot &c. over, Biat *kroŋ* to shut up, Jeh *trùŋ*, *krùŋ* to pen [fowl in basket] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Stieng *kəndru:ŋ* to pen [pigs], Kontum Bahnar *kədrəŋ*, Gölar Bahnar *hədrəŋ* chicken-coop.

Proto-Austronesian **kurəŋ*: Malay *kurong* cabin, compartment, (*běr-*) to be confined, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83-4).

Connected further Tibeto-Burman ***kruŋ** *cage* (Garo, Burmese; → Mon **khraŋ** *to enclose*), BENEDICT 1972 82 no. 389; Thai **kroŋ** *cage*; Indonesian → Mon-Khmer then unlikely. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 223.

676 *graŋ *hill, peak*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **krèaŋ** *peak*, Old Khmer **grāñ**, Modern Khmer **kraŋ**! *hill on flat plain*, Riang-Lang **_raŋ** *hill, mountain*.

677 *graŋ; *graiŋ *to know, understand*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **grāñ** /**graŋ**/ *to have knowledge of, know*, Modern Mon **krèaŋ** *understand*.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **grāñ** /**graiŋ**/ = **grāñ**, Vietnamese **sành** *to be expert in*.

678 *graaŋ *threshing gear*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kràiŋ** *threshing-floor in house compound*, Khmer **krì:əŋ**, Kuy **khri:əŋ** *shallow basket for drying seeds &c. in sun*, Vietnamese **sàng** *winnowing-basket, to winnow*.

***679 *grəŋ** *to thunder*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **krèəŋ-krèəŋ** *Onomatopoeic for reverberating sounds*, Bési **garöŋ** *thunder, to thunder* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 120 (a)); → Burmese **khrun:** *to thunder?*; ~ Bahnar **tədnvŋ** *to thunder to dazzle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. **1392 *grəm[?]** &c.

Proto-Austronesian (i) Paiwan, Ami ***gərəŋ** *thunder* (cited at BENEDICT 1975 368, *rumble...*); (ii) by metathesis Proto-Philippine ***luGuŋ** (ZORC & CHARLES); Proto-Manobo ***rugung** (ELKINS).

Note Proto-Yao ***gluŋ**, BENEDICT 1975.

680 *criŋ; *criiŋ; *criəŋ; *craiŋ; *craŋ *widely spaced*.

A: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan [**səŋràn**] **səŋrìn** *thinly [woven], sparsely*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **soiŋ sriñ**, **criñ** *to be widely spaced*; ~ (***cnriiŋ** >) Bahnar [**bri:**] **dədrì:ŋ**, **tədrì:ŋ** *secondary growth of grass and occasional trees* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khasi; ~ ***cpriəŋ** >) Khasi **saphriang** *to spread, extend* (& **phriang** *to spread out, scatter* by back-fmn).

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **creñ** *spreading, separation [of legs]* (GUESDON 1930), Biat **chra:ŋ** *widely spaced*; ~ (***cmraiŋ** >) Chrau **vra:ŋ** *spread apart*, Bahnar **bra:ŋ** *widely spaced*, Jeh **bra:ŋ** *far apart*, Halang **bra:ŋ** *distance, space*.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **crán** *becoming sparse*.

(SMITH 1972 161.)

680a *[c]riŋ; *[c]riiŋ *to string, thread*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **sriŋ** *to t. [needle], string [beads]* (or B?; probably → Rōglai **sriŋ** *to thread*); ~ (*[c]rriiŋ >) Biat **rluŋ** *string [of beads]*, (**ko:ŋ** —) *necklace*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **kri:ŋ** *to string [beads]* (or A?), Bahnar **sri:ŋ**, **hri:ŋ** *to string [fish]*; (probably) → Cham **thri:ŋ** *to thread*; ~ Bahnar **sədri:ŋ**, **hədri:ŋ** *string of fish &c., kebab*, Bahnar Kontum **dre:ŋ** *necklace*.

Cf. Nancowry **rán** *to thread beads*.

681 *craŋ; *cra[a]ŋ *bank, embankment*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **crañ** /**craŋ**/ *bank*, Modern Mon **səŋ** *bank, shore, side, edge*, Khmer **craŋ** (*steep*) *bank*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **crāñ** (*bund of?*) *tank*, Modern Mon **saiŋ** *dam, reservoir, moat*, Stieng **cʰra:ŋ** *steep*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

682 *[c]rəŋ *beetle*.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ (*[c]rrəŋ >) Bahnar **hərəŋ** *beetles, pest attacking paddy*, Sakai **harang-[háru]** *beetle* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 144A); ~ Sre **sənrəŋ** *kind of water- beetle* (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar **hədrə:ŋ** *kind of beetle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps Khasi [**ñiang**] **riang** (then compounding form) *water- beetle*. But connection uncertain **684** *cru(u)ŋ *caterpillar*.

683 *[c]rəəŋ *loft, rack*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Mon) Chil, Kuañ [**ndra:**] **srə:ŋ** *transverse roof timbers*, Bru **trù:ŋ** *shelf under roof*, Nyah Kur ***thrəəŋ**; ~ (*[c]nrəəŋ >) Central Rölöm **ndrə:ŋ** *shelf under roof*, Biat **ndrə:ŋ** *loft, rack*; ~ (*[c]prəəŋ >) Bahnar **prə:ŋ** *loft*.

*t₂-? Connect **658** *riŋ &c. *veranda*?

(BLOOD 1966 p. 35.)

684 *cruŋ; *cruuŋ *caterpillar*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **jrūŋ**; ~ (*cruuŋ >) Biat **ndroŋ** *caterpillar*; ~ *crruŋ >) Khasi [**ñiang**] **long** (compounding form!) *caterpillar, larva, chrysalis*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **cəndru:ŋ** *caterpillar, worm in fruit* (or A?), Bahnar **hədro:ŋ** *caterpillar, silkworm*, Jeh **idru:ŋ** *wood-eating insect*, Halang **hədru:ŋ** *caterpillar*.

Connection uncertain **682** *[c]rəŋ *beetle*.

(SMITH 1972 118.)

685 *crun; *cruun; *cruəŋ sharpened stake set in ground, panji.

A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese **chông** (!) *spikes, stakes* (perhaps < ***rcun** by metathesis).

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **srouŋ**, Jeh, Halang **sron panji**, Bahnar **srəŋ, hrəŋ panji**; *sharpened to a point*; → Bru **surəŋ point?**; → Cham **carəŋ**, Rōglai **cərok**, Malay **chorong panji**.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **cro:ŋ** *sticking up, standing up; straight*; ~ **cəmro:ŋ panji**, *any object standing upright in earth*.

For North Bahnaric vocalism see **335a *đuuk**. Connection dubious Literary Mon **karān** *stake*.

(SMITH 1972 141.)

686 *jraŋ; *jra[i]ŋ; *jriəŋ hole.

A, B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **jrañ** /**jraŋ**/ *pit* (A), Sre **jiraŋ [nko]** *gullet* (DOURNES 1950); (probably ~) Khasi **jarang** *cranny where fish lurk*; ~ (B; **jra[i]ŋ** >) Bahnar **hədra:ŋ** *hole of small animal*.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **criəŋ** *vertical and deep [hole of animal]*.

687 *jnraaŋ to spread legs.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **həràŋ** *to open [legs], splay*, Khmer **cəŋkrə:ŋ** *to lie on back with arms and legs spread out*, Riang-Lang **_traŋ [_tras]** *to straddle*.

Cf. **577a *jdaŋ** &c. *spread wide...*

†688 *[j]rəŋ red.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_roŋ**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **[yim] sənrò:ŋ [sənrì:ŋ]** (contaminated by **səntùuŋ** ad **788 *thuŋ**).

Kammu-Yuan ...**sənrì:ŋ**, Palaung **reŋ** suggest a variant in *-eŋ.

Santali **jrəŋ** *deep red, scarlet* (PINNOW 1959 396).

Connection uncertain Malay [**merah**] **měrang** *bright red*, Ngaju Dayak **mahiang** *red* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 67, ***iyaŋ**, a dubious construction); Gayo **ilang** *red*.

689 *jruŋ corner, angle.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **crùŋ**, Stieng **jəru:ŋ**, Biat **jruŋ**.

Conceivably South Bahnaric ← Khmer, < ***cr?uŋ**, connected **272 *c?uk** (& Khmer **chù:ŋ**, ib).

690 *jruŋ; *jruuŋ; *jruəŋ; *jrəŋ (& *jrəəŋ by expressive lengthening) high, long.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Bahnar **jʔroŋ** *very high* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **_cəroŋ** *to be high, tall*, Khasi **jrəŋ** *to be high*; ~ (***jnrūŋ** >) Khmer **cəŋkrùŋ** *big and tall* (& **cùŋkrùŋ**, TANDART 1935).

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **cəŋkrò:ŋ, cùəŋkrò:ŋ** *tall, huge, gigantic*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **ʔjrə:ŋ** *long piece*.

D: (Katuic, Central Aslian) Semai **cərak** *long*; ~ (***jnrəəŋ** >) Kuy **nthrù:ŋ** *long*.

763 *slu(u)ŋ *high* contaminated 172 *jrūu? *deep*. Cf. further Khmer *sraoŋ* *lofty*, *sroŋ* *straight down* (< *sru(u)ŋ); & 537 *j[o(o)]ŋ *long, high*.
(SHAFFER 1965 120; cf. PINNOW 1959 340.)

691 *jrūŋ; *jrəŋ; *jraŋ (& *jra[a]ŋ?) *post*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *jəro:ŋ*, Sre *jəroŋ*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau [po:ŋ] *jrəŋ*, Praok *roŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔdaŋ*, Lawa Umphai *ʔroŋ*, Mae Sariang *ʔyoŋ*; by secondary derivation ~ Rieng-Lang *kənraŋ* *house post*, Khasi *kynjreng* *upright*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar *jraŋ* *post*; ~ (*jnra[a]ŋ >?) Thin *cəndraŋ* *house post*.

By metathesis < *jrjuŋ &c., parallel formation to 538 *j/n/juŋ? Note for this Palaung *rəjəŋ* *post*, ~ *jəŋ* *to stand*, ib.

(SMITH 1972 129.)

691a *t₂raŋ; *t₂ra[a]ŋ *forehead*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ (*t₂nraŋ >) Biat *ndraŋ* [kle:ŋ].

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau *tra:ŋ* [vo:ʔ] (B); ~ (*t₂rra(a)ŋ >) Khasi *shyllang[mat]*.

Connection dubious Vietnamese *trán*, unless ← South Bahnaric.

692 *t₂nraaŋ *man, male*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) West Bahnar *kədra:ŋ* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *shynrang*.

693 *t₁raiŋ; *t₁riəŋ; by metathesis *rt₁iəŋ; *rt₁iŋ *kind of reed*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Katuic) Khmer *traeŋ*, Bahnar *tra:ŋ* (*kind of*) *reed*, Thin [trɤh]-*traŋ* *reed*, Bru *tre:ŋ* *kind of tall grass*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat *tre:ŋ* *reed*, Bahnar *treŋ*, Jeh, Halang *triaŋ* *drinking-tube*.

C: (Bahnaric) Chrau *rətiəŋ* *giant reed*, Bahnar dialects *rəkiaŋ*, *rəte:ŋ*, *rəce:ŋ* *kind of reed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tə:m] *ti:ŋ* (!) [kət] *reed*.

Connect perhaps Proto-Austronesian *t/ar/iaŋ *kind of bamboo*: Jarai *tre:ŋ*, &c.

(Proto-Hesperonesian; ch. BLUST 1972 no. 8, *(CtT)eriŋ; NOTHOFFER 1975 52,

Proto-Malayo-Javanese *tamiaŋ). But connection dubious B56 *.riəŋ *straw*.

(SMITH 1972 148.)

694 *tr[ə]ŋ *to filter*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer *trə:ŋ* *to filter, to catch [liquid] in jar &c.*,

Kuy *tra:ŋ*, Stieng *krə:ŋ!* *to filter, krə:ŋ!* *to decant*, Biat *trəŋ* *to filter*.

Khmer lengthening also in 405 *[c]r[ə]k. Stieng *k-* obscure.

695 *trɔŋ to be incompletely ripe.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **krɔŋ** to be halfway ripe, Bahnar **trɔŋ** to be grown to full size but not yet ripe (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

696 *tr[ɔ]ŋ to run straight.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trɔŋ** to be straight, direct, to move directly towards (→ Thai **trɔŋ** straight..., → Kuy **trɔŋ** straight, direct), Stieng **trɔ:ŋ** to aim; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ntrɔŋ** to aim.

Or *trɔŋ.

697 *[t]ruŋ; *[t]ruuŋ; *[t]ruəŋ stable, sty, cage.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?North Bahnaric) Mon **kraŋ** stable, byre, Khmer **trùŋ**, Kuy **thruŋ** cage, pen; → Cham **druŋ** cage; (?) Thai **krɔŋ** cage; ~ West Bahnar **tədruŋ**, East Bahnar **adruŋ** birdcage, laying-box (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (if ≠ Kontum Bahnar **kədruŋ**, &c., chicken-coop, ad 675 ***krɔŋ** to confine; then < *[t]nruŋ).

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruuŋ >) Biat **ndru:ŋ** (— **chəh**) stable, (— **chor**) piggery, sty.

C: (North Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nruəŋ >) Kontum Bahnar **kədrɔ:ŋ** shed for animals (contaminated by ***krɔŋ**?).

Cf. 725 ***luŋ** &c.; 670 ***ruuŋ** &c. unpartitioned building.

698 *truuŋ; *truəŋ path, road.

A: (Bahnaric, South Asian) Stieng, Central Rölöm **tro:ŋ**, Jeh, Halang **truaŋ**, Semelai **təruŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **trɔ:ŋ**.

Connect 703 ***pruŋ** &c. to pass through? Cf. also Thin **ruŋ** road (contaminated by Thai **rŋ**?); & 736 ***glɔ:ŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 216.)

(***t₁ruuŋ** see 558 ***j₁t₁uuŋ** to strike, beat... .)

†699 *d₂raŋ horn.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Old Mon **drañ** /**draŋ**/ elephant's tusk, Modern Mon **krəaŋ** horn, tusk., Praok **ruŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔrəŋ**, Mae Sariang **ʔyəŋ**, Khasi **reng**, Vietnamese **sùng** horn; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cənrùəŋ**, Thin **cəndrũŋ** (& by back-formation **drũŋ**) horn; by secondary derivation ~ Rieng-Lang **kəmrəŋ**.

Connect Palaung **nuŋ**?

Sora **'dere:ŋ-ən**, **'de:raŋ-ən**, **'da:reŋ-ən**, Kharia **dɛ'reŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 347).

Sora suggests vowel assimilation following metathesis; note then Malay **taring** boar's tusk (↔ Semang **tayeng**, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 258). Cf. also Tibeto-Burman ***rwaŋ**, BENEDICT 1972 31-2 no. 85, 32 n. 101; 143.

700 *draŋ (*kind of palm with*) *thorny leaf-stem.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **trèaŋ** *Pandanus laevis* or *Rhapis flabelliformis*, Chrau **draŋ** *hard edge of palm-leaf stalk.*

701 *nriŋ; *snriəŋ *hammock litter, cradle.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ʔəŋrùəŋ**, Biat **ŋruəŋ**.
B: (Mon) Mon **həreaŋ** *sareŋ*; → Thai **sàliəŋ**, → royal Khmer **saliəŋ**.

702 *priiŋ; *priəŋ; *pru[ə]ŋ *oil, fat.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **preiŋ**, Stieng, Biat **pri:ŋ** *oil, fat*, Chrau **[da:ʔ]** **pri:ŋ** *coconut oil*.
B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **preəŋ** *fat; to be delicious*, Riang-Lang **̄priəŋ** *to be delicious*; ~ (***pnriəŋ** >) Jeh **padre:ŋ** *animal fat*, Halang **bədreəŋ** *fat*.
C: (Khasi) Khasi **phrong** *fatty residue of frying-oil*.
Cf. Khasi **phniang** *oil-seed* (< ***rpniəŋ** by metathesis?). Connection dubious **928** *kləŋ.
(SCHMIDT 1905 52.)

703 *pruŋ; *pruəŋ; *pruəŋ *to pass through.*

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre **nroŋ** *narrow passage* (→ Röglai **adroŋ**); ~ Riang-Lang **prəŋ** *pass*.
B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **[hu]** **pruəŋ** *to go through, pass through*, Khasi **phrung** *to enter, pass through, to insert*.
C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **drə:ŋ** *to go through, pass*.
Root perhaps ***ruŋ** &c. Connect **698** ***truəŋ** &c. *path, road?*

(***pruəŋ** see also **921** ***priiŋ** *to contend*.)

704 *pruəŋ *to cook in a bamboo tube.*

- A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Bahnar **pru:ŋ**.
(SHAFER 1965 483.)

705 *[p]nruəŋ; *pnrəŋ *report, news.*

- A: (Palaungic) Praok **grəŋ** *fact, report*.
B: (Mon) Old Mon **pinrii** /**pənrəŋ**/ *news*, Modern Mon **pəraŋ** *news, report*.
Root perhaps ***r(u)əŋ**; connected Bahnar **tədrə:ŋ** *matter, affair*, Jeh **tadro:ŋ** *matter*, Halang **drədroəŋ** *idea* (cf. SMITH 1972 171); Proto-Austronesian ***ta[g'r]uŋ** (then *-r-): Ngaju Dayak **tarong** *news*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-[l]-; Proto-West-Indonesian).

706 *briəŋ (~ ***bnriəŋ**, by metathesis > ***brniəŋ** > ***brɲiəŋ**, by dissimilation > Palaungic &c. ***[b]rɲuəŋ**, ***[b]ryuəŋ**, by analogy also ***[b]ryuŋ**) *rainbow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **briəŋ** [**kəŋ**] (→ Rōglai **briəŋ**); ~ (***bnriəŋ** >) Bahnar **bədrɛ:ŋ**, **pədrɛ:ŋ** (& Rōngao **bədri:ŋ**) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi [**sim**]-**pyllieng** *rainbow*, (by metathesis &c.) Kammu-Yuan **pəryð:ŋ** *dragon*, Thin **pri(y)əŋ** *dragon*, (**dür** —) *rainbow*, Palaung **pəryəŋ** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang [**kay**] **pəɲuəŋ** *rainbow*, Praok **siyəŋ** *rainbow, dragon*, (***[b]ryuŋ** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayəŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rayəŋ** *rainbow*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 274, *dragon, rainbow*.

(SHAFFER 1965 386.)

707 *mraŋ *horse*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **brəŋ**, Riang-Lang **məraŋ**, Praok **bruŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **mbraŋ**, Lawa Umphai **mbrəŋ**, Mae Sariang **mbyəŋ**; ~ (***kuən mraŋ** by contraction >) Kammu-Yuan **həmraŋ**.

Of same origin as Burmese **mraŋ**. For Tibeto-Burman ***m-raŋ** (~ ***s-raŋ-s**) see BENEDICT 1972 43 no. 145 & n. 139; COBLIN 1974:124-5. At BENEDICT 1972 189 n. 487 Benedict argues that ***m-raŋ** & Archaic Chinese **mǎ** 馬 (< ***mwa** < ***mra**) are early loans from a plerisyllabic ***m[raŋ]** of unknown origin.

(SHAFFER 1965 385.)

708 *[s]riə[ŋ] *intestines*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **hriəŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **riəŋ**, Palaung (!) **rəŋ**.

(***snriəŋ** see 701 ***nriŋ** *hammock litter*... .)

709 *sraŋ; *sra[a]ŋ *tooth, sharp projection*.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi **shreng** *dorsal fin, spine, prickle*, Mường **thăng** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **răng** *tooth*; ~ (***smr-** >; or B?) Sre **səmpraŋ** *spiny dorsal fin of certain fish* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ra:ŋ**, Thin, Palaung **hraŋ**, Riang-Lang **raŋ**, Praok **raŋ** *tooth*.

(SHAFFER 1965 205.)

†**710 *liiŋ; *liəŋ** *waterfall, to gush*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy **li:ŋ** *to pour slowly*, Bru **ʔali:ŋ** *to pour*; ~ Bahnar **hli:ŋ** *to pour out*; ~ Biat **rlɛ:ŋ** [**da:k**] *flood*; ~ Semang **paling** *to flow* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 184).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre [**da:**] **liəŋ**, Biat **lɛ:ŋ** *waterfall*; → Cham **liəŋ** *to wash*.

Cf. 719 ***laəŋ?** *to wash*...; 716 ***laŋ** ...*to condense*.

Sora **lɛ:ŋ**-**lɛ:ŋ**- *to be damp, dripping*, Kharia **lɛŋ** *to flow*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 343; Proto-Munda ***lɛŋgi**).

Proto-Austronesian *[jiliŋ]: Javanese **iling** *to pour cautiously from unspouted vessel*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68; Proto-West-Indonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 358, *to p*.

(*liiŋ see also 758 *[r]liiŋ *polished... .*)

711 *liəŋ *young, tender*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **leñ** /leŋ/ *junior [officer]*, Modern Mon [həmɔe] **lèaŋ** *at age of puberty*, Stieng **liəŋ** *pliant, flexible*, Riang-Lang **liəŋ** *shoot, blade*; ~ Palaung **rəliəŋ** *boy, youth*.

Cf. 726 *luŋ &c.

(*liəŋ see also 758 *[r]liiŋ *...to glisten.*)

712 *leŋ *to sport, play*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon **leñ** [**lah**] *to enjoy*, Khmer **lè:ŋ** *to play sport, divert oneself*, Chrau **le:ŋ** *(to do) as a diversion*.

713 *leen (& *leŋ?) *to borrow, hire*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **lòŋ** *to hire, rent*, (variant >?) Sre **leŋ** *to borrow*.

†**714 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *laiŋ** *large raptor*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*laŋ laŋ > *Inlaŋ >) Mon **kənèaŋ** *kite*; ~ (*klaŋ >) Sre **klaŋ**, Chrau **khlaŋ** *hawk, large raptor*, (or variant?) Central Sakai **kla^k** *hawk*.

B, C: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) (Semai **la:ŋ** *buzzard* (TAUERN 1914) if not ← Malay, below); ~ Khmer **khlaeŋ** *kite* (C; → Kuy **lhe:ŋ**, **slè:ŋ** *kite (toy)?*), Kuy **k(ə)la:ŋ** *hawk* (B), Biat **kla:ŋ** *hawk, large raptor*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **kla:ŋ** *hawk* &c., Kammu-Yuan **klá:ŋ** *kite, hawk, eagle*, Palaung, Praok **klaŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṭklaŋ** *kite, hawk*, (C) Khasi **khlieng** (~ **'lieng**) *kite, eagle*, (B/C) Central Nicobarese **kəla:ŋ** *white-bellied eagle*, Nancowry **kalán** *vulture*; → Cham **kala:ŋ**, Jarai **kla:ŋ**, Röglai **kalak**, North Röglai **kala:k** *hawk, large raptor*, Acehnese **klöəŋ** *hawk*.

Cf. A46 *kliŋ *kite (toy)*.

(SHAFFER 1965 63; BLOOD 1966 300; SMITH 1972 156; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 4 (a).)

Sora **ə'daŋ-ən** *kite* Proto-Austronesian *[qS]əlaŋ: Malay **lang**, **həlang** *hawk, kite, eagle*, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 170, Proto-Malayo-Javanese *həllaŋ; Proto-West-Indonesian if Iban **lang** is not ← Malay).

Proto-Austriatic, Proto-Austroasiatic *qəlaŋ or the like? Proto-Mon-Khmer *k- then animal prefix; or < *q-? Hence Tibeto-Burman *laŋ, BENEDICT 1972 72 no. 333 & n. 225; note Kachin **gəlaŋ** *eagle, kite, hawk*.

***715 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liŋ to wander.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre [liŋ] **laŋ** *here and there, back and forth* (→ Röglai), Riang-Lang **laŋ** [le] *to wander abroad*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung (MILNE 1931, songs) [leh] **laŋ**, (~; or tone by phrasal assimilation) Vietnamese **lang** [baŋ &c.] *to wander*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre liŋ [laŋ] *here and there...* (→ Röglai), Praok [hu lay] **liŋ** *to go from place to place*.

Cf. 1513 *ləyh.

Proto-Austronesian (i; *laŋlaŋ) Javanese **langlang** *to wander*; (ii) *d'alaŋ: Malay **jalang** *to wander*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 46; Proto-West-Indonesian).

716 *laŋ to melt, to condense.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ləaŋ *to melt*, Literary Mon **laŋ** also [dew] *to be precipitated*, Khasi **lang** [e.g. water] *to condense, collect*.

Cf. 719 *laaŋ? *to wash...*; 710 *liiŋ &c. ...*to gush*.

717 *laŋ with black markings.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **laŋ** *white with black stripes, piebald* (DOURNES 1950), Riang-Lang **laŋ**, Praok **luŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **laŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **loŋ** *to be black*.

(SHAFFER 1965 390.)

718 *laŋ; *laaŋ; *liiŋ to destroy.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **blaŋ** /**blaŋ**/ [pliŋ].

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer li:əŋ (→ Thai láaŋ); ~ Bahnar **kla:ŋ** *to dig up, ditch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ *bliiŋ >) Khmer **rùmlì:ŋ** *to dig out and clear away [tree-stumps], to dissipate one's property*, (~?) Biat **pli:ŋ** *to break [dyke] down*.

719 *laaŋ? to wash, to bring water to.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon **lāŋ** *to wash (away)*, Khmer li:əŋ (→ Thai láaŋ) *to wash*; ~ late Middle Mon **lamlāŋ** *dew* (contaminated by 716 *laŋ ...*to condense*, which compare?); ~ Literary Mon **klāŋ** *to clean*, Bahnar **kla:ŋ** *to direct water, channel*, Vietnamese **tráng** *to rinse [dish &c.]*; ~ Thin **kəmlaŋ** *to gush out, overflow, to cause to gush out, to spit* (contaminated by 710 *liiŋ &c., which compare).

(SMITH 1972 160.)

720 *la[a]ŋ (& *laŋ?) to unfold.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **laŋ** (< variant?),

Central Rölöm (BLOOD 1966), Bahnar **la:ŋ**, Central Nicobarese [cum]-**la:ŋ**-[haiŋe], Nancowry **lāŋ**, **cuŋlāŋi**.

721 *lɔŋ to be immersed.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *lùəŋ* to drown, Stieng *lɔ:ŋ* to capsize, Central Nicobarese *lɔŋ-[ʃe]* to sink, Nancowry *lɔŋsi*, *lɔŋ* that which cannot float; ~ Stieng *klɔ:ŋ* to immerse; ~ Khmer *bəmpʰlùəŋ* to immerse, sink (TANDART 1935).

Add as derivation 733 *klɔŋ perennial water? Cf. 423 *lək &c.; 1077 *lət &c. to be extinguished.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

722 *lɔŋ; *lɔəŋ to echo.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (*lml- >) Mon *pəlòŋ lamlān* &c., Khmer *lùənlùəŋ* echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A); ~ (*lmp- >; B) Khmer *rùmpò:ŋ*, (TANDART 1935) *lùmpò:ŋ* (to) echo (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; A), (A?) Sre *mpon* echo (→ Röglai).

Cf. Vietnamese *lũng* to resound; Ilocano *gumluong* to resound, reverberate.

723 *lɔəŋ to try, test.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer *lɔ:ŋ*, Kuy *lù:əŋ*, Biat *lɔ:ŋ [uəŋ]*, Stieng, Sre (→ Röglai), Jeh *lɔ:ŋ* to try, test, Bahnar *lɔ:ŋ* to be tested; apparently → Lawa Bo Luang *laŋ*, Lawa Umphai *lɔŋ* by interdialectal borrowing; ~ Khmer *prəlɔ:ŋ* to compete, to take a test (contaminated by 921 *pruŋ to contend?), Bahnar *pəlɔ:ŋ* to try, test; ~ Halang *təloəŋ* to try, test.

(BLOOD 1966 77; SMITH 1972 175.)

†724 *luŋ[h]; *luəŋh; *ləŋ[h] hole, hollow; to bore, excavate.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer *lùŋ* to dig hole, drill, bore, excavate, Central Nicobarese *[oŋ]lɔŋ* to drill hole, Nancowry *ʔuŋlɔŋ*, *lɔŋa* hole; ~ Sre *[da:] tərluŋ* well, Chrau *təluŋ* deep place in river, Jeh *talòŋ* hole (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi *tyllong [um]* well, spring; ~ Bahnar *səluŋ* pit, ditch, well, abyss.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer *rùmlò:ŋ* flood-basin; ~ Vietnamese *trũng* to be concave, low, hollow; ~ (*trluəŋh >) Bahnar *tədu:ŋ* hole, hollow, cutting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer *ʔənlùəŋ* hole in stream-bed; ~ Mon *klan* to bore (rather than A, cf. next); ~ Middle Mon *kamluiñ*, Modern Mon *pəlaŋ* well.

Add as derivatives 745 *t₁luŋ &c. throat; 747 *d₂luŋ &c. boat? Cf. also 666 *ruŋh &c. hole, hollow; 733 *klɔŋ perennial water.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58.)

Sora *lʔu:ŋ-ən*, (compounding form) (')lu(:)ŋ-ən pit.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *baluŋ: Malay *balong* pond, pool, puddle, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 25; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *paluŋ: Malay *palung* trough, &c. (ib. no. 283; Proto-Hesperonesian).

725 *luŋ; *luuŋ; *luəŋ *stable, sty, cage.*

A: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese **lồng** *cage*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) **louŋ** *sty*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) ~ Vietnamese **chuồng** (for **trường**) *cage, shed, coop, stable, sty*; ~ (***nləuŋ** >) Biat **nəuŋ** *cage*.

Cf. 697 ***[t]ruŋ** &c.

726 *luŋ; *luuŋ; *luəŋ *young, tender.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) ~ Khmer **pùənlùŋ** *young bamboo plant*, Sre **bənuŋ** *young [plant]*, Bahnar **bənuŋ** *young, young bamboo*.

B: (Palaungic) Khasi **lung** *young, tender*; ~ (***t₂əəm luuŋ** by contraction >?) Thin **cluŋ** *shoot*; ~ Riang-Lang **pluŋ** *to be tender, to be adolescent*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **bləuŋ** *adolescent person; [bamboo] beginning to grow* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Röglai **lon** *young [plant]*; & 711 ***liəŋ**. Connect 756 ***blə[]ŋ** *shoot, sapling?*

727 *luŋ; *luəŋ; *ləŋ *above, on.*

A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Riang-Lang **ləŋ** *on (to)*, Praok **lon** *above*, Sakai **[gua]-long** *on top* (i.e. Jah Hut; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 9); ~ (***[]nləuŋ** >) Palaung **nuŋ** *far above*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **ləŋ** *(to go) high up*.

C: (Khasi; ~ ***[]nləŋ** >) Khasi **nəŋ** *above*.

Cf. (i) Kontum Bahnar **kəpəŋ** *above, on top of*, Halang **pəŋ** *above*, Jeh **pəŋ** *upper side* (< ***lpə(ə)ŋ**? Kuy **has pəŋ** *on, above*, Bru **pəŋ** *above*); (ii) Sora **lan̄ka:n** *above*, &c., PINNOW 1959 364. But connection dubious Old Mon **clon** /**cləŋ**/ *highest point, spire*; or Khmer **laəŋ** *to rise up...*, ↔ Thai **lǎəŋ** *going up too high*.

728 *luuŋ *to sway.*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **[ləŋ** &c.] **ləŋ** *swaying, vibrating, teetering* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **luŋ [laŋ]** *to swing* (MILNE 1931), Praok **[puk plək] luŋ [ləŋ]** *to sway*; ~ Khmer **khləŋ** *unstable, swaying*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**. Cf. (i) B59 ***[l]a[a]ŋ**; (ii) Bahnar **ləŋ gəŋ** *swaying, swinging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (iii) Santali **lawəŋ lawəŋ** *dangling, hanging loosely*, PINNOW 1959 K 523.

729 *luuŋ; *luəŋ; *liiŋ *firefly.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **[way] luŋ**, Biat **luŋ** *glow-worm*, Riang-Lang **luŋ [liau]** *firefly*.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **hləŋ** *firefly* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Mon, Khmuic, Katuic) Mon **[lək] loŋ**; ~ Kammu dialect **[rəŋ] kləŋ**; ~ Bru **malŋ ləŋ**.

729a *kli[ŋ]; *klii[ŋ] black ant.

A: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **kəmilenŋ** *kind of small black ant.*

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **kali:ŋ**, Biat **kule:ŋ**, (or A?) Sre **kəlinŋ** *black ant.*

Or *-j; so connected B68 ***briiŋ** &c. *kind of ant?*

730 *klinŋ; *kliiŋ; *kliəŋ to rotate, to spin.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **krəlŋ** *to rotate, to turn on lathe*; ~ Palaung **kənlenŋ** *wheel*, Riang-Lang **kənlenŋ** *wheel, spinning-wheel*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **klinŋ** *to spin*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaləiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rəleiŋ** *spindle*.

C: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon **klen** /**klenŋ**/, Modern Mon **keanŋ** *to spin*, Thin **kliəŋ** *to rotate*; ~ (***knliəŋ** >) Middle Mon **kanen**, Literary Mon **knen** *spindle* (& Modern Mon **neanŋ** by hypercorrection).

731 *[k]liəŋ forehead.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **[ndranŋ] kle:ŋ**, Bahnar **kleŋ**, Jeh **kle:ŋ**, Halang **kleanŋ**; by secondary derivation ~ Sre **biŋliəŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 97; SMITH 1972 123.)

732 *klaŋʔ; *kla[a]ŋ[] white.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Muong (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **trắng**; ~ (***kmlaŋʔ** >; contaminated by 750 ***plaŋʔ** *to shine?*) Bahnar **blaŋ** *shining white* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric; ~ ***kmla[a]ŋ[]** >) Bahnar **bəla:ŋ** *white[thread]*, (by assimilation ***knl-** >) Chrau **kəna:ŋ**, Biat **ŋla:ŋ** *white*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **sənlə:ŋ** *clean white, brand-new*.

733 *kləŋ perennial water.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Stieng **klə:ŋ** *deep place in stream, pool in marsh*, Sre **kləŋ** *water-hole in river bed*, Bahnar **kləŋ** *deep part of river*, Bru **kləŋ** *water-hole, deep-water channel*, Palaung **kləŋ** *quantifier for watercourses* (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Bo Luang **kləŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kləŋ** *stream*; ~ (***kpləŋ** >) Palaung **pləŋ** *stream*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prələŋ** (!) *puddle*.

~ 721 ***ləŋ** *to be immersed?* Cf. 724 ***luŋ[h]** &c. *hole...*; 668 ***(k-)ruŋ** &c. ... *river*; & Tibeto-Burman ***kluŋ** *river*, BENEDICT 1972 39 no. 127, 39-40 n. 129; further Burmese **khyoŋ**: *stream*.

(SHAFFER 1965 66.)

734 *kluj; *kluuj; *kluəŋ *kind of resinous tree.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **khloŋ** *Dipterocarpus cordatus crispatus*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng [tə:m] **kluj** *kind of resinous tree resembling wood-oil tree*, Sre **klo:ŋ!** *kind of resinous tree*.

C: (Mon; ?) Old Mon [chu] **klonñ** /klon/, Modern Mon **klon** *Terminalia tomentosa*.

735 *kluuj (& *kluj?); *[k]luəŋ *middle, belly.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **kluj** (*in the*) *middle*, Sre **kluj** (or < *-uj?; → Röglai **kluk**) *stomach*, Riag-Lang **kluj** *belly, womb*; ~ (*knl- >) Sre **kənuj** *heartwood; yolk* (< *-uj?), East Bahnar **glu:ŋ** *middle finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*kpluuj >) Sre **plu:ŋ** *paunch* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Viet-Muong) ~ Muong (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **lòng** *intestines, heart*.

Note further Kammu-Yuan **lìŋ** *middle* (under the entry 582 *kdīiŋ); Kenaboi **bûlang** *belly*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 162 (a).

(SHAFFER 1965 64.)

736 *gləŋ *path, road.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Aslian) Mon **kləŋ** *road, track, way*, Kuy **khlu:əŋ** *tracks, mark, trace, crack*, Kensiu **gələŋ** *path, road*; ~ Khmer **kùəŋə:ŋ** *way, tracks*.

If 739 *cləŋ ...to pass is a variant-prefix form, Praok **ləŋ** *to go along* may reflect the simplex. Bahnar **glu:ŋ** *wide [road]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), cited as *road* at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49, is not connected. Cf. further 698 *truuj &c.

737 *gluj; *gl[i]ŋ *much, many.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **gluñ**, **glon** /gluŋ/, (in part, cf. B) Modern Mon **kləŋ** *to be much, many*, (~?) Palaung **luŋ** (!) [*animals*] *to be many*; → Shan **l̥əŋ** *to be plentiful*; ~ Khasi **kyllong** *very big*.

B: (Mon; or *-əŋ) Middle Mon **gluñ** = Old Mon **gluñ** &c. (so in part Modern Mon **kləŋ**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khəmləŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90); cf. further for the variant Old Mon, rare, **gumlin** &c. attributive beside **gumluñ** &c.).

738 *gluəŋ *enclosure.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Late Middle Mon **glon** /glon/ *citadel, palace*; ~ Chrau **gələ:ŋ** *fence*.

TANDART 1935 has obsolete Khmer **ghluəñ** *treasury, storehouse*; cf. Modern Mon **khləəŋ**, ↔ Thai **kʰlɛŋ**, not readily referable to *gləŋ. Connect B61 *[s]l(u)əŋ *to wall?*

739 *cɿɿŋ to cross, pass.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chɿɿŋ**, Kuy (c)**la:ŋ**, Stieng **cəɿɿŋ**, **səlo:ŋ** *to cross*; ~ Khmer **crəlɿɿŋ** *narrow valley &c. between hills, path, pass*, Biat **rlɿɿŋ** *passage*.

Perhaps *c-**ɿɿŋ**, cf. 736 ***gɿɿŋ** *path, road* & Khmer **rùmlɿɿŋ** *to pass over, pass beyond*, **kənlɿɿŋ** *to step over; passing, past*.

***740 *jliiŋ (& *jliŋ?); *jla[i]ŋ long.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **-jliŋ** /**jliŋ**/, Modern Mon **kləiŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdəiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔleŋ**, Semelai **jəlu:ŋ** (contaminated by 763 ***sluŋ** *high?*), Mah Meri **jələŋ**, (***jliŋ** > ?) Central Nicobarese **cəliŋ**, Nancowry **caliŋ**.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **laŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdaŋ** (& **ʔduŋ**), Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **ʔlaŋ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 66; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

Mundari **jliŋ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 396a).

741 *trlii[ŋ] to lose one's way.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəloŋ** **taliŋ** *to be mistaken, to mistake [route]*, Nyah Kur **təliŋ** (suggests *-**ŋ**?), Stieng **trəli:ŋ** *to get lost*.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **lónŋ** *to forget, fail to recognize*, Thin **hlonŋ** *to lose one's way?* (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

742 *tlaŋ side of figure.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **tlaiŋ** /**tlaŋ**/, Modern Mon **kleŋ**, Stieng **klaŋ**; ~ Pangan **nglang** (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198).

743 *[t]laŋ; *tlaaŋ large vessel.

A: (Palaungic; ~?) Praok **klonŋ** *bowl*, Lawa Umphai **klonŋ** *kind of bowl*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klaiŋ** *large wide-mouthed jar*, Khmer **thla:ŋ** *large earthenware cooking-pot*.

744 *t₁luŋ; *t₁luuŋ; *t₁luəŋ throat.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **khroaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **kraaŋ** [le?] (k(h)- part-of-body prefix).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **tro:ŋ**; ~ (***t₁rluuŋ** >) Bahnar **həloŋ**; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **rumlo:ŋ** [kə:], (by assimilation ***rnɿ**- >) Rōngao **rənoŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Nicobaric; ~ ***tnluəŋ** >) Central Nicobarese **oŋlɿ:ŋə** *neck*, Nancowry **ʔuŋlónə**. For North Bahnaric vocalism see 335a ***duuk**. Connect Proto-Miao-Yao ***klaaŋ** *neck, throat*, BENEDICT 1975 232, *between...* (I). Perhaps ~ 724 ***luŋ** [h] &c. *hole, hollow...*

(SMITH 1972 147; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 102 (b).)

745 *Tliiŋ; *Tliəŋ to bind, hobble.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **thli:ŋ**, Sre **kliŋ** (→ Rōglai), Bahnar **kle:ŋ** to hobble [animal] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **kleñ** hobbles; ~ Khmer **tùənli:ŋ**, Kuy **thli:n**, Stieng **gli:ŋ** elephant hobbles, Biat **ŋle:ŋ** hobbles; ~ Bahnar **gle:ŋ** = **kle:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon) Mon **klean** to bind; ~ **kənean** bonds.

746 *d₁liəŋ to carry hanging down.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Late Middle Mon **dleñ** ? /**gleŋ**/, Modern Mon **kləaŋ** to carry slung from a yoke, Thin **tliəŋ** to carry in one's hand.

747 *d₂luŋ; *d₂luuŋ; *d₂luəŋ; *d₂ləŋ boat.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ʔlon**; ~ (*d₂pluŋ >) Sre, Bahnar **pluŋ**.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **dluñ** /**dluŋ**/, Modern Mon **kləŋ**; ~ Jeh, Halang **plu:ŋ**.

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **cə̀lò:ŋ**; ~ Riang-Lang **cə̀nluəŋ**.

D: (Khasi) Khasi with secondary lengthening **lieng**.

Perhaps ~ 724 *luŋ[h] &c. ...to bore, excavate. Hence Tibeto-Burman *(m-)lon, BENEDICT 1972 120 no. 467?

(SHAFFER 1965 232, 540, 579; SMITH 1972 119.)

748 *n[l]uŋ; *n[l]uuŋ; *[l]nuuŋ gourd, egg-plant.

A: (Khasi; by dissimilation > *dluŋ > ?) Khasi **klong** bottle- gourd.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **nhouŋ** bottle- gourd, Chrau **nhò:ŋ** gourd (BLOOD 1966); ~ Riang-Lang **tərluŋ** egg-plant.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **nuñ** ?/nuŋ/, Modern Mon **nəŋ** water-pot, Old Khmer **noñ**, Modern Khmer **rənò:ŋ** bitter gourd, **nənò:ŋ** plant similar to egg-plant, Kuy **nò:ŋ nò:ŋ** *Luffa cylindrica*, Stieng **nù:ŋ** [dà:k] bottle- gourd, Biat **no:ŋ** gourd; → Cham **lanoñ** kind of egg-plant.

Obscure. Cf. 587 *d₁rđu(ə)ŋ. C perhaps *n- in view of Old Mon, Old Khmer; Khmer **rə-**, **nə-** then prefixes; Khasi, Riang-Lang conceivably ~ *(r-)n₂-. South Bahnaric B then perhaps rather < *d/n/huŋ, ultimately ~ *d₁r-đuŋ & so Austric.

(BLOOD 1966 9.)

†749 *[p]laŋ; *[p]laiŋ thatching-grass.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer **plāñ**, Modern Khmer **phlèaŋ**, Kuy **plaŋ**, Palaung **pləŋ**, Riang-Lang **ˀplaŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **plaŋ**, Lawa Umphai **pləŋ** thatching-grass, Khasi **phlang** (~ 'lang) grass.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **plà:ŋ** elephant grass, Vietnamese **tranh** thatching-grass.

Connection obscure Central Sakai **plɔ:k** *roof* (cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 34; Proto-Semai ***plooʔ**, DIFFLOTH 1977).

(SHAFFER 1965 392.)

Sora **ə'la:ŋ-ən**, **'a:ləŋ-ən**, (compounding form) **la:ŋ-ən** *jungle grass, thatch*, **'a:ləŋ-** *to thatch*, Kharia **ɔ'lon** *long grass*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 270).

Proto-Austronesian ***lalan**: Acehnese **nalöŋ** (*kinds of*) *grass*, Cham **rala:ŋ** *thatching-grass*, Malay **lalang** *kind of long grass*, Iban **lalang** *Imperata cylindrica* (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

750 ***plaanʔ** *to shine*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **plan** *to shine, be light*; ~ (***pmlaanʔ** >) Praok **blan** [*sky*] *to be clear*, Khasi **phalang** *to glitter* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **láng** *to shine, be shiny*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pərlà:ŋ** *planet*; ~ (***phl-** >) Bru **palian** *to shine light on*, Kuy has **phrian**!

Connect obscure Late Middle Mon **khlan** [**lacaḥ lam'ah**] *to shine, glitter*; as Khmer **pəplon** *bright light*. Cf. 732 ***klanʔ** &c. *white*.

751 ***pləŋ** []; ***pləŋʔ** *egg*.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **pylleng**.

B: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Mường **trống** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **trứng**; ~ Semai **pəŋlə:k**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 37 (a).)

(***pləŋ** see 616 ***lpun** *to blow*.)

752 ***plɔ[ɔ]ŋ** *tube*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Mon **plon** *tube, pipe, chimney, funnel*, Thin **plon** *tube*, Central Sakai **lôk** *outer barrel of blowpipe*; ~ Mon **pəŋɔŋ**, Khmer **panlaŋ** *fisherman's float* (GUESDON 1930).

Cf. Khmer **klɔ:ŋ** *tube*, ↔ Cham **klaun**; Bahnar **təɔ:ŋ həi** [*tube*] *open at both ends* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***pluun** see 616 ***lpun** *to blow*.)

753 ***[b]liəŋ**; ***bləŋ** *to be askew, to swerve*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pləŋ** **bleŋ** *to be awry*, (**plèt** —) *to miss the mark*; Khmer **panliəŋ** *to go round about* (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **pləŋ** *to miss a goal, to be in error*; → Shan **pəŋ**.

Connect 759 ***sliŋ** &c. *to be tilted*...?

754 ***bla[a]ŋ** (& ***blaŋ**?) *noisy kind of bird*.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **plà:ŋ** *bluethroat*, *Erithacus* species; ~ Sre **bərlaŋ** (< variant?) *plover*, *Sarcogrammus indicus*, Chrau **vala:ŋ** *swift* (contaminated by 760 ***[s]liŋ** &c.), Bahnar **[sɛ:m] bəla:ŋ**, Bru **phaliŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **rà:ŋ** [**có:k** &c.] *laughing thrush*, *Garrulax* species; ~ (***brl-** >) Pakoh **parla:ŋ** *swift*; → Cham **pīla:ŋ** *starling*, North Röglai **bala:k** *kind of bird*.

Connect 757 ***rliiŋ** *starling*? If rather ***k^wla([a])ŋ** might be constructed, add Mon **[həcem] kələŋ** *starling*.

755 ***[b]la[a]ŋ** *Bombax* species.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **blaŋ** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **[tə:m] bla:ŋ** [**gɔ:r**] *Bombax malabarica*, Bahnar **bla:ŋ** *kinds of silk-cotton tree*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 164.)

†756 ***blə[]ŋ** *shoot, sapling*.

A: (Mon) Mon **plàŋ**.

Connect 629a ***lm[b][ə]ŋ** *shoot* by metathesis; & perhaps 726 ***b(n)-luŋ** &c. *young (plant)*.

Sora **'budaŋ-**, **bu'daŋ-** *to sprout*; (-əŋ) *sprout*.

757 ***rliiŋ** *starling*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) → Cham **lain** [**lauŋ**]; ~ (***[k]rliiŋ** >) Mon **kəloŋ** *myna*, Old Khmer **graliŋ-[gralon]**, Modern Khmer **krəli:ŋ-**, **krələ:ŋ-[krələð:ŋ]** *black-collared starling*, *Gracupeia nigricollis*; ~ (***brliiŋ** >; contaminated by 754 ***b/r/la[a]ŋ**, which perhaps connect?) Sre **bərliŋ** *magpie-robin*, Bahnar **bəli:ŋ** *grey dove*!; (***ciim** [**b]rliiŋ**) → Malay **chəmpərliŋ**, **təpərliŋ** *starling*.

Or ***k^w-rliiŋ**?

758 ***[r]liiŋ**; ***[r]liəŋ** *polished, to glisten*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rəli:ŋ** *clean and smooth, polished*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **leəŋ** *to glisten*.

Or ***l-**, Khmer < ***lə-liiŋ**?

*759 ***sliŋ**; ***sliiŋ**; ***sliəŋ**; ***slaiŋ** *to be tilted, to squint*.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***srliŋ** >) Sre **[mat] səriŋ** *to squint*; → Röglai **sərliŋ** [**məta:**].

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Chrau **cre:ŋ** [**mat**] *to squint*, Sre **sərli:ŋ**, Bahnar **həre:ŋ** *to lean over*; ~ Khasi **shariŋ** *slope, declivity*; ~ (***spliŋ** >) Bahnar **pli:ŋ** *to squint*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **sli:ŋ**, **lhi:ŋ** *to squint*; ~ Khmer **srəliəŋ** *cross-eyed*; ~ Khasi **shyngkhliang** *cross-eyed* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **pla:ŋ** [**mat**] *cross-eyed*.

Cf. 753 ***[b]liəŋ** &c. *to be askew...*; 494 ***lɪəŋ(?)** *to slant, be skewed*; 1862 ***slew?** *to squint*.

Proto-Austronesian ***d'uliŋ**: Malay **juling** *squinting*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 441; Proto-Hesperonesian).

760 ***[s]liŋ**; ***[s]liiŋ**; ***[s]liəŋ**; ***[s]laiŋ** *swallow*.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***[s]pliŋ** >) Riāng-Lāng [̚sim] ̚pleŋ.

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***[s]rliiŋ** >) Chrau səle:ŋ, Biat rle:ŋ.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Gölar Bahnar [sɛ:m] ple:ŋ *house-martin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy [cɛ:m] lɬe:ŋ *swallow*, Central Nicobarese minleŋə *swiftlet*
Connect Toba Batak leang-leang *swallow*, referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 90 to Proto-Austronesian ***laiaŋ** to *glide, soar*. Cf. 754 ***bla[a]ŋ**.

761 ***slaŋ** *dazed*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon hleŋ, Khmer slaŋ [kaŋ]; ~ Mon [mòt klək] həleŋ to *have poor sight*, Khmer srəlaŋ *dumbfounded*.

‡762 ***sləəŋ** to *wear [lower garment]*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon sluiŋ [ket], Khasi slieng.

Cf. 453 ***sl[u]k**.

Proto-Austronesian ***[t']uluŋ**: Pangasinan solóng to *wear, put on*, Hanunóo súlung *putting on, wearing*; perhaps Proto-Oceanic ***sulu** (to *put on*) sarong (BLUST 1971 no. 87, *(cs)-; rather than ***t'aruŋ** sheath, DEMPWOLFF 1938 148).

†763 ***sluŋ**; ***sluŋ** *high*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung hlŋŋ to *be high, long*, Praok laŋŋ to *be high, downwind*, Lawa Bo Luang hloaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang hlaŋŋ *high*; ~ Khmer sraluŋ *very deep* (GUESDON 1930); ~ (***smluŋ** >) Praok blaŋŋ *upper part*, Lawa Bo Luang mbloaŋ, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang mblaŋŋ *hill*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon sluŋ, Modern Mon hləŋ to *be high*; ~ Old Mon sumlūŋ /səmluŋ/ *high*, Modern Mon hələŋ [ca] *south*; ~ Khmer srəlo:ŋ = sraluŋ.

Note also Khmer prəloŋ *length*; (***lnluəŋ** >?) Bahnar rəncə:ŋ *long; length* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). ***slu(u)ŋ** contaminated by 172 ***jruu?** &c. *deep* yields 690 ***jruŋ** &c. *high, long*; cf. further 740 ***jliiŋ** &c. *length*.

(SHAFFER 1965 224.)

Kharia sələŋ *deep*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 340; & Kharia jaləŋ *high*, &c., contaminated by cognate of ***jliiŋ**: ib).

764 ***[s]luŋ** to *tie up, moor*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Khmer sənlon *large hitching- or mooring-post*; ~ (***[s]rluŋ** >)

Middle Mon calon /cəluŋ/! [ciŋ] (with c- by phrasal assimilation?), Modern Mon həlaŋ [coiŋ] *post to which elephant is tethered*.

†765 *wiŋ; *wiŋ; *wiəŋ; *waiŋ; *wəŋ; *wuəŋ; *wuŋ; *wuŋ to go round, turn.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Khmer **vùŋ** *again, back*, Bahnar **wiŋ** *curve, eddy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **veŋ** *to go back, return*, Pangan **weg** *to return* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 83; or B); ~ (*[t]rwiŋ >) Bahnar **dəwəŋ**, **təwəŋ** *surrounding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok [sivə] **sivəŋ** *around*; (or B) ~ Khmer **srəvŋ** *drunk*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **ui:ŋ** [wai] *giddiness* (or A?), Bahnar **wi:ŋ** *to move in curves, wind, eddy, to be giddy*, Riang-Lang **_viŋ** *to go back, return*; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kətwət &c.] **kəŋwè:ŋ** *to wag, wave*; ~ Khasi **rwing** *to go and return the same day*; ~ Old Mon **tumwīn** /**təmwiŋ**/ *enclosure* (replaced by **tameñ**, C; < *t₂əəm **wiŋ** by contraction?); ~ (*swiŋ >, cf. Khmer **srəvŋ**, A) Mon **hwoiŋ** *to wave (arms) about, gesticulate*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **wēñ** /**wəŋ**/ *to avoid, to turn aside*, Modern Mon **wèaŋ** *to avoid* (in part; merging following, which compare), Khmer **viəŋ** *way round, bend*, Palaung **viəŋ** *to move aimlessly* (MILNE 1931); ~ Khasi **khwiang** *to wind or turn round when walking*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *curving, winding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **kərveəŋ** *coil; to be coiled, to coil*, Khasi **khyrwiang** *to go round*; ~ Literary Mon **tameñ** *compound* = Modern Mon **kəmeaŋ** *outer part of veranda* (cf. Old Mon **tumwīn**, B); by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ncue:ŋ** *to throng round*.

D: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **wāñ**, **wēñ** /**waiŋ**/ *to pay a visit to, go to meet, welcome*, Stieng **ua:ŋ** *to make a detour*, Bahnar **wa:ŋ** *to go round*, Praok [vuŋ] **veŋ** *around*; ~ Mường **quenh** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **quanh** *to be around, to be winding, tortuous, twisting*; ~ Khmer **trəvè:ŋ** *oval*, Biat **rwa:ŋ** *to roll into a ball*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon **wīñ** /**wōŋ**/, Modern Mon **wāŋ** *to go round, to be bent round, circular* (or A), Khmer **vùəŋ** *sphere, circle, disc*, Vietnamese **vàng** *disc, orb*; ~ Cham **waŋ** *warped*; ~ (*krwəŋ >) Khmer **krəvəŋ** *circular*, Khasi **kylleng** *abroad, everywhere*; (**phah** — - —) *to circulate*; ~ Bahnar **[dui:ŋ] duə:ŋ** [tail] *to wag* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vuəñ** *circle* (GUESDON 1930), Mường (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **vòng** *circle, ring, hoop...; to trace a circle, move in a circle*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *curving* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **vòng** *to be arched, curved*.

H: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **vuŋ** [vəŋ] *around*; ~ Bahnar **kəwə:ŋ** *large and curving* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

F-H secondary. Connect 931 *wiŋ &c. ...to go round; 767 *wa(a)ŋ *enclosure*; perhaps 768a *wa[i]ŋ &c. *to borrow*.

(SHAFFER 1965 197; SHORTO 1973 375-8, with further derivatives)

Kharia **əŋ** *to return*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317).

Proto-Austronesian *k[ə]uiŋ: Iban **kuŋg** *to turn*, Ilocano **kiwing** *crooked, bent, curved* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

766 *wɛŋ (& *wɛɛŋ?) to turn aside, turn away (v.i.t.).

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Old Mon **wɛñ** /**wɛŋ**/ *to avoid, to turn aside*, Modern Mon **wɛaŋ** *to avoid* (in part; merging 765 *wiəŋ, which compare), Sre **wɛ:ŋ** *to push away, chase away* (< variant if length not secondary; → Rōglai **wa:ŋ** *to chase away?*), Khasi (**ia-**)**weng** *to remove*; ~ Khmer **vùəŋvè:ŋ** *to go astray, lose [one's way]*.

767 *waŋ; *waəŋ enclosure; to go round.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Middle Mon **wañ**, Modern Mon **wəaŋ** *enclosure esp. round palace &c.*, Khmer **vəəŋ** *enclosure, palace, to enclose*, Sre **waŋ** *cattle-yard, pound*, Kammu-Yuan **wàŋ** *to girdle [tree]*; → Burmese **wañ**: *fence, enclosure*, → Shan **vāŋ**, probably → Palaung **vaŋ** (or < B); Thai **waŋ** *palace*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **vi:əŋ** *to avoid; detouring, winding*, Stieng dialect **ua:ŋ** *village*, Sre **wa:ŋ** = **waŋ**; → Cham **wa:ŋ** [**ratəŋ**] *to surround*; ~ Biat **ɲua:ŋ** *compartment*; ~ Lawa Umphai **maŋ**['**mon**] *circular*.

Khmer *to avoid...*, as Kammu-Yuan, by attraction 765 *wiəŋ &c., which connect. Thence ultimately are Thai **wiaŋ** *town* (→ obsolete Khmer **viəñ** *palace, citadel*), Shan **vēŋ**, → Palaung **veŋ**, Riang-Lang **_viŋ**; Shan **vēŋ** *to surround*, → Riang-Lang **veŋ** *enclosure*.

768 *waiŋ long.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **vè:ŋ** *long*, Kammu-Yuan **wà:ŋ** *long (space, time)*, Thin **waŋ** *to be wide, long, capacious*.

768a *wa[i]ŋ; *wiəŋ to borrow.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **wa:ŋ** *to borrow*, Sre **waŋ** *to borrow rice* (DOURNES 1950; correct to **wa:ŋ**).

B: (Khasi; ~ *glwiəŋ >) Khasi **kylliang** *loan*.

= 765 *waiŋ &c. *to go round...*? Cf. here 1531 *wa(a)y.

769 *wəŋ; *wəəŋ howdah.

A: (Katuic) Kuy **wəŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **uə:ŋ** [**ru:eh**], Biat **wə:ŋ**, Bahnar **wə:ŋ**.
Kuy, Bahnar vocalism contextual?

(*kwaəŋ see 502 *kuəŋ *male animal*.)

770 *gwa[]ŋ; *gwaiŋ to throw.

A: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **kawang** *to throw [missile], hurl*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəvè:ŋ** *to throw to a distance*.

Cf. 776b *swiəŋ. Connection uncertain Besis **kawen**, **kawin** *to throw; thrown away* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 107).

771 *[ɲw]aŋ to keep watch (over).

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon *mañ* /maŋ/, Modern Mon *mèaŋ*, Bahnar *guan* to keep watch (over) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang *maŋ*, Lawa Umphai *məŋ* to wait for, Bru *ŋkùaŋ*; ~ (*[ɲ]rwaŋ >) Khmer *rəvèəŋ* to look after, to (keep) watch; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *rymmang* [to wait] in hope of arrival.

772 *jw[a]ŋ kind of rattan.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *chvèəŋ* very strong kind of rattan; ~ Chrau [rɛh] *jrwəŋ* large kind of rattan.

773 *[t]wiŋ; *[t]wiŋ tired.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon *kwaŋ twuiñ*, *kwuiñ*; ~ (*[t]nwiŋ >) Lawa *main* to get tired; ~ (*[t]lwiŋ >) Khmer *lvùŋ*, *rəvùŋ* tired (TANDART 1935).
 B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer *lvì:ŋ* bitter, listless (TANDART 1935 has *lvè:ŋ* tired).
 Cf. Biat *rgaŋ chwə:ŋ* exhausted.

774 *t₁rwiəŋ; *t₁rwiək potsherd.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi *tyrwiang*.
 B: (Mon) Mon *kəweak*, Nyah Kur *khwiək*.
 B contaminated by *kəweak* < Old Mon *cirwek* day of waning moon?

775 *t₁waəŋ hearth.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang *ṭvaŋ*, *ṭwaŋ*; ~ (*t₁nwaəŋ >) Khasi *tympan*; ~ Palaung *kahvaŋ* (!) ashes, hearth; ~ Bru *rawa:ŋ* cooking fire with tripod.

776 *rwiə[ŋ] stomach, intestines.

- A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi *rwieng* intestines of bird or fowl (with secondary lengthening?), Central Nicobarese *wi:ŋ* belly, stomach, Nancowry *wiəŋ*; by secondary derivation ~ (?; then *jrwiaŋ >) Khasi *jylleng* abdomen.

†776a *[r]wa[a]ŋ sky.

- A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *ləwà:ŋ*; (?) → Proto-Miao-Yao *[l]u(a)ŋ (BENEDICT 1975 383).
 Sora *'rua:ŋ-ən*.
 Proto-Austronesian *[S]auaŋ: Malay *awang-awang-an* atmosphere, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *-; cf. *Sauan sky, Proto-Hesperonesian, BLUST 1971 no. 422).

776b *swiəŋ to throw.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ (*srwiəŋ >) Mon *həweaŋ* to skim, throw discuswise; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar *təhuə:ŋ*, East Bahnar *təwe:ŋ* to hurl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *tawe:ŋ* to throw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bru *tawè:ŋ* to throw!

Cf. 770 *gwa[]ŋ &c.

777 *sa[i]ŋ; *siəŋ to fly through the air.

A: (Mon) Literary Mon *sāñ* [sow].

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre *basiaŋ* to throw [spear], Biat *che:ŋ* to cast [throwing-net].

†778 *suŋ hole.

(Mon, South Bahnaric). Mon *saŋ* (?; *suiñ*, merging *sruñ* < Old Mon *sruñ* < 666 *s-*ruŋh*), Biat *choŋ*; ~ (*s.suŋ >) Mon *kəsaŋ*.

Sora [gai]-'su:ŋ- [rat] [to dig] hole.

779 *suŋ; *suəŋ to steam.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau *suŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang *hoəŋ*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *həŋ* to boil [rice] (MILNE 1931); ~ Palaung *rəhəŋ* steamer.

Connection uncertain Tai forms: Shan *húŋ*, &c. (see BENEDICT 1975 256, cook (with steam)... (II)); → Kammu-Yuan *rùŋ*.

780 *suuŋ to suck, drink.

A: (Mon, South Aslian) Old Mon *suñ* /suŋ/, Modern Mon *səŋ* to drink, Semaq Beri *sōk* to suck.

781 *[t][s]iəŋ crossbow string.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *siaŋ* (↔ Röglai); ~ West Bahnar *təhnia:ŋ*, *təhnie:ŋ* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

By metathesis 567 *st₁iəŋ taut...? But perhaps *(tn-)[c,s]iəŋ.

782 *rsiəŋ; *rsa[i]ŋ; *rsəŋ bamboo, rattan.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Stieng *rəh siəŋ* small kind of rattan (by popular etymology, cf. *rəh* rattan < A197 *riəh), Sre *rəsiaŋ* kind of rattan, Thin [həŋ] *həŋ* rattan, (?) Khasi *rshiang* kind of sun-grass.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *rəhá:ŋ* large kind of bamboo.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung *hruŋ*, Riang-Lang *rəŋ* bamboo.

Suffixed form ~ 249 *rsi?? Add perhaps (*rsəŋ by metathesis > *srəŋ >) Kuy *səŋ* bamboo; & (so *rsiŋ >) Khmer *srəŋ* kind of bamboo.

(SHAFFER 1965 206, 395; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 23.)

†783 *haŋ pungent in taste.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Stieng *haŋ* piquant, biting, pungent, Sre *haŋ* over-salt, Biat *haŋ* spicy, piquant, Bahnar *haŋ* sharp, pungent, biting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *hàŋ* (!) hot, peppery, Vietnamese *hǎng* [smell] to be acrid, [garlic, onion] to be strong, Nancowry *hàŋ* hot, peppery; → Cham, Jarai *haŋ*, North Röglai *hak* peppery, Röglai *hak* piquant (→ Sre).

(SHAFFER 1965 269; BLOOD 1966 350; SMITH 1972 101.)

Proto-Austronesian *[**jaSaŋ**]: Malay *s-ahang* pepper, &c., Acehnese **k-ö?öəŋ** peppery, Cham **kà-a:ŋ** sharp and strong (DEMPWOLFF 1938 147, ***t'ahan**; Proto-Hesperonesian; Cham → Khmer **ha:ŋ** tart, acid, bitter, strong-smelling?)

784 *ha[a]ŋ cliff, precipice.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ha:ŋ** (beside **haŋ**; → Röglai **ha:k**), Biat, Bahnar **ha:ŋ**. (Cf. B295.)

(***hu(ə)ŋ** see 485 ***?uŋ** wasp, hornet.)

785 *ghaŋ to obstruct, prevent, forbid.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **khèəŋ** to prevent (from doing), Khasi **khang** to obstruct, prevent; ~ (***gnhaŋ** >) Kuy **nthaŋ** to obstruct; by secondary derivation ~ Biat **ŋkhaŋ** to forbid.

Cf. 496a *[**kaŋ** ...to fence.

(***chiəŋ**, ***cha(i)ŋ** see 487 ***c?aŋ** to expose to heat.)

786 *thaŋ; *tha[a]ŋ to thirst, crave.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **theŋ**, Khasi **thang[rang]** to thirst after; ~ (***trhaŋ** >?) Literary Mon **tahan** to be famished, hungry, Khasi **thrang** to be thirsty (or by contraction **thangrang**, cf. the synonym **thynrang**).

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ East Bahnar **pətha:ŋ** to have a large appetite, have a craving (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Jeh **tahu:ŋ** thirst; perhaps by contamination, cf. Halang **hu:ŋ** to want.

787 *thəŋ bag.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **thaŋ**, Khmer, Biat **thəŋ**; ↔ Thai **tʰǎŋ**, Lao **thǎŋ**, Shan **thónŋ**.

Cf. 791 ***d₁huŋ** tub; & BENEDICT 1975 369, sack... .

788 *[t]huuŋ; *thuup red.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kintaq Bong **təhəŋ**; ~ (*[t]**phuŋ** >) Sre **phouŋ**, Mendriq **pəhəŋ**.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu **təhəŋ**, Semnam **təhu:ŋ**; ~ (***trhuuŋ** >) Khasi **rhuĩñ**; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan [yìm] **səptù:ŋ**.

Or ***phuŋ**, (≠) ***thuup**, Kintaq Bong by contamination (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 51.)

789 ***dhaaŋ** *branch, palm-frond*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Mon **thaiŋ** *junction, fork, division of stem*, Khmer **thi:ŋ** (*midrib of*) *palm-frond* (→ Thai **t^haaŋ** *midrib of palm-frond*), Kontum Bahnar **tha:ŋ** *branch* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Pangan **tāpag** *palm-frond* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 178).

Originally perhaps 1223 ***dhaan** (compare with for semantics) contaminated by ***taaŋ** > Mon **taiŋ** *midrib of palm-frond*.

790 ***dhoonŋ**; ***dhe[e]ŋ** [] *hole; hollow, empty*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **thonŋ** *to be hollow, to have holes in*, Khmer **dhoŋ** *empty, void* (GUESDON 1930), Sre **thonŋ** *to be hollow, to have holes in*, Bahnar **tho:ŋ** *hollow in ground, valley, river-bed*, Vietnamese **thủng** (!) *to be perforated, have a hole in*; ~ (***dphoonŋ** >) Palaung **phonŋ** *to be hollow*; ~ (***drhoonŋ** >?) Khasi **lyhong** *deep [cavity]*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **thè:ŋ** *empty, void, hollow, immense, deep*.

Cf. further Khmer **dhiaŋ** *hollow* (GUESDON 1930); & with variant initial (i) Khmer **kho:ŋ** *sunken, hollow* ~ **krəho:ŋ** *full of holes* (→ Cham **kahuŋ**), which POU & JENNER 1973 no. 210 derive from Ancient Chinese k'ung 空, along with Sino-Vietnamese **không** *vacuum*; so Vietnamese **hổng** *to be hollow, vacant* ← Cantonese **hông?**; but with Khmer cf. Sre **khuauŋ**, Biat **kho:ŋ** *to bore a hole*; Proto-Austronesian ***k[əu]ruqaŋ**: Iban **keruang** *to hollow out, be hollow*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 214, Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) Khmer **krəhaeŋ** *crack in earth*, **krəhe:ŋ** [**krəho:ŋ**] *full of holes*; (iii) Khmer **prəhaŋ** *hole* (→ Thai **p^hrooŋ**); Cham **parahauŋ**, **barahuŋ**, Malay **pěrohong**, **pěrohang** *gaping, wide open*, Malay **pělohong** *having a large hole*.

‡791 ***d₁huŋ** (& ***d₁huuŋ**?) *tub*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **thəŋ** *pail* (< variant, or by rhyming deformation in (748 ***[l]nuuŋ** >) **nəŋ** **thəŋ** *pail*), Khmer **thùŋ** *cistern, metal container*, Sre **thuŋ** *tub, granary*, Biat **thuŋ** *tub*, Thin **thũŋ** *basket*, (?; < variant, or ← Chinese, below) Vietnamese **thùng** *tub*; → Cham **dhuŋ** *tub*, Röglai **thuŋ** *tub, granary*, North Röglai **thuŋ** *barrel*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **kəthuŋ** *pail*.

Cf. 787 ***thəŋ** *bag*. The following, otherwise Indonesian loans, might be referred to a variant ***đu(u)ŋ** attesting earlier ***d₁V?** ~ ***d₁Vh-**: Biat **đuŋ** *bag*, Khmer **kəntò:ŋ**, Kuy **nthò:ŋ** *basket or basket of leaves*; Kuy (**kh**)**thùŋ** *pocket*, Sre **kəlduŋ** *basket, purse, case*, Bahnar **kəduŋ** *basket, purse, case, pocket*, Jeh **kadùŋ**, Halang **gəduŋ** *pocket*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 105.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tuuŋ** (?): Acehnese **toŋ** (& **təŋ**, ← Malay, or contaminated by **tən** ← Dutch **ton**), Malay **tong** *tub, barrel* (→ Javanese), Tagalog **tuong**, Pampangan **tuung** *bucket*, Cebuano Bisayan **tuung** *coaming over well* &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay → Central Nicobarese **toŋ** *wooden bucket*; perhaps Khmer **taoŋ** *cask*, under the entry 903 ***kduŋ**. Or ***tuəŋ** or ***təuŋ**, > Acehnese **təŋ**, Javanese; Acehnese **toŋ** ← Malay. The usual derivation of Malay &c. ← Dutch falls); (ii; ad Biat **duŋ**, &c.) Malay **kandong** *to carry [foetus, goods in sack...]; (-an) bag, womb...* (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 71 to ***ka(N)duŋ** *womb*, which is Proto-Hesperonesian), Cham **katuŋ** *bag, well-bucket*, Jarai **g^aduŋ** *pocket*, Röglai **kəlduŋ** *purse, bag*, North Röglai **kaduk** *bag*; Malay **kendong** *to carry in fold of waistbelt*. POU & JENNER 1973 refer some Mon-Khmer forms to Chinese **t'ung** 桶 *square wooden vessel used as receptacle*; it is doubtful if Tagalic forms can be so derived. In (ii) perhaps Cham &c. ←, Malay contaminated by, Mon-Khmer.

(***phuŋ** see 788 ***[t]huŋ** *red*; ***bhi(ə)ŋ** see 630 ***biŋ** *spider*; ***[b]hoŋ** see 493 ***[b]ʔoŋ** *dry*.)

792 ***rhiəŋ** *hundred*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəhiaŋ**, Chrau **rəyeŋ**, Biat **rhiaŋ**, Bahnar **hreŋ**, Jeh **re:ŋ**, Halang **reaŋ**.

Cf. proto Tai ***[t]hriaŋ** *thousand* (BENEDICT 1975 216; Shan, Ahom, Khamti); → Palaung **heŋ** (MILNE 1931 also **hreŋ**), Riang-Lang, Praok **reŋ**. (BLOOD 1966 110; SMITH 1972 90.)

(***lhiəŋ**(?) see 494 ***lʔiəŋ**(?) *to slant, be skewed*.)

793 ***lhuŋ**; ***lhuŋ** *papaya*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer **rhvaŋ** *papaya*, Modern Khmer **lhoŋ** *papaya, castor-oil plant*, Kuy **lhoŋ** (& by hypercorrection **sloŋ**), Kontum Bahnar **rəhuŋ**, Jeh **hùŋ**, Halang **[buŋ]** **huŋ** *papaya*; → Thai **lahùŋ** *castor-oil plant*, Lao **huŋ** *papaya*; ~ (***lmhuŋ** >) Biat **[tə:m]** **mhoŋ**, (by metathesis, or by contraction ***play lhoŋ** >) Sre **bləhoŋ** *papaya* (→ Röglai).

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ləhu:ŋ** *papaya*. (SMITH 1972 106.)

*794 ***ʔic**; ***ʔiə[c]**; ***ʔ[ə]c** *excrement, faeces*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Mon **oik**, Bahnar **ic**, Jeh **ek**, Halang **ik**, Central Sakai **ê^{ch}**; → Kuki-Naga ***e^hk** (& similar Karen forms; BENEDICT 1972 26 n. 82, 146 n. 399).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **e:**, Biat **ɛ:k**, Kammu-Yuan **ʔyíak**; → Cham **ɛh**, Jarai **ɛ:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **eh**, Acehnese **ɛʔ**.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **ʔac**, Chrau, Biat **ac**, Khasi **eit**, Central Nicobarese **aĩk**, **aĩ^c**, Nancowry **ʔāc**.

Connect obscure **B40 *ʔiəŋ** &c. But Vietnamese **củt** may be connected, as **củi** with **1872 *[]ʔuus**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20; SHAFER 1965 335; SMITH 1972 238; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 114; cf. LEWITZ 1967, 123-5.)

Kharia **iʔ** *to ease oneself*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 81; Proto-Munda ***ij**).

(***ʔiic**, ***ʔiəc** see **797 *b[i]ʔic** *to lie down, sleep*.)

795 ***kʔaac** *wet*.

A: (Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Vietnamese **ướt**, Temiar **kəʔãj**; ~ (***kmʔaac** >) Vietnamese **mướt** *to trickle*, Kintaq Bong, Semnam **məʔaj**, Semaq Beri **maʔac** *wet*; (?) ~ Central Nicobarese **[hə]-taiʃ** -**[hətə]**, **[hən]-ta:ʃ** *to get wet*.

Connect by metathesis **477 *chaik**; & cf. **954 *lʔuət** &c. *wet, cold*.

796 ***[cʔ]uc**; ***[cʔ]uuc** *drunk, intoxicated*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **-cəc**, Praok **yoc**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔyuic**, Lawa Umphai **ʔjuic**; ~ (***cpʔuuc** >) Kammu-Yuan **pù:c** *liquor*.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **huyəie**, Nancowry **(hu)yóy**; Khasi **buaid**. Connect **1106 *huc** &c. *to suck, drink?* But Khmuic perhaps < **829 *buuc** *to suck*, or contaminated by **1766 *buul** *drunk*; then Palaungic ***yu(u)c**, ***yuc yuc** &c. > ***cyu(u)c**.

797 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***b[i]ʔic** > ***ɕic**; ***ɕiəc**; Pre-Palaungic ***ʔiic**; ***ʔiəc** *to lie down, sleep*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, North Aslian) Kuy, Sre, Biat **bic**, Chrau **viʔ**, Bahnar **ɕic**; ~ Kintaq Bong **ləbit**.

B: (Central Aslian) Semai **bɛ:t**.

C, D: (Palaungic) Palaung, Praok **it**, Lawa **ʔaic** (C), Riang-Lang **̣yət**, **̣yat** (D).

(SHAFER 1965 311, 338; BLOOD 1966 133; SMITH 1972 240; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 248.)

798 ***rʔuc**; ***rʔuuc**; ***rʔuəc**; ***rʔəc**; ***rʔuy** ***rʔuəy** *finished*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Sre **luc** *end, finished*, Palaung **doit** *to be finished*, **dot** *totality, all*, Vietnamese **rót** *to be the last*; ~ or → Bahnar **luc** *to be at the end; the worst*.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **lo:c** *end*, Bahnar **tu:c** *end, last, at last*, **to:c** *finish, to finish*, Jeh **ʔlut**, Halang **lu:t** *finished*, Khmu' **lo:c** *to be used up*.

C: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rù:əc** (!) *to finish, to be able to*; ~ (***rnʔuəc** >) Praok **guac** *to be last*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau, Biat **leʔ** *finished*; (probably ~) Praok **uc** *to expend, use up; completely*.

E: (South Bahnaric) Sre **luy** *finished*.

F: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **lo:y** *very*, Halang **hloay** *always, completely*.

Connect 875 ***huc** &c., which compare; & cf. 1017 ***[k]đu(u)t** for a possible Riang-Lang ***r?uut** *to come to an end*.

(BLOOD 1966 256; cf. SMITH 1972 481.)

798a ***sʔəəc**; ***sʔaac** *to love, pity*.

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khasi **ieid** *to love*; ~ (***smʔəəc** >) Khmer **sɲaəc** *to admire*.

B: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***snʔaac** >) Sre **nda:c** *to love*; (— **səŋit**) *pity*, Chrau **sənda:c** *to love, pity*.

Cf. Biat **uc** *affection, to desire*, (— **chrɔlap**) *love*. And Hre, Sedang forms at SMITH 1972 259.

799 ***kiic**; ***kəc** *to shave down*.

A: (Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar **ki:j** *to grate* (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Nancowry **ʔitkíc** *to cut with knife* (contaminated by following).

B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **kɔik** *blade of plane* (→ Burmese **kuik**, → Mon **kak**), Central Nicobarese **[hə]-kʔj** *to plane*, **[hen]-kʔj** *plane*.

Connect 802 ***kaac**.

***800** ***kac** *to pluck, break off, cut*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **kāc** *to cut off*, Modern Khmer **kac** *to cut [rigid object]*, Kuy **kac** *to cut [grass], harvest [paddy]*, Stieng **ke:c** *to strip [leaves, grain]*, Sre **kac** *to harvest [hill paddy]*, Biat **kac** *to strip [grass]*, Bahnar **kec** *to harvest [paddy]*, (dialect) **strip [leaves, grass]**, *cut with scissors*, Kammu-Yuan **kéc** *to cut [hair]*, Riang-Lang **kac** *to break (v.i), to tear (v.t)*, Khasi **kheit** *to pluck, gather*, Mường **cách** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **cắt** *to cut up*, Bateg Deq **kec**, Jah Hut **ke:c** *to cut*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-kaic-[həŋə]** *to pluck [leaves, flowers]*, Nancowry **kéc**; ~ (***knkac** >) Vietnamese **ngắt** *to pick, pluck*.

Connect 958 ***ka(a)t** *to cut?* Cf. Biat **kec** *to break (v.t)*; & 804 ***gac** *to pluck, harvest*; A51 ***gi(ə)c** *to break off*.

(BLOOD 1966 353; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

Kharia **keʔj** *to pluck*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 154).

801 ***[]kac**; ***kaac**, (***kaac kaac** >) ***ckaac** *strong, harsh*.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Khasi **shakhait** *to deal severely with*, Vietnamese **gắt** *to be strong, violent, harsh, biting*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **kat** *to be strong, harsh* (< ***ckaac**, cf. the attributive Literary Mon **jamkāt**, **samkāt**), Khmer **ka:c** *bad, evil, cruel*, Kuy **ka:c** *very brave*.

802 *kaac to scratch, scrape, shave.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ka:c** to scratch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **kat** to shave, Temiar **ke:j** to scrape (BENJAMIN 1976B 175), Mendriq **kac**, Jah Hut **ka:c** to scratch, Central Nicobarese **kaic** scratch; ~ Bahnar **kəka:c** to scratch oneself, to itch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Che' Wong **kikəc**, Mah Meri **kakac** to scratch, (~?) Central Nicobarese **təkaic** scratch.

Connect **799 *kiic** &c. to shave down; but distinguish **867 *kwaac** &c. to scratch (up), which compare; as following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)

802a *k[oo]c to dig (up).

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **kə:c** to dig (out) with mattock, Biat **kə:c** to dig [ditch &c], Bahnar **kə:c** (& Jölong **ku:əc!**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63) to scratch up, dig with claws &c., lever out.

Or ***kuuc**, ***kuəc**? Cf. preceding & **867 *kwaac** &c. to scratch up.

(SMITH 1972 258.)

(*ckaac see **801 *[]kac** strong, harsh.)

803 *[b]kuc; *[b]kuuc hot.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Rieng-Lang **ṽkəc** to be hot, to be dry, to dry up, Praok **[ha] koc** to be scorching [hot], Pangan **bəkud** hot (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 141 (a)).

B: (Katuic, Palaungic) Bru **ku:y?** scorched, Lawa Bo Luang **kaṽk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kəic** sun's rays; hot; ~ Kuy **ṽkə:c** scorched, burnt (contaminated by **805 *guuc?**).

Cf. **858a *kluuc** on the point of burning.

(*skaac see **874 *ksac** sand.)

804 *gac to pluck, harvest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Chrau **gac** to cut small wood, Palaung **gəc** to pick [tea]; ~ Vietnamese **gặt** to reap.

800 *kac contaminated by **A51 *gi(ə)c?**

805 *guc; *guuc to burn.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **guc** to kindle, Biat **guc** to burn, throw into fire.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **gu:ic** to burn (or A?), Kammu-Yuan **kù:c** to burn off [field], Palaung **gut** to light [fire], to burn; ~ Bahnar **[ṽə:, ṽu:] ṽu:c** fiery red, red-hot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semang **ongoyd** to burn (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 464; or A).

Add Khmer **ṽoc** to light, kindle?

805a *[ŋaɪc oil.

- A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ŋai^c**, **ŋaiⁱ** *vegetable oil*, Nancowry **ŋác**; (probably ~) Khasi **lŋgiej** *fatty or oily substance, to be greasy*.
Connect perhaps by metathesis Kuy **ŋche:ŋ**, Bru **ŋsi:ŋ** *oil, grease, fat*.

†806 *[ŋuuc; *[ŋuəc; *[ŋiic; *[ŋiəc to swallow, drink.

- A: (Khasi, Mon) Khasi **nguid** *to swallow*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ŋuuc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V90) (vocalism may be contextual).
B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Central Aslian) Kuy (ŋ)ŋù:ac *to drink*, Kammu-Yuan **ŋò:c** *to swallow*, Semai **ŋɔ:t** *to drink*.
C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon **ñit**, Modern Mon **ŋit** *to swallow*, Biat **ŋe:t** *to drink*, Palaung **ŋit** *to swallow* (MILNE 1931).
D: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ŋiəc** *to drink*.
Or ***rŋ-** in view of Sora, below; which favours primacy of back-vowel forms. For South Bahnaric initial cf. **37 *sŋi?**. From **D** by metathesis **B46 *t₁iəŋ** *to drink?* (SHAFFER 1965 459; BLOOD 1966 35; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (a).)
Sora **'riŋŋoŋ-** *to drink rapidly, gulp*.

†807 *cac to seek out.

- (Mon) Literary Mon **cat**.
Connect perhaps by dissimilation Bahnar **ca?** (&c.: SMITH 1972 313)
Sora **saʔ-** *to seek, go in quest of*.

†808 *c[ə]c to pierce, chisel.

- A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Mon) Stieng **cic** *to pierce [ears]*, Biat **chəc** *to pick [teeth &c.]*, Jölong **tsac** *to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **síc** *to stab, to plant in ground*, Riang-Lang **sac** *chisel*, Praok **sac** *to carve, hollow out*, Nyah Kur **céc** *to pick [teeth &c.]* (TANDART 1935 413).
Sora **saj-** *to cut, chisel, pare*, **sai-i-** *to pierce*.
Proto-Austronesian (i) ***t'uat**: Acehnese **suət**, Cham **thwa?** *to take off, remove...*, Hiligaynon Bisayan, Bikol **suat** *to pull out, extract, pick at with needle &c.*, Maranao **soat** *to pry, &c.*, perhaps Samoan **sua** *to lever up* (cf. BLUST 1972 no. 73; Proto-Hesperonesian or general); (ii) ***t'uit**: Tagalog **suit-ín** *to uproot, dislodge, with lever-like tool, &c.* (BLUST 1971 no. 418, ***(q)-**; Proto-Hesperonesian). Or could both sets be referred to ***t'uət**?

809 *cəc; *cəcəc to tickle.

- A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **coc** (DOURNES 1950; or B?), Biat **chəc** [**a:n cək iə:r**].
B: (Katuic) Kuy **ca:c ca:c**.
Cf. Khasi **smiej** (< ***cməəc?**) *ticklish*.

†810 *[c]ncuəc to make a noise with the lips.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həcot** to make a repeated labial noise, Literary Mon [gace'] **gacot** to trumpet, Khmer **cəp̚cu:əc**, **cùəp̚cù:əc** to make a repeated labial noise.

Proto-Austronesian *k'utk'ut: Tagalog **sutsót** sibilant sound, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 94; Proto-Hesperonesian).

811 *njuəc; *njəc (& *njəəc?); *njuəy to shake.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*[r]njuəc >) Mon **kəyòt layat!** to oscillate, to cause to oscillate; ~ Khmer **sañjuəc** to shake (v.t.) (GUESDON 1930).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **yur:c** to tremble slightly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& **yur:t**, by dissimilation; with secondary lengthening, or < *-əəc), Sakai **'ngyūk** to shake (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 130); ~ Kuy **(kh)chàc** to rock, sway.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) ? Nancowry **yúay** to tremor, to shake; **céy** to shiver; ~ Khmer **cùəp̚cù:əy** to tremor, shake, (or ~) Kuy **pchù:i** to sway; ~ Khmer **rùəp̚cù:əy** to tremor; ~ **səp̚cù:əy** (TANDART 1935) = **sañjuəc**.

†812 *t₁ac to break, be severed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **tət** to sever (?; otherwise < 999 *t₁at, which connect), Khmer **dac** break, to break, Khasi **thait** to cut asunder, to snap, Vietnamese **đứt** to be broken, snapped, to be cut, Central Nicobarese **təiʃ** -[ŋə] [rope &c.] to break; ~ (*kt₁ac >) Chrau **cac** to snap, break, (or simplex) Stieng **te:c** [rope &c.] to break, Biat **tac** [rope] to break; end, Sre **tac** broken, cut, (?; by assimilation; Besis **ketök** to break, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 374, =) Mah Meri **katik** to cut; ~ (*k.t₁ac >) Bahnar **kətē** (& Sedang **kate**) to break, get broken, Vietnamese **đứt** to cease, terminate (v.i.t), end; ~ Khmer **pđac** to break, interrupt.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 18; SMITH 1972 246; cf. MOHRING 236 no. 3.¹)

Kharia **te'j** to break, &c., ~ Mundari **pəte'j** to twist and break... (PINNOW 1959 152).

813 *t₁ac to sell.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **dac** saleable, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat **tac**, Bahnar **tac** (→ Stieng **te:c**?), Jeh, Halang **tek**, Kammu-Yuan **téc**, Vietnamese **[bán]** **đứt** to sell.

(SHAFER 1965 337; SMITH 1972 244; cf. BLOOD 1966 374.)

813a *təəc (& *təc?) to stretch.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **tə:c** to stretch (v.t.) (< variant?), Biat **tə:c** to increase in size, Bahnar **tə:c** to stretch (v.i.).

Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan **pò:t** to stretch out, draw out?

¹ [Editorial note: it would appear that the intended reference is Mohring (1972) as listed in the References, although it is not clear how that paper relates to this etymology.]

(*t₁u(u)c see 1004 *t₁ut to light.)

814 *tuuc; *tuəc drop, to drip.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng trənu:ec drop, to drip.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng tu:ɛc [dà:k] drop; ~ Khmer dɔmnu:əc drop; ~ Chrau tətɔ:c dripping sound; to drip.

Cf. 314 *tuək &c. drip, drop.

(SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

815 *ktaac to manipulate with flat of hand.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon ktāc /ktac/ [sumoḥ] to smooth, level, with the hands, Modern Mon kətat to rub between palms of hands, Khasi ktaid to rummage (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Vietnamese dát to laminate, make thinner, roll.

(*daic see 1010a *dai[t] to strike, beat.)

†816 *dəc (& *dic?) to be deficient, small in quantity.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon tɔ̀ik to be less than, short by, Praok tac to be lacking, deficient; ~ Bru satay? to be delicate; ~ (*kd- >) Khmer tec tic a little; ~ (*krd- >) Literary Mon gadek to want, be deficient in (beside gaduik, probably a Burmanism); ~ Old Mon pdic /pdɔc/ to reduce in quantity, Modern Mon pətòik [phyɔ] to humble; ~ (*dp- >) Kuy bi? few (JACOB 1968), Central Nicobarese (tə)pait (in compounds), pai^c small in size or quantity., Nancowry pęc (& féc tiny).

Separate Thin dɛk to be little, ← Tai; but connected perhaps by metathesis (*pdəəc > *dpəəc >) Mường póch, Vietnamese bớt to reduce, to diminish. Cf. following & 1016 *kdīt &c. small.

Kharia ka'ti' some, a little, &c. (PINNOW 1959 94); by metathesis Sora 'ajid-.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[j]itik: Malay k-etek small, little, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 70);

(ii) *[jə(N)tik: Toba Batak otik to be small in quantity, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938

118; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pīnd[ae](S)ik: Toba Batak pendek,

Javanese pènḍèk short, &c., North Röglai pihñē? (DEMPWOLFF 1938 118,

*pīṇḍik; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 384; & cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 29.

(*dəc see 1015 *dat near.)

817 *đuuc; *đuəc, (*đuəc đuəc >) *cđuəc small.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer tù:c; ~ (*[k]đuuc >) Khmer to:c (!), taoc; ~ (*pđuuc >) Kammu-Yuan pló:c to look down, despise.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Late Old Mon đoc /đoc/ personal name, Modern Mon dot to be small, (*cđuəc >) Khmer sdu:əc slender, slight; ~ (*[k]đuəc > contaminated by 816 *k-dəc) Khmer [tec]-tu:əc a little.

Cf. Sre **duit** (*a*) *little*; & connected **1016** ***kđit** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

818 ***[]đuuc**; ***[]đaac** *to be crushed to bits*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon (**p**)**đut** *to be broken, bruised*, Riang-Lang **duc** *to be ground to powder, crushed, to crush, crumble*.

B: (Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mường **đách** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **nát** *to be broken, crushed*, Bru **diəy?** *broken into small pieces*.

†819 ***kđ[ə]c** *to nip with the nails*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Mon **đoik**, Khmer **kdec ktic** *to nip off with one's nails*, Nyah Kur **ndéc** (implies *-ac), Kuy **dic** *to pluck with two fingers*, Nancowry **karic** *to press down with thumbs*.

(?) Sora **daɣ-** *to pick, pluck*.

†819a ***tdac** *solid*.

(Mon, Khasi) Mon **đot** *to be solid*, (**pɔiŋ** —) *packed solid, crowded*, Khasi **dait-[doh]** *dense, compact, solid*; ~ (***trđac** >) Middle Mon **tađat** *to be solid*.

Proto-Austronesian ***dətdət**: Javanese **n-đěđět** *thick, dense [cloud]*, **di-đěđět-i** *tamped-down [earth]*, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 122; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Connection uncertain Santali **kəteʝ** *hard, firm, strong*, &c., PINNOW 1959 315.

820 ***dəđuuc** *to pester*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həđut** *to tease*, Khmer **tətu:c** *to insist, importune*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

†821 ***[r]đac** *to split open*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Mon **đot kđat** *to hatch out (v.i.)*, Vietnamese **nứt** *to crack open, split open*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-te:ic-[hətə]** *to hatch out*.

Sora **ra'daɣ-** *to be broken, cracked, to burst apart*.

821a ***knaac** *muddy place*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **khna:c** *wallow*, (~?) Chrau **kəna:c** *swamp*.

822 ***cnuəc** *to spit, transfix*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Kontum Bahnar **hnə:c** *to sharpen, to stab* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **kənot canat!** *spit* (merging **1005** ***t/rn/uut** *skewer*), Khmer **crənu:əc** *meat on spit* (& **tranuəc** *spit*, GUESDON 1930, contaminated by **trənaot** *skewer* < ***t/rn/uut**); ~ Khmer **crənu:əc** (& **krənu:əc**) *to roast on spit*.

Central Nicobarese **oʃuə-hətə** *to spit, skewer* ~ **ʃano:ə n.** suggests original ***cuə?**, ***cuə?** **cuə?** > ***cuəc**, with generalization of nominal derivation. Cf. further **860** ***d₁n[l]uuc** &c. *awl*.

*823 *pic; *piic; *piəc; *pəc; to pick, pluck.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pic** to pick, pluck, Chrau **piʔ** to pluck, to take.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **pe:ic** to pull apart in bits.

C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **pe:ic** to pick, pluck (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Biat **peʔ**, Palaung **pət**, Vietnamese **bút** to pick, pluck; (probably, rather than variant) → Cham, Jarai **peʔ**, Röglai, North Röglai **peʔ**, Acehnese **pet**.

Connect 1020 *pit &c. to pinch...?

Sora **pij-** to pinch, to take a pinch.

*824 *pac; *puuc to chisel.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **pāc'** to carve, ornament (GUESDON 1930), Bru **payʔ** to chisel, Sre **pac** to incise patterns in (→ Röglai).

B: (Mon) Old Mon **pūc** /**puc**/, Modern Mon **pət** to chisel.

With vocalism cf. Mon **kut** ad 958 *ka(a)t.

Proto-Austronesian ***paqət** chisel: Malay **pahat**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111, ***pahat**; DYEN 1953 § 47; Proto-Hesperonesian); with which Sre **pənhət** chisel is ultimately connected.

824a *pac to cut through.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **pac** to slash, fell, lop, Bahnar **pəc** to cut through [wood, bamboo].

Connect 1028 *[d]put &c.. to be severed...?

(***pa(a)c** see (also) 1021 *pat to press, squeeze; ***pəc** see also 1022 *pət to abandon.)

825 *puuc to take clothes off.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **po:ic** to wane, Kammu-Yuan **pú:c**, Palaung **puit** (MILNE 1931), Riag-Lang **puc**, Praok **puuc**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauc**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **pəic** to take [clothes] off, Khasi **puid** [snieh] to skin. (SHAFFER 1965 315.)

(*[]**puəc** see 1024 *puut to stroke, rub; ***dpəc** see 1028 *[d]put to be severed, broken.)

826 *buəc kind of small vessel.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pòt** **bot** small pot or cup (→ Burmese **bywat** [uì:] wide-mouthed water-jug), Khmer **pù:əc** (small) jar.

(***bi(ə)c** see 797 *b[i]ʔic to lie down, sleep.)

827 *ḡ[e]c *to take by force, misappropriate.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *ḡet* [*tasuñ plāñ ḡa*] *to seize by force*, Khmer *bec* *to purloin, plunder* (GUESDON 1930).

†828 *ḡ[ḡ]əc *to spit.*

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung *ḡəʔ*, Kensiu *ḡej*; ~ Jehai, Semnam *kəḡej*; ~ (*[ḡ]m[ḡ]əc >) Praok *bac*.

Cf. Khasi *biah* (< *ḡ[ai]k), Bru *kubuayʔ* *to eject [liquid] from mouth*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 389.)

Sora *bij-*, *baj-*, Mundari *ḡəʔj*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 328; Proto-Munda *ḡec or *ḡ(a)ic?).

829 *ḡuc; *ḡuuc *to suck.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *bot*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung *buit* (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese *mút*.

Connection dubious 1106 *ḡuc &c. But add perhaps Kammu-Yuan *pù:c liquor*, under the entry 796 *ḡ[ḡ]uuc.

†830 (*ḡ[ḡ]ic [ḡ]ic &c. > ?) *c[ḡ]ic; *c[ḡ]uuc *to take in fingers.*

A: (Khmer) Old Khmer *cpic*, Modern Khmer *cbeḡc* *to take with finger tips, take a pinch of*, apparently → Stieng *cəḡe:c* *to press, squeeze, knead* (beside *cəḡi:*).

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat *mbio:c* *pinch (quantifier)*.

Cf. Mon *bot* *to take in one's hand, pick up* (implying *-t; contaminated by Indonesian, below?); & 1020 *pit &c. *to pinch, squeeze, press*.

Proto-Austronesian *bitbit: Malay *bibit* *to carry in fingers or hand*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-Hesperonesian).

†831 *cḡoc; *cḡooc *to withdraw.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *buc* *to pull out, pull up*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *bot* *to draw out, unsheathe*, Khmer *baoc* *to pull up*, Bru *pù:yʔ*.

Proto-Austronesian *k'abut: Malay *chabut* *to draw out, pull up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 85). Hardly Indonesian → Mon-Khmer in view of *-ḡ-, *-c. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 4.)

832 *mic (& *miic?) *to desire; desirable, good.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon *mic* /*møc*/ *to desire*, Modern Mon *mòik* [*not*] *to wish to*, (?) Bahnar dialects *met* *to be passionate about* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *mek* *to hanker [after]* (?), Lawa *maic* (< variant?), Temiar *mej* *good*, Central Sakai *omêy* *to desire, wish*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 66, W 15.)

833 *məc; *məəc to hear.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **məc** to perceive, hear.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **məc** to hear a sound, hear something (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan **hərmə:y** ear. Cf. 646 *rməŋ.

834 *muc; *muuc; *m[ə]c to dive, immerse oneself.

A, B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer **mùc** to sink, immerse oneself

(A), Stieng **muic** to plunge into water, (B) Bahnar **mo:c** to dive, plunge, to undergo ordeal by water, (A/B) Sakai **mod** to bathe (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 81).

B: (Katuic) Kuy **mìc** to dive, to sink.

835 *kmuuc dead person.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Aslian) Khmer **khmaoc** ghost, Kuy (k)**mo:c** corpse, Chrau **kəmho:c** (or < derivation?) ghost, corpse, Sre **bu:c** grave, cemetery, Stieng **kəmu:c**, Biat **mo:c**, Besis **kěmuyt** grave (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 18), Sakai **kěmoit** ghost (i.e. Jah Hut; ib.); → Cham **kamoit** devil; ~ (***krmuuc** >) Praok **simuuc**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamauik**, Lawa Umphai **ramɔic**, Mae Sariang **ʔamɔic** grave, South Semai **krmɔ:c** ghost (DIFFLOTH 1977). Stieng diphthongization regular following nasal. Connection dubious Kharia **gɔʔ** to die, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 324f.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; BLOOD 1966 22.)

836 *yuuc; *yuəc immoral.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **yùt** (→ Burmese **yut**) to be depraved, Palaung **yut** to be insolent (MILNE 1931).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **yɔ:c** fault, offence.

(SMITH 1972 250.)

***837 *rac; *raac to sprinkle, scatter.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [et]-**yait-** to wash [face], Nancowry **ʔityác** to wash, pour water (or B?); ~ (***cnrac** >) Khasi **synreit** to sprinkle, scatter; ~ (***pmrac** >) Stieng **bre:c** to squirt, Biat **brac** to eject [water] from mouth, Khasi **pharait** to spatter, squirt.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **rì:əc** distributed evenly; → Shan **hăt** to dash [water], to bale; ~ (***raac raac** > ***craac** >) Biat **crac** to urinate; ~ Old Mon **drāc** /**drac**/ to sprinkle, Modern Mon **kràt** to sow broadcast (merging Old Mon **grāc** to disseminate, with further prefix); → Cham **trà:ʔ**, Röglai **dra:** to sow; ~ Bahnar **pra:c** dripping; ~ (***pmraac** >) Mon **pərat** to splash about, (or next) Stieng **bra:c** to sprinkle vigorously, Biat **bra:c** besprinkled; ~ Khmer **prì:əc** to scatter, spread; → Cham **brak** = **trà:ʔ**; ~ (***sraac** >; in part, **srāt**; merging 872 *(r-)saac, which compare.) Mon **sat** to bale.

Note Khmer **sraoc** *to sprinkle*, Kuy **sə:c**, with which cf. Bahnar **pru:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) = **pra:c**; they may reflect ***sruuc**, but are part of the evidence for a possible ***-au-**. Cf. further **1066 *graat**; **1059 *rut** &c.; **1501 *raay** *to be scattered*. Santali **arəʃ** *to bale out*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 283).

838 *rac sparrow.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Stieng **re:c** *small bird, sparrow*, Sre, Biat **rac** *sparrow*, Bahnar **re:c** *sparrow*, *munia*, Khasi **'reit** (~ **phreit**) *small migratory bird feeding on grain*, Besis **röyt** *sparrow* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 354). (SMITH 1972 245.)

(*rac see also **1058 *rut** *to pull hard on, ... reap.*)

838a *raac grasshopper.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **rì:ac**, Pakoh **ʔaraayʔ**; (~ ***t₁raacʔ**;) by metathesis Riang-Lang **ːcar**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **təmrà:c**.

Cf. **840 *rə(ə)c** *maggot*.

†839 *rəc to slice, cut through.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, ʔPalaungic) Mon **ròik rek** *to slice, cut with sawing motion, to peel [onions]*, Kuy **rəc** *to saw, cut with sawing m.*, (?) Praok **rac** *to break (off)*; ~ Stieng **gre:c** *to cut (through)*; ~ Biat **prac** *to lop, prune*, Bahnar **pre:c** *to cut [branch &c.] above one's head* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. **845 *krə(ə)c** *to grind, gnash*; **866 *[]wəc** &c. *to cut, reap*; **1058 *rut** &c. *...to reap*. But connection dubious Riang-Lang **rəc** *to fray*.

Sora **raꞑ-** *to cut [firewood] into small pieces*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kərət**: Malay **kěrat** *to sever transversely*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77, ***kəyət**, less Sa'a *to cut ends off*; Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. also ***arit**: Malay **arit** *grass-cutting knife*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 8, Proto-Hesperonesian; if Acehnese **ariət** *to cut up [e.g. sugar-cane]* is cognate, rather ***ariət**, Malay → Javanese).

Note Tibeto-Burman ***ri:t** *to reap, cut, scrape, shave*, BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 371.

840 *rəc; *rəəc maggot.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rac**; ~ Palaung **brəʔ** *maggot* (MILNE 1931), (~?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ŋgriak** *insect, maggot*.

B: (Khasi; perhaps ~, since compounding form) Khasi **[ʔniang]** *riej woodworm*.

Cf. **838a *raac** *grasshopper*.

(*rə(ə)c see also **1058 *rut** *...to pull up, out... .*)

841 *rɔc; *rɔɔc floor-beam.

A, B: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon *rat* floor-beam, summer (or ← Thai?), (A) Sre *roc* cross-timber in house, Hre *roc*, Sedang *roy* floor-beam; → Thai *rɔt* floor-beam, → Khmer *rət* (TANDART 1935); ~ (B) Biat *ɣrɔ:c* floor-beam.

Connect obscure Khmer *rənù:t*; as Palaung *ron* (MILNE 1931).

(SMITH 1972 253.)

842 *ruc; *ruuc; *ruəc to retreat, withdraw.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ruic* to free oneself, escape (or B?), Sre, Biat *ruc* to step back, retreat; ~ Sre *tənruc* (DOURNES 1950), Biat *ndruc* to force back, Bahnar *tədrut* to give way (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !).

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer *rò:c* [moon] to wane, (probably, rather than A) Stieng *ruic* day of moon's waning period, Central Nicobarese *yuit* to disappear, vanish, dissolve, melt.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer *rù:əc* to escape, Nancowry *yúac* to wain.

Connect 1505 *ru(u)y behind?

843 *ruc; *ruəc; *rəc to fall, drip.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan *rùc-rùc* [to rain] heavily, Vietnamese *rột* to leak, ooze; → Acehnese *rot* to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*ruc ruc > *cruc?) → Acehnese *srot* to fall, to give birth prematurely; ~ (*cnruc >) Sre *sənruc* funnel (→ Röglai *dənruc*); ~ Sre *truc*, Jeh *trut* to pour out (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Chrau *trɔʔ* to pour, spill, contaminated by 406 *[c]rɔk).

B: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy *rù:ac* [faeces] to come out in diarrhoea, Palaung *ruəyʔ*, *ruət* to drip, Praok *ruac* to fall, be shed, Central Nicobarese *yuait-[ɣə]* to overflow, Nancowry *yuacɲa* ad *yuác* to flow; ~ Khmer *cro:c* to pour from a spout; Onomatopoeic for liquid so poured, (!) *cruc:əc* to pour out, Vietnamese *rót* to pour; ~ Biat *ndrɔ:c* funnel.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer /cɾec cɾec/ *cric cric* with a squirting sound, Biat [ji:] *chrɔc* diarrhoea; (probably) → Acehnese [mō-] *cret-cret* to come out in spurts; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *bɔɲcɾec* to cause to drip.

Connect 1504 *ruy &c. to fall, be shed; 2051 *ruh &c. to fall, be shed; & cf. 1059 *rut &c. to sprinkle, scatter. Note also Malay *chirit* diarrhoea, &c., Cebuano Bisayan *silit* to flow in a continuous stream (Proto-Austronesian *k'irit, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-Hesperonesian); perhaps cognate if vocalism reflects original palatal final.

843a *r[u]c; *r[uə]c to gut.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *roc*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat, Bahnar *rɔ:c*.

Or *rɔ(ɔ)c, unless connected following.

(***ruuc** see also 1058 ***rut** to pull hard on... .)

844 *ruuc; *ruəc intestine.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Mon **krət** *krut intestine*, Sakai (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 160 (a)) **kröt** *belly*; ~ (***kpruuc** >) Sre **proc** *intestine*; → Malay **pěrut** *belly, womb*, probably → Sakai **pěró^k** *belly* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 164 (b)).
- B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rù:ac**, Mường **rəch** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **ruột** *intestine*; ~ Stieng, Biat **prə:c**; → Cham **proy?**, Jarai **prə:ai?**, **pru:ai?**, Röglai **pro:(a)y**, North Röglai **puai?**, Acehnese **pruət**.
Connect perhaps preceding; & (i) Kammu-Yuan **pəc:rà:c** *mesentery*; (ii) Semelai **ləpəc** *belly*, &c. (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 164 (a)), by metathesis; (iii) Sora **on'loida:-n**, compounding form **lo(:)j-**, Kharia **lai:j** *belly*, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 282. (SHAFFER 1965 514.)

(***ruuc** see also 1058 ***rut** ...to pull up, out... .)

‡845 *krəc; *krəəc to grind, gnash [teeth].

- A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **krac**.
B: (Palaungic; ~ ***[]nrəəc** >) Praok **gruuc**.
Cf. 839 ***rəc** to slice, cut through.
(Apparently) Proto-Austronesian ***kayat₂**: Toba Batak **harat** to gnaw, bite, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 72; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 14.14). See BENEDICT 1975 234.

846 *kruuc; *kruəc citrus.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **kro:c**, Stieng **kruic**, Hre **kroc**, Sedang **kruy**.
B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon [**chu** &c.] **krót** *orange*, Old Khmer **krvac**, Mod Khmer **kro:c** *citrus* (→ Thai **makrūt**, → Mon **mèak krət** *lemon*), Stieng **kruəc**, Biat **krə:c** *citrus*, Sre **kroac** *orange, citrus*, (→?) Central Nicobarese **kəroait** *citrus*, Nancowry **karuác**; → Cham **kroy?** *agrumes* (→ Bahnar **kroy?** *citrus*), Jarai **krə:i?** *citrus*, North Röglai **kuai?** *wild pomelo*, Acehnese **kruət** *Citrus hystrix*.
Connected further Ancient Chinese **kjuēt** 橘 *orange*. (POU & JENNER 1973 205). (SCHMIDT 1905 60; BLOOD 1966 59; SMITH 1972 260.)

847 *kruuc; *kruəc kind of gamebird.

- A: (Bahnaric; ~ ***kmruuc** >) Stieng **bruəc** *partridge*, Bahnar [**se:m**] **bro:c** *bird resembling francolin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kruəc** *quail, partridge*; ~ Chrau **vrwac** (*kind of*) *pheasant*.

848 *[c]raac *kind of wood-oil tree*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer, Kuy **tra:c** *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, Biat [ca:i] **ra:h:c** *wood-oil*, Chrau **ra:c**, Bahnar dialects **ra:c**, **h(a)ra:c** *kind of wood-oil tree* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **tra:y?** *Dipterocarpus intricatus*, North Röglai **trai?** *kind of resinous tree*.

The variant Mon **san srān** (*wood-oil obtained from*) *Melanorrhoea usitata* supports *c-; so Khmer, Kuy t- by dissimilation?

849 *truc; *truuc *lac*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **krōik**, Palaung **krut**, Riang-Lang **ṭrōc**; (or B) apparently → Miri **təruk** *lac insect* (BENEDICT 1972 n.).

B: (Mon) Mon **krət** *krut*.

Burmese **khyip** (XVI C), semantically contaminated by Mon-Khmer, is < Tibeto-Burman *krep *bug, ant*: BENEDICT 1972 74 no. 347 & n. 230.

850 *pr[a]c *wing*.

A: (Palaungic, Aslian) Praok **pruc**, Lawa Bo Luang [kam]phrəuik, Lawa Umphai **proic**, Mae Sariang **phyoic**, Bateg Nong **pəwic**, Sabum **payej**, Semelai **pərəc**.

(*brac see 922 *bruup *spotted*.)

851 *mrəc *pepper*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon **mrek** /mrōik/, Modern Mon **pərōik**, Khmer **mrəc** *mrec*, Stieng **mbre:c** (beside **mrəc** ← Khmer), Sre **mre?**, Chrau **mre?**, Biat **m(b)rac** (beside **mbrec** ← Khmer), Palaung **brut** (contaminated by Burmese, below?), Lawa Bo Luang **mbrəuik**, Lawa Umphai **mbroic**, Mae Sariang **mbyoic**, Khasi [soh]-**mrīt**; → Sanskrit *marica*-; Cham **amre?** (→ Bahnar **amre?**, Gölar **həmre?**), **mre?**, Röglai **amre?**; Thai **pʰrík** (→ Kammu-Yuan **pri?**, Thin **blik**); Burmese *narut*.

Stieng perhaps by early interdialectal borrowing.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 539.)

852 *lic; *l(i)əc *to emerge*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **ləc** *lec* *to come out (of), appear, to stick out, to seep, leak*, Stieng **le:c** *to drip, leak, to stick out*, Besisi **lek** *to get up* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 132); ~ Biat **rklec** *drop, drip*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ləc** *to go out, [sun] to rise*.

Connect Sre **lik** *to go out, come out, [paddy] come up, [sun]rise*.

853 *l̥ac to enter.

- A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Old Khmer **luc**, Middle Khmer **l̥ec lic** to set (probably, merging to **sink** < following; beside **lec lic** west), Kuy **lic** [to plunge knife] right in, Praok **lac**, Lawa **liak** to enter, Temiar **laj** to arrive unexpectedly (BENJAMIN 1976B 138); ~ Bahnar **gl̥e:c, kl̥e:c, kl̥e:k** to penetrate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

854 *l̥ac; *l̥aɛc; *laac to be flooded, to sink.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **l̥ec lic** to sink, be partly immersed (merging probably to set < preceding.), Kuy **lic** to flood, Stieng [d̥a:k] **li:c** primordial flood (→ Chrau **lic** to flood?); → Cham **l̥ɛc** spring tide; ~ Biat **ŋklac** to drown (v.t.).
 B: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **l̥ac** to sink, be drowned.
 C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **la:c** to overflow, flood.
 C perhaps secondary in post-dental context; so < ***l̥at-s** ~ **1077 *l̥at** to be extinguished? ***l̥ac** to turn upside down ad **423 *l̥ak** may belong here, with sense by attraction Cf. further **1287 *l̥ap** &c. to immerse; Vietnamese **lụt** to be inundated.

(***l̥ac** see also **423 *l̥ak** to overturn... ; (***l̥[ə]c**) **424 *l̥ak** to sleep; **1081 *lut** to slip (off, down).)

†855 *l̥oc; *l̥oɛc; *l̥ok penis.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **loc**; ~ Amwi **phloc**.
 B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [no:t-kəmet]-l̥o:i̯c boar.
 C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian) Bahnar **l̥o:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; contaminated by **1857 *klaaw**, which compare), Kammu-Yuan **l̥ok**, Khasi **l̥oh** (~ **thloh**), Sakai **lok̄n** (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 53).
 A-B prior in view of Munda, below; C by tabu deformation? Connect **1520 *k(-)l̥ay?**. Sora **l̥ʔa:j-ən**, (compounding form) (**ə**)**l̥a:j-ən**, Santali **l̥ʔj**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 289); by secondary development Sora **l̥ʔo:j-ən**, compounding form **l̥o:j-ən** testicle.
 (Proto-Austronesian ***ul̥ak** >?) Cebuano Bisayan **uluk**, **úluk**, perhaps Tongan **ule**, Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian ***ule**.

†856 *luc; *luɛc; *l̥ac; *l̥aɛc; *lac to steal.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **lu:ec** theft, Vietnamese [**bóc**] **lột** to rob.
 B: (Khmer) Khmer **l̥u:ɛc** to steal, Bru **l̥ò:y?** to take [fish] without permission (< ***-uuc?**); → Cham **laɣɛc**.
 C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **kle?** to steal, purloin; → Cham, Jarai **kle?**, Röglai **kle?**, North Röglai **tle?** to steal.
 D: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **l̥a:c** to steal.
 E: (Mon) ~ Mon **kl̥ət**; ~ Old Mon **kum̄lac** /kəml̥ac/, Modern Mon **pəl̥ət** thief.
 Originally ***lut-s** &c. causative ~ **1081 *lut** &c. to slip (off...)? Connection dubious
 Central Nicobarese **kə̀l̥o:-** to steal, **kə̀m̄ə̀l̥o:** theft, Nancowry **kal̥ó?**, **kamal̥ó?**.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

Kharia **'lusi** to rob, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 318b); → Sanskrit *lūṣati* &c., Prakrit *luṭṭai*.

(***luc** see also **1081** ***lut** to slip (off, down); (*[]**luc**) **1083** *[]**luut** to sprout; ***luuc**, ***luəc** see (also) **1081** ***lut**.)

857 ***klaac** frightened, timid.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **klāt** to be tame, Literary Mon **klāt** also to be timorous, Khmer **khla:c**, Biat **kla:c** to be frightened; → Cham **klāt**, **klet**.

Cf. Bru **kaŋa:y?** to be fearful; **kla:?** cowardly, timid; **1086** *[c]**laat**.

***858** ***kluuc** (& ***kluc**?) to rub.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **klɔik** (!) to rub [one's eyes] (< variant; or dialect, replacing ****klɔt** for homophony, cf. **856** (E)?), Palaung **klut** to wipe (MILNE 1931), Praok **kluc** to knead; → Jakun **kulut** to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 195).

Cf. Sre **klo:** to rub, scrape, chafe, perhaps < ***kluuk** by assimilation.

Proto-Austronesian ***lu**([d₁])**lu**([d₁]): Malay **lulut** massage with cosmetics, &c. (Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***lulu**], NOTHOFFER 1975 104).

858a ***kluuc** on the point of burning.

A: (Khmer, Khasi, Katuic) Khmer **khlaoc** burnt, scorched, Khasi **khluīt** boiling hot, scorching hot, Bru **klɔ:y?** burnt completely (< ***uəc**?).

Cf. **803** *[b]**ku(u)c** hot.

859 ***gluuc** loose, lax.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Praok **kluc** to be lax; ~ Khasi **kylluid** roomy, loose, lax.

860 ***d₁n[l]uuc**; ***[d₁]n[l]uəc** awl.

A: (Palaungic) Riāng-Lang **tənluc** awl; to bore with a red-hot awl.

B: (Mon) Mon **hənòt banot**, **banat** awl.

Or *-**nn₂**-? then perhaps connected **822** ***cnuəc** to spit, transfix. Note also Khmer **cùənlù:əŋ** (TANDART 1935 also **cənlù:əŋ**; → Biat **cəŋlo:ŋ**), Kuy **ta:?** **mlhu:ŋ** goad (< ***cnluəŋ**? so perhaps Mon **kəŋəŋ** sting (organ)).

861 *[b]**lec**; *[b]**lac**; *[b]**ləc** to miss the mark, mistake, forget.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmer) Mon **plèt** to miss (the m), to be wrong, (or less probably variant >) Khmer **phlèc bhlec** to forget, Khasi **'let** amiss; transgression (compounding form; or ad unattested derivation; referred to the secondary derivation **klet** to forget), Vietnamese **trêch** to miss the mark.

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Mon **plòt [plèt]** miss the mark, to go astray (**blot**!; or ~ **1082** ***luət** to err?), Sre **blac** lie, (probably, cf. the derivation) Bahnar **blec** [arrow &c.] to go wide, (**blə?** —) to be unreliable; ~ (*[b]**rlac** >) Biat **rlac** to deny; ~ (*[b]**plac** >) Bahnar **plec** to lie; liar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **plac**), Khasi **phlait** to miss, (compounding form?) **lait** mistake.

c: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *trật* to miss.

Only Khasi impedes reconstruction of *bl-. Vocalism unusual.

861a *[r]laac to collapse, be destroyed.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *là:c* to disappear, be lost, Lawa *laic* to c., be destroyed; ~ Biat *r6la:c* (!) to devastate, ravage, trample; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Kammu-Yuan *plá:c* to take away, to destroy, waste, to melt down, to erase.

Cf. 422 *laik &c. to dissolve...; 927 *ləp to be destroyed... .

862 *wic; *wiic; *wiəc twisted.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Biat *wic* [we:l] (peppercorn) curl; ~ Khmer *khvec khvic* turning (TANDART 1935), Chrau *kwi?* to roll, twist.

B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan *kərwi:c*-[*kərwi:al*] winding, meandering.

C: (Khmer, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer *vìəc* twisted, crooked, winding, dishonest, (or following, which connect, >?) Bahnar *wəc* to twist (v.i), to turn aside.

Connected further 1090 *wit &c. to go round... .

863 *wac to eddy, to twist.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Mon *wòt* to wring out, Sre *wac*, Biat [*da:k*] *wac* [we:l] eddy (& Bahnar *wəc* to twist..., under the entry preceding?), Central Sakai *wêt*, *uêt* to twist, wring; ~ (*krwac >) Biat *rwac* to twist [hair] into knot, Khasi *khyrwait* to twist, wring, strangle.

Connect preceding; & cf. further Riang-Lang *_viet* to wring; 1021 *pat &c. ... (id.).

863a *wac to hop, leap.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy *wàc* [fish] to leap, Biat [*nchat te:*] *wac* to hop on one leg.

864 *wac; *waac knife, sword.

A: (Khasi, Central & South Aslian) Khasi *wait* dao, Temiar *ʔəwəj*, Semelai *wəy* knife.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *_vac*, *_wac*, Praok *vac*, Lawa Bo Luang *wik*, Lawa Umphai *wiaic*, Mae Sariang *wuic* sword.

Cf. Mendriq *wəp* knife, &c. Temiar suggests a secondary *ʔuəc. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 124.)

865 *wəc stomach.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Palaung *və?*, Praok *vac* stomach, Riang-Lang *_vac* bowels, entrails, Lawa *wiak* belly, Khasi [*'nier*]-*wait* entrails, Kensiu, Temiar *ʔej*, Mah Meri *ʔoʔəc*, Central Nicobarese *aic* belly.

Aslian, Nicobaric initials obscure.

(SHAFFER 1965 194; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 161.)

866 ***[]wəc**; ***[]wəəc**; ***[]wək**; ***[]w[uə]k** to cut, reap.

- A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **wiak** to break (off); ~ (***[]mwəc** >) Palaung **meʔ!** to cut [tree] down, lop, Khasi **maɪt** to cut, to clear [jungle].
 B: (Palaungic) Riāng-Lāng **_vəc**, **_wəc** to reap, cut.
 C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre **məʔ** sickle, (~?) Praok **muk** to cut, slash, Lawa Bo Luang **mak**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mək** to kill.
 D: (Palaungic) Palaung **vəʔ**, Praok **vək** to reap; ~ Palaung **rəvəʔ** reaping, Praok **sivək** sickle.

Note also Lawa Umphai **wək** grass-cutting knife; Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mak** to reap, mow. D secondarily from C, perhaps ***[]wək**; then ~ Riāng-Lāng **_mək** to cut with swinging motion, hew, otherwise ← Shan **wək**, ← 371 ***gəʔk** to chop, hoe. C-D contaminated by this? Then conceivably ***rwə(ə)c**, connected 1058 ***ruət(-s)** ...to reap Cf. further 839 ***rəc** to slice, cut through; 390 ***riək** ...to harvest.

(***wəc** see also 933 ***w[ə]n** to play.)

†867 (***kwaat-s** > ?) ***kwaac**; ***kwac**; ***[g]wat**; ***gwaat**; ***gwaac** to scratch (up).

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer **khva:c**, Stieng **kua:c**, Biat **kwa:c** (& **kwa:k!**) to scratch, Sre **kua:c** to scratch (oneself), Palaung **kwat** to grate, Kensiu **kəwəj** to scratch, by back-formation (or ~?) Kuy **wi:ac** to scratch up.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **kwac** to scoop up.
 C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[ʃə]-kwət-[həŋə]** to scratch with nail &c.
 D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **khvɪ:ət** to scratch with tip of finger, Kuy (k)**wa:t** (!) to scratch, Riāng-Lāng **_vat** to shave.
 E: (Mon) Mon **kwət** to shave, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khwaac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V103).
 Connect Vietnamese **quật** to exhume, dig out, excavate. Cf. 802 ***kaac**; 802a ***k[oo]c** to dig (up); 1442 ***kaay**; A138 ***kwaay**; 1880 ***kais** &c.; 1881 ***kuus** &c. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)
 Sora **aj-** [fowls] to scratch; to rake over [coals] (or : ***kaac**?).

†868 ***gwac**; ***gwaac** to beckon.

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Kuy (k)**wac** (!), (or B?) Central Sakai **gawet**, **giwot**; ~ Riāng-Lāng **_kəlvac** [ʔiʔ].
 B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Bru **kuwəyʔ** to beckon, Kammu-Yuan **kwà:c**, by assimilation Lawa Bo Luang **kwak**.
 Connect Bahnar **kuə:c**; Khasi **khawoit** (< ***k.wuəc**?) to beckon, to paddle.
 Santali **gəvi' j**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 68).

869 ***twii[c]**; ***twəc** dark.

- A: (Katuic) Kuy (t)**weeʔ** dark, night.
 B: (Palaungic) Praok **vac**, Lawa **fiak** dark.

(***[r]wəc**, ***rwəc** see 1094 ***[r]wət** *inattentive, to forget*.)

870 *sic** to fight.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **sic** /səc/ [**j**al], Modern Mon **səik** to quarrel, brawl; (?) → Thai **sək** (→ Khmer **suək**), Shan **shūk** war; ~ Biat **nchic** to set dog fighting.

871 *sac** edible substance, fruit, meat.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **sac** /səc/, Modern Mon **sət** fruit, Khmer **sac** flesh, meat, Kuy **sac** meat, Bahnar **sec** lean meat, Kensiu, Temiar **sej**, Semelai **səc** meat (with cognates meaning fruit, cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 170 (a)).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***sey** fruit, BENEDICT 1972 27 no. 57.

(SMITH 1972 247.)

872 *sac**; ***saac** to bale out.**

A: (Khasi, ?South Bahnaric) Khasi **kynshait** to syringe; ~ **pashait** to splash with foot; ~ (***sn-** >; perhaps with secondary shortening, cf. Biat ~ B) Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **nhac** drizzle.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Mon **sat** to bale (in part, **sāt**; merging ***r-saac**, 837 ***s-raac**), Khmer, Kuy **sa:c** to bale, to throw from bucket, Sre **sa:c** to empty with bucket, Chrau **sa:c** to bale out fish-dam, Riang-Lang **ṭhac** earth cast of land-crab &c., Vietnamese **tát** to irrigate, bale out; → Cham **thay?** to pour away, to bale out [fish-pond], [rain] to come down; ~ Biat **nhac** drizzle, Khasi **snaid** strainer; ~ (*[**s**]nsaac >) Bahnar **hja:c** strainer; ~ Bahnar dialects **hama:c** strainer (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mon **sat** to bale (in part, **shāt**; see above), Khmer **rəsa:c** in a very scattered manner, Biat **rcha:c** to sprinkle, Chrau **cha:t** (with -t by dissimilation) to sprinkle ritually, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔasaic**, Lawa Umphai **rasaic**, Mae Sariang **ɣasaic** to wash [hands]; ~ Old Mon **rinṣāc** /**rənsac**/ to sprinkle.

Khmer has also **rasoc** to spread out, well out (GUESDON 1930), with which cf. Mintil **səuc**, Bateg Nong **səc** to wash, bathe; & **sraoc** to sprinkle, under the entry ***raac**.

They may reflect ***rsuuc** &c., but are part of the evidence for a possible *-**au-**.

(BLOOD 1966 365; SMITH 1972 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 142.)

†873 *suc**; ***suuc**; ***suəc**; ***sac**; ***siic** to sting.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer **soc** small kind of mosquito, Kuy **soc** sandfly, Bahnar dialect **tsuc** to sting (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Temiar **səmuɟ** wasp (BENJAMIN 1976B 186).

- B:** (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy **so:c** *to sting*, Sre **souc** *to prick, sting*, Biat **cho:c**, Bahnar **so:c**, Kammu-Yuan **hu:c**, Riang-Lang **huc**, Praok **hu:c**, Proto-Semai ***sɿɿc** *to sting* (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (***smuuc** >) Kuy **smo:c**, **mho:c** (or < ***srmuuc**, below?), Bahnar **hmo:c**, Jeh **mut**, Halang **mut**, Kammu-Yuan **mú:c**, Lawa Bo Luang **?mauk**, Lawa Umphai **?maut**, Mae Sariang **?maut ant**, Proto-Semai ***smɿɿc** *stinging insect* (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Thai **mót ant** (&c., cf. BENEDICT 1975 219; → Kammu-Yuan **mòt**); Cham **hmōc**; Malay, Javanese **sěmut**, Karo Batak **semut**; ~ Khmer **srəmaoc ant**, Bahnar **səmo:c** *stinging (organ)*; (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) *hornet*; ~ Praok **ɲuc** *stinging*.
- C:** (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) (***snmac** > ?) Mon **həmot samat ant**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ɕhmɯac**; ~ Alakong Bahnar **hmuəc ant** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **kərhuəyt** *wasps*.
- D:** (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **[huc] həc** *nettle*; ~ (***snmac** > ?) Sre **səmac**, Biat **mac**, Bahnar **səməc**, (original compounding form?) Khasi **mait** *mosquito*.
- E:** (Mon, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **sui:c (!)** [*scorpion's*] *sting*; → Shan **sit** *to sting*; ~ Mon **həmit** *mosquito*; ~ Sakai **kěmit** *mosquito* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 180 (a)).
- Connect perhaps (i) **1099 *su(u)t** *kind of bee*; (ii) **1496 *muuys** &c. *mosquito, gnat*. But connection dubious Acehnese **kamuə**, Cham **mu:**, Jarai **mu:a**, &c. *white ant*; Vietnamese **con mồi** *white ant*, which probably reflect ***-r**. (SCHMIDT 1905 50, 64; SHAFER 1965 316, 339; BLOOD 1966 352; SMITH 1972 257; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 25.)
- Sora **suj-** *to pierce*, ~ (compounding form) **muɟ-** *ant*, Kharia **mu'j**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 130); Sora **'samaj-ən** *mosquito*.

874 ***ksac**; ***ksaac** *sand*.

- A:** (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **khsac**; ~ (***kmsac** >) Riang-Lang **mac**.
- B:** (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) by metathesis > ***skaac** > Kuy **ska:c**, Mường **cách** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **cát**; ~ (***kmsaac** >) Praok **mac**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **hmaic**; ~ (***krsaac** by metathesis > ***krcaas** by metathesis >) Kammu-Yuan **cré:s**.
- Connect also Cham **cwəh**, Jarai **chu:ah**, Röglai **coah**, North Röglai **cuah**; Chrau **cwəh** *sand*, Biat **cə:ih** *gravel*? (SHAFER 1965 314.)

875 ***huc**; ***huuc**; ***huəc**; ***həc** *finished*.

- A:** (Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **hoic**, Lawa Umphai **həic** *to come to an end*, Temiar **həj** *already* (BENJAMIN 1976B 160); (probably, rather than C) ~ Khasi **khoit** *completely*.
- B:** (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ho:c** *particle of completed action*, Thin **hoic** *to be finished, exhausted; sequential connective; mark of superlative; all*, Lawa Bo Luang **hawk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **həic** *to use up*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **huac** *to have finished; perfect auxiliary*.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riang-Lang **ṭhac** *all; to exhaust*; ~ Khasi **khait** = **khoit**.

= following ?Connect certainly 1539 ***həy** &c. *finished* & probably 1113 ***phut** *to cease* (so < ***hut-s** &c.?); then surely also 798 ***rʔuc** &c., ***rʔuuy** *finished*.

876 ***huc**; ***huuc**; ***hə[ə]c**; ***hiəc** *to decrease, decay*.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Biat **huc** *to decrease, ebb*, (or B?) Central Sakai **hūt** *starvation*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon **hut** *to decrease*, Modern Mon **hut** *to deteriorate, decay, dwindle*, Khmer **haoc** (!) *only very slight in quantity*, (TANDART 1935) *decayed*; ~ Khmer **kho:c** *to go bad, go wrong*, Kuy **kho:c** *to break down, be marred, disordered*, Stieng **ku:c**, **khu:(i)c** *to spoil, damage, destroy; spoiled &c.* (or A?), Biat **khu:c** *to be spoiled*, Bahnar **kho:c** *diminishing* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hi:əc** *used up, wasted, squandered* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (D); ~ Bahnar dialects **hʔrə:c** *to decrease, to use up, waste* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; C).

= preceding? Connect perhaps 1109 ***jhuut** *to go backwards*. Note further Bahnar **hua:c** = **hʔrə:c**.

(***huc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

877 ***huuc**; ***huəc** *to whistle*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hōc** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **huyt**; ~ Bahnar **həho:c**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Aslian) Khmer **hu:əc**, Stieng **hu:ʔc**, Sre **hoac**, Biat **huac**, Bahnar **hə:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **ṭhuac**, Vietnamese **huyt**, Semang **huek** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (b)); → Jarai **hə:ac**, Rōglai **hoac**, North Rōglai **huai?**, Acehnese **huət**; ~ (***huəc huəc** > ***chuəc** >) Mon **chot** (**khyot**!; but dialects confirm ***ch-**), Kuy (**kh**)**hə:c**; ~ Chrau **təhwac**.

Cf. Jeh **tahuayh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (< ***-huəs**). Onomatopoeic (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

(***huuc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

878 ***huəc** *to flow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Central Rölöm **həac**, Biat **hə:c** *to flow*, Bahnar **hə:c** [*water*] *to carry away; to unroll, flow out*, Khasi **hoit** *to flow out, seep out*; ~ Bahnar **təhə:c** *to dispose of by throwing into stream*, (GUESDON 1930) *to overflow*.

Connect Kuy **hə:y**.

(BLOOD 1966 52.)

(***huəc** see also 1106 ***hut** *to suck, drink*.)

†879 ***khuc**; ***khuuc**; ***kh[uyh]** *to wipe, wash.*

A: (Palaungic) Praok **khoc** *to wash*.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **khut**, **khuit** *to wipe*, Lawa Bo Luang **khauk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **khɔic** *to wash*, Khasi **khuid** *clean, pure*.

C: (Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Palaung **khoy**, Riang-Lang **ṭkhe** *to wash*, Semang [ya'] **kũās** *to wipe* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 123; ?).

Kharia **gu'j** *to wash* (PINNOW 1959 K 61; Proto-Munda ***goc**?).

Proto-Austronesian *[**jug'ut**': Toba Batak **ugus** *to rub*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 160, discarding Tagalog; ?).

Perhaps two roots, with contamination : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***khu(u)c** *to wash* :

Munda, *-**uy[h]** *to wipe* : Austronesian.

(***knhuəc** see 272 ***chuək** *corner*.)

880 ***bhic**; ***bhiic** *to fear*.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **phic** /**phɔc**/, Modern Mon **phɔik**, Jah Hut **bəhec**; ~ Old Mon **buhic** *to frighten*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **phɪt** *nervous [horse]*, (— **pha:i**) *fear, terror*.

881 ***[l]nhəc** *light in weight*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ləŋə:c**, Sre, Biat **ŋgə:c**, Chrau **ŋkhə:c**, Mnong Gar **rəkhə:c**, Bahnar **həʔyə:c**.

Or ***r**-? Bahnar by assimilatory palatalization of nasal.

(BLOOD 1966 411.)

(***ʔaən** see 1116 ***ʔaa[n]** *tray of betel-box*.)

882 ***ʔa[i][ɲ]**; ***ʔiə[ɲ]** (*elder*) *brother*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **an** *parent's sibling of same sex*, Mường **enh** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **anh** *elder brother*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔean**, Lawa Umphai **ʔen** *father's younger brother*.

Or ***ʔain** &c.; but *-**ɲ** if Praok **[pu]ac** *brothers*, Lawa **ʔiak** *elder brother* (< ***ʔəc**?) are connected. Note South Aslian forms: Semelai **ʔiʔeʔ**, (distinguished by BENJAMIN from) Mah Meri **yəʔ** *elder sibling*, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 421.

(SHAFFER 1965 341.)

883 ***ʔəɲ** *to endure, wait out*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **ɔɲ** *to suffer, endure, tolerate*, Literary Mon **ʔen** also *to be patient*; ~ Sre **ləʔɲ** *to wait, be patient*.

Cf. 1151 ***ɲə(ə)nʔ** ...*to endure*.

884 *ʔəɲ to fast, abstain from food.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon ɔɲ, Khasi *en* (!) [ja].

Khasi spelling may assume palatalization to be junctural. Cf. Central Nicobarese ɔɪt-
ŋə hungry.

885 *ʔuɲ (& *ʔuɲʔ) fire.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng u:(i)ɲ, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar uɲ, Jeh ùn, Halang un; ~ (*jheeʔ
ʔu[ɲ] by contraction >; with compensatory lengthening?) Biat choʔo:ɲ charcoal.

Connect **1872** *[ɲus &c.?

(SHAFFER 1965 447a; BLOOD 1966 151; SMITH 1972 81; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F
124.)

886 *kʔaiɲ; *kʔiəɲ; *kʔi[ɲ] wasp.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan kəʔá:ɲ kind of wasp, Palaung kəʔəɲ
wasp, Khasi *kyieng* wasp, hornet; ~ (*kmʔaiɲ >) Jeh maha:ɲ fighter wasp, Halang
məha:ɲ wasp.

B: (Khmer; ~ *knʔiəɲ >) Khmer ɲəɲ kind of wasp.

C: (Khasi) Khasi *k'ing* wasp, hornet.

Pre-Khmer *-iəɲ > *-əɲ by palatal absorption. Connect **485** *ʔuɲ &c. wasp, hornet.

887 *jʔuɲ; *jhuɲ to smell, sniff.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Kensiu ʔɔɲ, Temiar ʔu:ɲ to smell, sniff; ~ (*jʔuɲ
jʔuɲ > *njʔuɲ > *njuɲ >) Mon yəɲ to smell, (or ~ *jnʔuɲ >?) Semai
no:y to smell.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon chəɲ *chui*, (~?) Kuy hu:ɲ to smell, smell, embrace (JOHNSTON
1969 has hɲu:ɲ to smell, < *jnhuɲ).

Mon, perhaps Semai *final* by dissimilation; but Semai may attest a further variant
*jʔuuy; cf. here Central Nicobarese ʔi smell. Note also Riang-Lang *kuɲ* to kiss.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 294.)

Kharia jũ to sm., &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 315).

Cf. Proto-Austronesian *k'i(S)um to sniff, nose-kiss: Malay *chium*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF
1938 87, *k'ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian).

888 *smʔaɲ star.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon *sam'an* (?), Literary
Mon *saman*, Stieng səme:ɲ, Sre, Chrau səmaɲ, Biat maɲ, Palaung səmiɲ, Riang-
Lang səkməɲ, Praok simuɲ, Lawa Bo Luang saʔbəuɲ, Lawa Umphai, Mae
Sariang saʔmoɲ; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan sərmɲ.

Cf. Danaw kǎ'lan (< *slʔaɲ?).

(SHAFFER 1965 166, 374; BLOOD 1966 348.)

889 *kij̥ (& *kiij̥?) head, termination.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **kiŋ** *end*, Palaung **kiŋ**, Riang-Lang **ʔkiŋ** (< variant?), Praok **kaŋ**, Lawa **kaŋ** *head*.

Mon **kənɜŋ** *tip* may reflect a variant *k/.n/u(u)ŋ.

(SHAFFER 1965 5.)

890 *k[i]ŋ; *kuŋ work.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **keŋ** [**kā**] *work, business* (→ Burmese **ʔakuŋ**), Praok **kaŋ** *act, deed, work*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **công** *work*.

891 *kiij̥[]; *kiəŋ[]; *kaŋ? elbow.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar [**kəŋ**] **ke:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng [**kə:ŋ**] **kie:n**, Chrau [**kuŋ**] **kiəŋ** [**ti:**], Biat [**ti:ŋ**] **ciaŋ**, Kammu-Yuan **kíaŋ**, Central Nicobarese [**det-əŋ**] **ke:əŋ**, Nancowry **rét ʔuŋkián**.

C: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kaeŋ** [**day**], Kuy [**tə:t**] **ke:ŋ**, Bru [**tə:t**] **ke:ŋ**, Vietnamese **cánh** [**chỏ**].

Connect **650 *ky[o]ŋ?** Note Sakai **kanang** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 42). (SMITH 1972 91.)

***892 *kuŋ; *kuuŋ; *kun; *kuun, *dkuun to bend down; bent.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Mon **kun** *dwarf, to be humpbacked*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V115), Khmer **kuñ** *dwarfish, stunted, shrivelled* (GUESDON 1930), Biat **koŋ** *to bend down (v.i.t.)*, Semang **kion**, **kiun** *crooked* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 175 (b); or B); ~ Khmer **ʔəŋkoŋ** *to bend [limbs]*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ku:ŋ** *to bend (down), lower (v.t); bent down, arched* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kun** *to bend down* (→ Röglai).

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **kaon** *bending, huddled up...*, Kammu-Yuan **kú:n**, Khasi **khun** *to bend*, (*dk- >) Bahnar [**kədu?**] **gəŋ** *hunchback*; ~ Sre **rəkoun** *to bend, be rucked*.

Final variant unusual. Bahnar ***dk-** contaminated by Indonesian, below? Vocalism post-dental, cf. **335a *đuuk**; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has **go:n təgo:n**, **gu:n təgu:n**, **gə:n təgə:n**. Add perhaps to D Proto-Khmuic ***knuun** *knee*, Kammu-Yuan **kənú:n**. (SCHMIDT 1905 22)

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***dəkuŋ**: Javanese **děkung** *bent, bowing down*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 39; DAHL 1973 § 14.20; perhaps rather ad **500 *koŋ**).

Connection dubious Santali **kəŋdɛʔ**, **kəŋdɛ'd** *bent, bowed, crooked*, PINNOW 1959 186; unless via Indo-Aryan, if this root → Sanskrit **kūṇi-**, TURNER 1962-66 3259; cf. Pali **kūṇḍa-** *bent, crooked*. See BENEDICT 1975 231.

†893 *[]kuuŋ; *[]kuəŋ *father, mother's brother*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **kouŋ** *mother's brother, mother's uncle*, Chrau **ko:ŋ** *mother's younger brother* (BLOOD 1966), Biat **ko:ŋ** *parent's younger brother*, Bru **ko:n** *father*, Kuy (ʔa:) **kə:ŋ** *term of address to paternal great-uncle*, Kammu-Yuan **kú:ŋ** *father's sister's husband*, Palaung **kun**, Praok **kuuŋ** *father*, Proto-Semai ***kʰu:ŋ** *parent's elder brother...* (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **koin** *husband*, Nancowry **kóŋ**; ~ Semnam ʔəŋkoŋ *male, husband*, Central Nicobarese **enkəiŋə** *male*.

B: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **kəuŋ** *mother's younger brother*.

Or *ʔk-?

(BLOOD 1966 23; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 38, M 15 (d).)

Sora **'kupa:r-ən** *father-in-law*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 360. But Kharia **'gunmer** is obscure).

Proto-Austronesian ***əNkuŋ**: Malay **əŋkong** *grandfather*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 170; Proto-Hesperonesian).

893a *[t]gəəŋ *early, soon*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gəŋ** *early* (beside **goŋ**; BLOOD 1966 **gə:ŋ-gə:ŋ** *soon, quickly*), Central Rölöm **gə:ŋ** *soon, quickly*, Biat **gə:ŋ** *soon, quickly, early, to hurry*, Bahnar **kə:ŋ** *later on, shortly*.

(BLOOD 1966 393.)

894 *jiŋ; *jiin *to sew*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Stieng **ji:n** (!), Sre **jiŋ**, Chrau **jiŋ**, Biat **juŋ**, Praok **caŋ**, (or **B?**) Central Sakai **chêk**; ~ Stieng **jirni:ŋ** *seam*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **jiñ**, [**s**]-**jiñ** /**jiŋ**/, Modern Mon **còin**, Palaung **jiŋ**, Lawa Bo Luang **cuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **chiŋ**, Mae Sariang **c(h)in**.

Stieng **-n** by dissimilation Cf. Khasi **jaiñ** *cloth, clothes*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

895 *tjaan *quarrelsome*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Sre **jaŋ** *violent [illness]* (DOURNES 1950); [*buffalo*] *to be unapproachable*, Biat **ja:ŋ** *malevolent, brutal*, (**to:m** —) *to quarrel*, Mường **chenh** (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **tranh**, **chanh** *to dispute, quarrel*, Central Nicobarese [**men**]-**ʃe:ŋə** *quarrelsome*, Nancowry **minséja** *cruelty*; ~ (***tnjaan** >) Middle Mon **tayān**, Modern Mon **kəyan** *to dispute*, Biat **nja:ŋ** *to annoy*, Vietnamese **giành** = **tranh**; (?) by secondary derivation ~ Praok [**sima**] **siman** *to be contentious*.

896 *snuəŋ; *sɲ[ə]ŋ; *sɲiŋ *wrinkled; to frown, grimace*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **sno:ŋ** *disgusted [expression]*, (?) Biat **huan** *wrinkle, wrinkled*; ~ Mon **həpon** *to snarl, to screw up one's face, frown*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **sɲeŋ** **sñeñ** *showing one's teeth*, Kuy **sɲiŋ**, **ɲhiŋ** *to expose teeth, grimace*, Vietnamese **nhăn** (!) *to be wrinkled, to make faces*.

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **təhni:n** *to show one's teeth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C secondary. Note further Khmer **sna:n** *grimacing*; (TANDART 1935) **ɲu:n** *grimacing*, **ɲu:ən** *to contract, frown*; if then rather *s-ɲ-, < 62 *[ɲu? [ɲu? &c.? Cf. also Mường **nhāl** *to be wrinkled, to make faces* (BARKER 1966 13); 997 ɲ[uə]t *wrinkled, shrivelled*.

896a *t₁iɲ; *t₁iɲ; *t₁iəɲ *t₁əɲ *to pluck, twang*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tiŋ-[niŋ]** *kind of plucked stringed instrument*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer, Khasi) Mon **toɪŋ** *to pluck [stringed instrument]*, Palaung **tiŋ** *guitar* (MILNE 1931), Praok **tiŋ** *harp*; → Shan **tiŋ** *harp*; ~ Old Khmer **tmiñ** (or A) *player of stringed instrument*; ~ Old Mon **tinmīñ** /**təmminj**/ *player of stringed instrument*; (or A?) ~ Khasi **[ma]rynthiŋ** *stringed instrumen played with plectrum, 'Khasi harp'*.

C: (Khmer) Khmer **diəŋ** *to push gently aside*.

D: (Khmer, Central Aslian) Khmer /**deɲ**/ **teñ** *to pluck strings*, Proto-Semai *təɲ *to pluck* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Onomatopoeic?

896b *tiɲ; *təɲ *to know*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **dxɲ**; ~ Khmer **pdɲ** *to inform, to report, to complain, sue*; ~ Sre **ntiɲ** *to send word (by)*, Biat **ntɛɲ** *to make recommendations*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **ntɛɲ** *to send word*.

1341 *t₁iim contaminated by 904 *pdeɲ *to memorize*?

897 *t₁aɲ *hot*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Stieng **te:ɲ** *hot, heat, fever*, Chrau **[duh] tap** *hot [water]*, Kammu-Yuan **[tá:s] téɲ** *dry and sunny [place]*, Central Nicobarese **taɪɲ** *hot*, Nancowry **táɲ**; ~ Biat **ntaɲ** *to warm up*.

(SHAFFER 1965 84.)

*898 *t₁aaɲ *to weave, plait, twill*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobarese, Central Aslian) Mon **tan** *to plait, twill*, Kuy **ta:ɲ** *to weave, twill*, Chrau **ta:ɲ** *to twill*, Sre, Biat, Bahnar **ta:ɲ** *to plait, weave*, Jeh, Halang **ta:n**, Kammu-Yuan **ta:ɲ** *to weave*, Riang-Lang **taɲ**, Praok **taɲ**, Lawa **taɪɲ**, Khasi **thaiñ** *to plait, weave*, Mường **tanh** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **đan** *to weave*, Temiar **ta:c** *to plait* (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Central Nicobarese **[en]-tainyə** *to plait, weave*, Nancowry **táɲ**, ?intáɲ; ~ Old Khmer **tmāñ** *weaver*; ~ Khmer **tba:ɲ** *to weave, plait* (properly nominal form).

Palaung **teɲ** *to weave [bamboo matting]* may imply a variant *taɪɲ; tuən (Mon) *to weave [bamboo matting]* is probably contaminated by 910 *təuəɲ *to twist (together)*. Cf. also 1467 *[k]rt₂aɲ *to twist (together)*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 20; BLOOD 1966 335; SMITH 1972 94; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 126.)

Sora **taŋ-**, Kharia **taŋ** *to weave*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 301)

899 *təŋ *to chase*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **deŋ tɛŋ** *to pursue, chase away*, Stieng **ti:ŋ**, Sre **tiŋ** *to chase*, Biat **təŋ** *to chase, follow*.

(BLOOD 1966 148.)

(***[k]rt₂aŋ** see 1467 ***[k]rt₂ay** *to twist together*.)

899a *klt₂uʊŋ; *k[l]t₂uəŋ *fern*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Biat **rto:ŋ** [**krət**], Sedang **kasún**, Kammu-Yuan **kərsú:ŋ**, Central Nicobarese **ləto:in**.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəto:ŋ**.

(SMITH 1972 95.)

900 *diəŋ; *dəŋ *to be dazed*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **deñ** /**deŋ**/ [**knop**], Literary Mon **den** [**knap**].

B: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Middle Mon **deñ** /**dəiŋ**/, Modern Mon **təiŋ** *to be dazed*, Vietnamese **đần** *to be dull, simple-minded*.

(***daaŋ** see 1470 ***daay** ...*to lean on*.)

901 *duŋ; *duʊŋ (& *duəŋ?) *to gather up*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **doŋ**; → Jarai **duŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat **do:ŋ** *to glean*, Chrau, Bahnar **do:ŋ** *to gather up*; (Jeh/Halang? ***duəŋ**?) → Cham **tò:n**, Röglai **doan**, North Röglai **duət**.

902 *duəŋ *to deplore*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **tòn** *to scold, chide, complain, grumble*, Khmer **tù:əŋ** *to lament*; ~ Mon **hənòn** *chiding*, Khmer **tùmnnù:əŋ** *lament, lamentation*.

†903 *kđiŋ; *kđiŋ; *kđuŋ (& *kđuʊŋ?) *bamboo-joint*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Mon **dəiŋ** *bamboo-joint used to hold liquids*, Stieng **di:ŋ** *bamboo tube*, Sre **diŋ** (→ Chrau **din** (BLOOD 1966)), Biat **duŋ** *tube*, Besis **di^kng** *bamboo* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 31; or B?); → Röglai **diŋ** *tube*; ~ Middle Mon **gandīn** /**gəñiŋ**/, Modern Mon **hənoŋ**, Khmer **kəndəŋ** *bell* Lawa Umphai **ŋgleiŋ** *jingle, small bamboo*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **dī:ŋ**, Jeh **dīŋ** *bamboo tube*, Halang **dī:ŋ** *water-pipe*, Palaung **dīŋ** *bamboo container for liquids*; → Cham **dīŋ** *tube*.

C: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Middle Mon *kḍon* /*kḍuŋ*/ *area-nut container*, Modern Mon *daŋ* *bamboo tube*, Khmer *taoŋ* *cask* (?; < **kḍuŋ*, or ← Malay *tong*, under the entry 791 **d₁huŋ*), Kammu-Yuan *tón* *bamboo tube*, Khasi '*dong* (~ *tyndong*!) *short pipe, betel-case*; ~ (**kḍuŋ* >) Mon *hənɜŋ* *slit-drum, small bell*, Jehehr *gənūŋ* *bamboo* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 25).

Middle Mon *g-* in *gaḍin* *obscure*, but cf. 1180 **[g]ḍaan*. Cf. 341 **td[o]k* *slit-drum*...

(SHAFER 1965 123; BLOOD 1966 135; SMITH 1972 97.)

(i) Sora *kə(')diŋ-ən* *drum*; Kharia *'kənŋdɛŋ* *bamboo*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 275; Proto-Munda *-əŋ); (ii) Sora *kun'tuŋ-ən* *tube*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) **gəNdaŋ*: Malay *gədaŋ* *drum*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 54; Proto-West-Indonesian); Proto-Austronesian (ii) **kəNtuŋ*: Malay *kəntuŋ* *bird-scarer*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). Indonesian ← Mon-Khmer? See BENEDICT 1975 388.

904 **pḍeŋ* to memorize.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon *pḍen*, Modern Mon *den* to memorize, Kuy *diŋ* to know, learn (contaminated by Khmer *dɜŋ* < 896b **tɪŋ*, which compare); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer *tùəntɛŋ dandɛŋ* to repeat in order to memorize.

†905 **paŋʔ* to shoot.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Old Mon *pañ* /*pɔŋ*/, Modern Mon *pɔn*, Old Khmer *pañ*, Modern Khmer *baŋ*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat *paŋ*, Stieng *pe:ŋ* to shoot, Bahnar *pɛŋ* to beat cotton, Jeh, Halang *peŋ*, Kammu-Yuan *píŋ*, Palaung *piŋ*, Riang-Lang *ṽpuŋ*, Muong *pánh* (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese *bắn* to shoot, Central Nicobarese *fɔin* crossbow, [hǎ]-*fɔiŋə* to shoot with crossbow, Nancowry *fáŋ*, *hafáŋ*.

Cf. following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 18; SHAFER 1965 317; BLOOD 1966 367; SMITH 1972 86, 88; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a).)

(Cf. Kharia *pa'nic* bowstring, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 499; reborrowed ←, or contaminated by, Hindi *panica*?)

Proto-Austronesian **paŋ₁aq* to shoot; bow: Malay *panah* bow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113, **panah*; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 221, *arrow*.

906 **paŋ*; **paan* to fight.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Praok *puŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang *pəuŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *poiŋ*; ~ Bahnar *pəpɛ:ŋ*, *pəpɛ:ŋ* to struggle, thrash about (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B) Semang *pin-pen* to fight (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 496 (c)); ~ (**pn-*, but perhaps rather secondary **pnaɪŋ*, >) Palaung *neŋ* soldiers (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon *pnāñ* /*pnəŋ*/ *army*, Modern Mon *nan*, Praok *naŋ* *army, war*, Palaung *nan* *soldiers*.

Perhaps = preceding, ***p/an/aŋʔ** > ***pnaaŋ** with compensatory lengthening.

Connection obscure Kuy **baŋ** to *fight*.

‡907 ***dpəŋ**; *[**d**]pu[ə]ŋ; by voicing shift ***tbij**; ***tbiij**; ***tbiəŋ**; ***tbəŋ** *full*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon **piñ** /**pəŋ**/, Modern Mon **pəiŋ** to *be full*, Khmer **pəŋ** *beñ* full, → Kuy **phəŋ** full [*moon*], Sre **piŋ** to *overflow*, Bahnar **ɕəŋ** (!), Semang **iping** full (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (a)).

B: (Khasi) Khasi **phoiñ** *entirely*.

C: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **pəŋ** full [*moon*], Temiar **təbik**, (or D) Che' Wong **bək** full.

D: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Stieng **biʔi:ŋ**, Sre **bi:ŋ**, Chrau **və:ŋ**, Biat **be:ŋ**, Jeh **bìŋ** full, Halang **bì:ŋ** full of water, Semai **təbe:k**, Semaq Beri **təbe:ŋ** full.

E: (Khasi) Khasi [**dap**] **sbeng** quite [full], **tbeng** as if full.

F: (South Bahnaric) Biat **bəŋ** full [*moon*].

Connect other South Aslian forms: Semelai **səbə:ŋ**, &c.; so by assimilation Jehai **sehim**, Mendriq **səhim**; with secondary vocalism Kensiu **habun**; & cf. Central Nicobarese **poʃ**, **puʃ**, **buʃ**, Nancowry **pús** (< ***buc**?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 52; SHAFER 1965 39; BLOOD 1966 33; SMITH 1972 80; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 290 (b).)

Proto-Austronesian ***pəluq**: Malay **pěnoh**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 117, ***pənuh**; DYEN 1953 § 62; DAHL 1973 § 15.8).

908 ***baaŋ** to *stick*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **pàn** to *stick, adhere, to affix*, Khasi **paiñ** *solder, cement, joint*.

(***tbi(i)ŋ**, ***tb(i)əŋ** see 907 ***dpəŋ** full.)

909 ***buuŋ**; ***buəŋ** *soft*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **bo:ŋ** *soft, flexible, easy*; ~ (***[b]mbuuŋ** >) ?**mo:ŋ** *soft, flexible, easy*; → Jarai **moŋ** *soft*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **boiñ** *soft*; ~ (***[b]mbuəŋ** >) Sre **buən** *easy*; → Röglai **buən**, (or A?) Cham **bon** *easy*.

Cf. 1124 ***lʔun** &c. *soft, tender*.

910 ***tbuəŋ**; ***tbaŋ** to *twist (together)*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **bureŋ**, **buə:ŋ** to *twist into cord*, Biat **buəŋ** to *twist*, Bahnar **bə:ŋ** to *plait, twill* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***tnbuəŋ** >) Bahnar ?**mə:ŋ** *twisted rope*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **bəŋ** to *twist together*; ~ Khmer **trəbaŋ** to *plait, twist*, Biat **rbaŋ** to *turn (v.t), screw*.

To *plait, twill* contaminated by 898 ***t₁aaŋ**, which compare; as also 1177 ***ba(a)n** *interlaced*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16.)

911 *mij[]; *miəp?; *muuj[]; *muəp[] *mouth*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng dialect **mi:ɲ** *language*, Chrau **mij** *mouth*.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin [ʔaŋ] **miəŋ**, Mường **mənh** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **miệng** *mouth*.

C: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **məno:in** *lip*, Nancowry **manúɲ**.

D: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Riang-Lang **_mwəɲ** *mouth, word, language*, Praok **məɲ** *mouth*, (by labial absorption; or < a variant *maɲ[]?) Khasi **maiñ** *features*; → Shan **măŋ** *opening*.

Connection dubious Kharia **rə'məŋ** *nose*, PINNOW 1959 387. Khmer **thmèn** *tooth*, compared at SHAFER 1965 461, is < **924 *l/m/əp**.

(*muuj see **1495 *muuy** *one*.)

912 *smaap to ask.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon **smāñ** /**sməɲ**/, Modern Mon **hman** *to ask, inquire*, Kammu-Yuan **mà:ɲ** *to ask*, Palaung **hman**, Praok **maɲ** *to request*, Riag-Lang **ṽmaɲ** *to inquire, request*, Lawa **hmaiɲ**, Temiar **sama:ɲ** *to inquire* (BENJAMIN 1976B 173).

Cf. Central Nicobarese **həma:-[hətə &c.]** *to request, inquire*. Mon not, as SCHMIDT 1905 46, : Khmer **mì:ən** interrogative particle.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 165.)

913 *rap dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **re:ɲ**, Sre, Chrau **raɲ**, Kammu-Yuan **[rà:s]** **rèɲ**.

Connection uncertain (i) Khmer **rì:ŋ** *dried up*, perhaps < *riɲ unless connected Bahnar **sreŋ**, **hreŋ** *dry* (< *-iəŋ); (ii) Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **raŋ** *dry* (&c.: SMITH 1972 128).

914 *ruɲ; *ruuj; *ruəp; *ri[i]ɲ to strain, pull away.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **rùɲ** *to push, pull*; (— **rì:ə**) *refractory, obstinate* (→, or contaminated by, Thai **run** *to push?*), Stieng **ru:ɲ** *to pull [e.g. cart] backwards* (or B: contaminated by **842 *ru(u)c** *to retreat...?*).

B: (Mon) Mon **rùn** *to strain away, pull at leash &c., to be intractable*; ~ Bru **brù:n** [*fish*] *to tug at line*; → Burmese **run:** *to be intractable...*

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh **drudruan**, Halang **dədruan** *to struggle*.

D: (Khasi) Khasi **ring** *to pull, tug, drag*.

Connect obscure Praok **bruɲ** [**ti gwɛ**] *to tear oneself away*.

915 *krap climbing perch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer [**trɔy**] **krap**, Kuy, Chrau [**ka:**] **krap**.

916 ***krap** *frizzy [hair]*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **krap**; ~ (***kprap** >) Mon **kərən** *stubbly [hair]*, Bahnar **prɛp** *[hair] to be curly*.

Variant following?

917 ***kraap** *twisted, tangled*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **kran** *to be gnarled, twisted, tangled*, Khmer **kra:p** *settled, stuck*, Chrau **kra:p** *hard, stiff*, Bahnar **kra:p** *very tight, very. tangled* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **kandrāñ** *twisted* (GUESDON 1930), Khasi **kynraiñ** *twisting about [as one sits]*.

Add preceding as variant?

918 ***knraap** *elder, functionary*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **kəntri:əp** *big, (mè: —) chieftain*, Sre **kənrap** *elder overseeing cultivation practice*, Chrau **[ko:] kəndra:p** *illustrious person*, Biat **ndra:p** *arbitrator, go-between*, Bahnar **kədra:p** *(elder acting as) go-between, negotiator*.

Contracted compound of A64 ***raap** *old*?

919 ***gruup** *white ant, termite*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon **krùn**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***thruup** (< ***druup**?) (DIFFLOTH 1984 N37), Khasi **kruin**, Sakai **groit**ⁿ (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 110); ~ (***gnruup** >) Kuy **nthrù:p**, Kammu-Yuan **trù:p**.

Cf. B68 ***br[a]p**. Connection uncertain Central Nicobarese **dəɔin**.

919a ***jriip**; ***jriəp** *wax*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jriip**, Chrau **jre:p**, Biat **jre:ŋ**, Kontum Bahnar **jri:ŋ** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **jre:p**, Bru (ma)**ntriəp**. (SHAFFER 1965 473.)

920 ***[d]mrəp**? *body louse*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian) Kuy **nthri:p**, Kammu-Yuan **təmri:p**, Palaung **kənbri:p** *body louse*, Lawa Bo Luang **mbərəu:p** *tick*, Khasi **jynreiñ**, Vietnamese **rəp** *body louse*; ~ Sakai **moñriñ** *vermin* (rewritten **mongring** at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 144; i.e. Semai).

Connect Riang-Lang **sələp** *bed-bug*?

921 ***priip**; ***pru:p**; ***pruup** *to contend*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **prəp** *to strive, make an effort*; ~ (***pnriip** >) Sre **nəri:p** *dispute* (DOURNES 1950); ~ Bahnar **adri:n**, Gölar Bahnar **hədri:n** *to strive, persevere*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **[weñ] prəp** /**pru:p**/, Modern Mon **prəp** (→ Burmese **pruip**) *to contend, compete*, Khmer **prəp** *to plan for, try to*; → Cham **prəp**, **prauñ**.

C: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***prruuŋ** >) Sre [tam] **pərloŋ**, Biat [tə:m] **rlo:ŋ** *to contend, compete*.

922 *bruuŋ; *bruəŋ; *braŋ; *brac spotted.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **bro:ŋ** *striped*, **bru:ŋ** *grey-pied*, Khasi **bruiñ** *with large spots*, (**thoh-** —) *spotted*.

B: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **vrwa:ŋ** (→ Biat **rwa:ŋ**?) *striped*, Khasi [**thoh**]-**broiñ** *spotted*; ~ Bahnar **təbro:ŋ** *mottled*.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon [klaʔ] **pròŋ bran** *leopard*, Bahnar **brəŋ** *with small black and white spots*, Khasi [**thoh**]-**braiñ** *spotted*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau [yaw] **vrac** *panther*, Biat [yau] **brac** *tiger-cat, lynx*.

923 *mraŋ; *mrəŋ pox, ulcer.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Late Middle Mon **mran**, Modern Mon **pəròŋ** *smallpox*, Khmer **mrèŋ mreñ** *cancer, ulcer, scrofula* (→ Biat **mraŋ** *chancre*; or B?), Palaung **brəŋ** *smallpox*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat [tə:t] **brəŋ** *pockmarked*.

B by hypercorrection? Cf. further Sre **kraŋ** *smallpox, chancre*; Praok **preŋ** *contagious disease*.

924 *liŋ; *liiŋ; *ləŋ; *luuŋ gums.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre **luuŋ** (!; or C?), Biat **luuŋ** [che:k], Hre **lìn**; → Cham **liŋ**, (or C?) Jarai **lə:ŋ**; ~ Riag-Lang **ʔkliŋ** (***k-** part-of-body prefix); ~ Stieng **jəŋli:ŋ** (or B?), by metathesis Proto-Semai ***lɲsi:ŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **li:n**.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Palaungic) ~ (***cnləŋ** >?) Bahnar **səneŋ**, **həneŋ**, Jeh **iʔneŋ**, Halang **həneŋ** *tooth*; ~ (***lməŋ** >) Khmer **thməŋ dhmeñ**, Synteng Khasi **ləmein** *tooth*; (? , ~ ***lmpəŋ**) Lawa Bo Luang **piaŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbiaŋ**, Danaw **pəiŋ** *tooth*.

D: (Aslian) ~ Che' Wong **ləmuŋ**, Semai **ləmo:ŋ**, Semelai **ləmɔŋ** *tooth*.

D secondary following labial. Connect perhaps Vietnamese **lợi** *gums*. (< ***ləəy**).

(SHAFFER 1965 237; SMITH 1972 85; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 128, T 170; cf. SMITH 1972 51.)

925 *liəŋ; (*ləŋ >) *laaŋ to sharpen.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic) ~ Thin **t(ə)ləŋ**; ~ Khmer **səmliəŋ**, Kuy **smlɪ:ŋ**, **mlhi:ŋ**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Sre, Biat **la:ŋ** *to trim to a point*, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm **la:ŋ** *to sharpen*; ~ Bahnar [**ʔnət**] **kla:ŋ** *kind of sharp-edged grass*.

B shows early secondary lengthening following contextual lowering. Connect perhaps (i) Kammu-Yuan **cəlò:ŋ** *to sharpen* (< ***-uəŋ**?); (ii) 929 ***t₂luuŋ** &c. *pointed*.

926 *laaŋ to spread, be propagated.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **la:ŋ** [*stain, fire, flood, epidemic*] to spread (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **laiñ-laiñ** from place to place; ~ (***snlaaŋ** >) Mon **hənan snān** [*fire*] to spread.

Are Vietnamese **lan** [*fire*] to spread & Mường (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **tràn** to overflow, which imply *-n, loanwords?

927 *ləŋ (& *ləəŋ?) to be destroyed, dissipated.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **liñ /ləŋ/** to be ravaged, destroyed, dissipated, lost, dispelled, Modern Mon **lòŋ** to be dissolved, dissipated, lost, Khmer **lì:əŋ!** to destroy, (variant >?) Praok **[laə] luŋ** to perish; → Thai **laan** to be destroyed, broken; ~ Old Mon **pliñ** to ravage, destroy, dispel, cure, Modern Mon **pləŋ** to waste, squander, destroy, Khmer **phla:ŋ** to ravage; → Thai **p^hlāan** to destroy, **pluəŋ** (→ Kuy **plu:ŋ**) to waste, squander; ~ Biat **mphla:ŋ!** to ravage; ~ Biat **rləŋ** to stave in; ~ Old Mon **rinliñ** degeneration, Bahnar **rəneŋ** wanton destruction (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

With Khmer, Biat vocalism cf. **925 *ləŋ** > ***laaŋ**; **1287 *b/r/ləp**. Cf. further **861a *[r]laac** ...to be destroyed; **422 *laik** &c. ...to fall into dissolution; **718 *laŋ** &c. to destroy.

928 *kləŋ oil, fat, grease.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Middle Mon **klen /kləŋ/** oil, Modern Mon **kləŋ** oil, fat, Khmer **khlaŋ** fat, grease, Palaung **kliŋ**, Praok **klup**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian **kloiŋ** to be fat, Khasi **khleiñ** fat; to be fatty, oily.

Add Mường **trənh** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **trơn** to be smooth, slippery (then < ***kləəŋ**)? But connection dubious **702 *priiŋ** &c.

929 *t₂luuŋ; *t₂luəŋ; *t₂l[ə]ŋ pointed.

A: (Khasi) **shluiñ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Halang **loan** sharp point, Jeh **lo:n**, Khasi **shloiñ**, [**nep**] **tloiñ** pointed.

C: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **tinliñ /tənləŋ/** needle, Modern Mon **kənoiŋ** needle, pin.

Cf. Palaung **pənlə?**, Riang-Lang **pənlac** needle, perhaps contaminated by **B65 *t₁pəc**. Connect **925 *liəŋ** &c. to sharpen?

***930 *pliŋ; *[p]liiŋ; *[p]liəŋ sky.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **pleŋ**, Riang-Lang **p̄pleŋ**.

B: (North Bahnaric, (Central Asian) Jeh, Halang **pli:ŋ**, Temiar **bali:k**.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **phliəŋ**, **phliəŋ** rain, to rain, Bahnar **pleŋ** sky; ~ (***[p]nliəŋ** >) Khasi **bneng**, Mnar **phnyan** sky (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.). (SHAFFER 1965 235; SMITH 1972 79; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 241.)

(?) Kharia [tɔ]-**bluŋ** *sky, above* (PINNOW 1959 364; contaminated by 727 ***luŋ** *above?* but perhaps rather : Lawa Bo Luang **maluŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **maluŋ** *sky*, Bru **ma(n)lòŋ**).

931 *wɨŋ; *wiɨŋ; *wəŋ; *waŋ? *to twist, turn, go round.*

- A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **vèŋ viŋ** *back (again)*, Bahnar **wɨŋ** *to twist* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔəiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔeiŋ**, Mae Sariang **ʔeiŋ** *to come, return*.
- B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **wi:ŋ** *to move in a curved path* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **iŋ** *to go back, return*; ~ Chrau **rəwe:ŋ** *to turn round, circle round*.
- C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vèŋ veñ** *to twist into a rope*, Mường **wành** *to turn [pot to get even heat]* (THOMPSON 1967), Vietnamese **vặn** *to turn [pot to get even heat], to pivot, to roll along*.
- D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Kuy **wàŋ** = Khmer **veñ**, Biat **waŋ** *to twist*, Bahnar **wəŋ** (or C?) *to wring, to pull out with a twist*, Khasi [**dor**] **waiñ** [*to bend*] *easily*, Vietnamese **vặn** *to wring, turn, twist, screw*; ~ Bahnar **tueŋ** *to twist* (or C?), Khasi **tawaiñ** *to go round and round*.
- Cf. Nancowry **ʔúŋ** *twisted*, **ʔúap** *to be twisted*; 765 ***wiŋ** &c. *to go round, turn*; 1208 ***wiən** &c. ...*to wind, bend*.

932 *wiɨŋ; *waŋ *moustache.*

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_viŋ**; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Thin **trəmwiŋ** (& Kammu-Yuan [**khú:l**] **tərmù:ŋ**; contaminated by 911 ***muuŋ** [] *mouth?*).
- B: (Khasi) Khasi (**'maiñ**;) ~ **tmaiñ**.

933 *w[ə]ŋ; *wəc *to play.*

- A: (Mon) Old Mon **wiñ /wəŋ**/, Modern Mon **wòŋ**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***wiŋ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V76).
- B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **kəve?**.

934 *kwaŋ []; *kwaŋ? *gibbon.*

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bru **kuan**, Sre **kuəŋ** *gibbon, black Semnopithecus monkey*, Chrau, Biat **kwəŋ**, Jeh **kawəŋ**, Halang **kəweŋ** *gibbon*, Bahnar [**ɗək**] **kuəŋ** *small kind of gibbon*; → Cham **kon**, Jarai [**kra:**] **kuəŋ**, Rōglai **kuan**, North Rōglai **kuat** *gibbon*.
- B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **vượn** *gibbon*.

935 *krwaŋ *kind of spice-yielding tree.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kəwan** *cinnamon*, Khmer **krəva:ŋ** *Amomum cardamomum*.

935a *[hw]iɪn soul.

A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **ui:ŋ**, Biat **hue:ŋ** soul, Sre **huɪŋ** shadow, reflection, Chrau **we:ŋ** soul, soul, Central Nicobarese **hōi** soul, pulse.

Earlier perhaps ***huuy-ŋ** [], connected 1543 ***ghuuy** &c.

†936 *[]saɲ to radiate heat.

A: (Mon, Khasi, South Aslian) ~ Khasi **tyngshaiñ** to shine, glare, reflect; ~ Mon **kəsan** sensation of heat; ~ Mon **pəsan** heat (**basān**, but perhaps < ***t₁msaɲ**), (~?) Sakai **pāsang** hot (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 146).

Or ***t₁saɲ**, separating Sakai with Santali, below?

(i) Mundari **tərsəŋ** to bask in the sun, to warm oneself by the fire; (ii) Santali **basəŋ** warm, hot, to boil, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252).

937 *[b]saɲ? snake.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hiŋ**, Riang-Lang **ṭhəŋ**, Khasi **bseiñ**, 'seiñ, (by metathesis ***[]sʔaɲ** >) Praok **siʔuɲ**, Lawa Bo Luang **saʔəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saʔoɪŋ**; → Khmer **msaɲ** year of the snake, → Thai **masəŋ**; ~ (***[b]rsəɲ?** >) Vietnamese **[con]** rắn snake; (by secondary derivation, or contraction of compound?) ~ Kuy (k)**saɲ** snake.

(SHAFER 1965 375.)

938 *choɲ to bend knees.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **choɲ** squatting (→ Röglai), Palaung **[mɔʔ cəv]** cun to kneel on one knee (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **crəhaɲ** to squat.

Cf. 1149 ***t₂ju(u)n**.

(***jhuuɲ** see 887 ***jʔuuɲ** to smell, sniff; ***thuuɲ** see 788 ***[t]huuɲ** red.)

*939 *ʔit; *ʔiit; *ʔiət; *ʔuət small in quantity.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **it** a little, Kammu-Yuan **èt** few, (a) little.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **[kɔ:] ʔi:t** small (BLOOD 1976), Vietnamese **ít** a little.

C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Umphai **ʔet ʔet** few, Mường **ét** a little (BARKER 1966 17).

D: (Khmuic) Thin **ʔuɣt** few.

Connect perhaps (i) A68 ***tʔi** []t &c. little finger; (ii) 1016 ***kɔit** &c. small.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***[]iSəd** []iSəd: Acehnese **et** short length or distance, Toba Batak **si-etet**, **si-b-etet** little girl, Cebuano Bisayan **ihud-ihud** [children] to differ in height by small intervals (& **ihid** runt) (so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***[]iSit**: Acehnese **n-it** small, a little, Jarai with secondary vocalism **a-n-et**, Iban **m-it** small, Cebuano Bisayan **m-ihit**, **n-ihit** scarce (ly) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

940 *ʔit brick.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer ʔɿt, Khasi *it*; ~ Late Old Mon *la'at* /lʔət/, Modern Mon *dot*; → Burmese *'ut*, → Shan *üt*, → Palaung *ut*.

941 *[ʔ]iit; *[ʔ]iət coucal.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [iar] i:t coucal, *Centroccocyx rulipennis*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ye:t [irɔ:k], djɛ:t [djrɔ:k] lesser coucal (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Or *y-?

942 *ʔiət; *ʔət; *ʔut (& *ʔuət?) to listen to.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Biat iat to listen to, Chrau ʔyet to listen, hear.

B: (Katuic, Palaungic; ~ *[ɲʔət >) Kuy ɲat to listen to, Bru saɲat to listen, Praok ɲet to listen (to), obey.

C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ʔoat to hear, listen (< *ʔuət?); ~ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ʔɲot to hear, listen.

Vocalism obscure.

(BLOOD 1966 112.)

*943 *ʔət; *ʔəət; *[ʔ]it used up, finished, lacking.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Old Mon 'ut /ʔət/ all, Modern Mon ɲt also to be exhausted, have exhausted (or variant), Proto-Nyah Kur *ʔət (DIFFLOTH 1984 V124), Khmer ʔət to be without, Kuy ʔat to lack, to restrain, to hold [breath], Sre ət restrain, to hold [breath], suppress [cough &c.], Chrau ət lacking, to hold [breath], Biat ɔt to abstain from, Bahnar ət [wind] to stop, to hold [breath].

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔət to cease.

C: (Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔɿt = ʔət, Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *hết* to end, be finished, cease, to finish; ~ Khasi *jing-it*, *jynit* fast, abstinence from food.

Connect Central Nicobarese *leət* finished, to cease?

(SMITH 1972 209)

Sora (i) *rə'jad-* to be exhausted, used up; (ii) *a'ni(:)d-* to be exhausted, over, finished.

944 *ʔ[ɔɔ]t to saw.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng ɔ:t to make fire by friction, Biat ɔ:t [drɔ:] to fiddle, Bunör ʔɔ:t, Sre, Jeh ɔ:t to saw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bahnar ɔ:t to saw, scrape, plane, file, fiddle, make fire by friction, Khasi ɔt (perhaps merging variant of 972 *sguut ...to cut) to cut, pare, reap, saw, fiddle; ~ (*rnʔ[ɔɔ]t >) Sre *rəndɔ:t*, Jeh *ranɔ:t* saw (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

(BLOOD 1966 65.)

945 *ʔut; *ʔuut *cloud*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Biat **nʔot** *cloudy*; ~ (*[]mʔut >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔbot** *to cloud over*.
 B: (Palaungic, ʔKhmuic, ʔKatuic) Palaung **ut** *cloud, to be cloudy, to cloud*; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan **pú:t** *cloud, fog*; (?) ~ Bru **ʔu:t** *to smoke v.t.*

946 *ʔuət *to wipe*.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ɔ:t**, Riang-Lang **ːvat**, **ːwat**, Praok **ɔt**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔuat**; ~ (*[]mʔuət >) Lawa Umphai **ʔbuat**.

947 *kʔaat (*kind of*) *mosquito*.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **kʔa:t** *kind of fly with painful bite, mosquito (maringouin)*; ~ (*kpʔaat >) Kammu-Yuan **pəʔa:t** *mosquito*.
 Or construct *kʷʔaat?

948 *cʔit; *cʔiit *sticky*.

- A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, ʔKhmer) Khmer **sʔɿt**, **chʔɿt** (probably, rather than B), Kuy **sʔət**; ~ (*cnʔit >) Sre **ɗit** *viscous, sticky*, Chrau **səʔuət** *sticky*.
 B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[tɛh] e:t** *clay*; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Bahnar **həʔni:t-[həʔna:t]** *to feel sticky*; ~ (*cmʔiit >) Biat **mʔe:t** *glutinous rice*.
 Connect 1040 *cɓiit &c. But connection obscure Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **tit** *to stick, adhere, to attach*.

949 *cʔiit; *cʔiət; *chiit; *chait *to confine, restrict*.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat **e:t** *to confine, pack close together*, Khasi **shyit** *to pinch*; ~ (*cnʔiit >) Kuy **ŋʔi:t** *narrow, confined*, Bahnar **jəŋi:t** *packed close together* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **syngid**, **syngit** *tight, choking; col, valley between ridges*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (*cnʔiət >) Mon **həet** *to be parsimonious*, Khmer **cəŋʔiət** *narrow, confined, cramped*, Nancowry **ɲiat** *tight, to bind completely* (& **ɲát** *to fill in, to cram into*); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **pəniət** *to crowd together (v.i.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ciət** *to crowd [someone]*, Chrau **che:t** *to pinch*.
 D: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **hə:t** *parsimonious*.
 For Kuy **h-** cf. **hu:n** ad 887 *jhuun. Connect Bahnar **təniət** &c. *to stop up, force in, stuff in* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), contaminated by **miet** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) < 1039 *[c]/n/ɓiət, which compare (the converse in West Bahnar **pəmiət**, East Bahnar **pəmet** = **pəniət**); perhaps West Bahnar **hnet** *to press against, jostle, compress, encroach*; & A82 *[c]wiit *narrow, confined*. Cf. also 977 *c[n]ŋiət *to crush*.

950 *cʔaat *pleasant to look at*.

- A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer sʔa:t *clean, nice-looking, beautiful*, Riang-Lang ʔat *beautiful, pretty*, (~?) Lawa saʔat *clean*.
Clean by attraction 7 *cʔaʔ &c.?

951 *cʔ[ə]t; *cʔən *sated, cloyed*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer chʔaet! *sated*; ~ cəmʔət *satiety*, (~?) cəmʔaet *to satisfy*; ~ (*crʔət >) Mon həpət ca'uit *to be nauseated*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer chʔən *nauseated*; ~ Mon həpən ja'uin *to be nauseated through satiety*, Bahnar dialects səñn, həñn *to be sated* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 Khmer cəmʔaet < *cəmʔat with secondary palatalization, chʔaet by levelling; cəmʔət by levelling on original **chʔət? Cf. further Khmer kʔu:ət, Kuy (k)ʔu:t *to vomit*, Bru kaʔu:t *to feel nauseated*; Khmer ph'öt ph'ūm *(to smell) musty* (GUESDON 1930); Biat mʔnʔ *disgusted*; Khmer chʔəl *to gasp for breath*; (GUESDON 1930) *nausea, to overeat* (contaminated by 1695 *ʔəl[]); Khasi kynshin (< *-[n, l]) *to dislike eatable things*; & 1301a *cʔəəm *nauseated*.

*952 *lʔit *pulverized*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Khasi) Mon dət, Khmer lʔt (with initial levelled on causative lūmʔt); → Thai laʔiat, Lao la-iat (→ Kammu-Yuan lʔiat); (?) ~ Khasi lwit *very finely broken or pounded, lwet broken, powdered*.
 Cf. Khmer lʔaoc, Kuy lʔɔ:c.
 Sora by metathesis lati- *to be reduced to powder*.

953 *lʔiit; *lhiət *smooth, slippery*.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer lʔt *smooth-mannered*, Kuy lʔe:t *smooth*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ləhiət *slippery*.
 Biat lwt *well-worn*, Kammu-Yuan ləmè:t *smooth* may belong here rather than with 1076 *lit &c., which compare.

*954 *lʔuət; *lʔət; *lhəət *wet, cold*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer lʔuət *moist, wet*; ~ (*lnʔuət >) Sre noat *to be, feel, cold*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng ləʔət (→ Biat lʔət?) *damp, wet*, Chrau ləʔət *cool, shady*; ~ (*lnʔət >) Biat nʔət *damp, wet*.
 C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau ləhə:t *cool, breezy*, Praok lwt *to be wet*.
 Cf. 277b *lʔu(u)k *wet, soaked*; 795 *kʔaac *wet*. *Cold* perhaps contaminated by Mainland Austronesian *l[ae]ʔən (Cham lian, North Röglai laʔət); Jarai rəʔət is perhaps ← South Bahnaric.
 Santali ləhə'd *damp, wet*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 531; Proto-Munda *ləwə'd).

955 *sʔuut rotten, inedible.

A: (Mon, Aslian) Mon **ut s'ut** to be, go, stale, Che' Wong **haʔüt**, Jah Hut **siʔin**, Semelai **səʔit**, Mah Meri **suʔüt** rotten (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 292 (b).)

956 *kit; *kiit; *kət; *kəət; *ku[ə]t frog.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Kontum Bahnar **kit**.

B: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar **ki:t**.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **kə:t** (BLOOD 1966 **kuut**), Biat **kət**.

D: (Bahnaric) Biat **kə:t** [**ndra:t**] toad, Bahnar **ku:t** frog.

E: (Katuic) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**ku:t**, Bru **ʔakùat**.

Tabu deformation likely. Cf. Thai **kʰiat**, Shan **khět** (→ Praok **khiat**). But Cham **kiewʔ**, North Röglai **kiəʔ** reflect *-p.

(SHAFFER 1965 508; BLOOD 1966 140; SMITH 1972 205.)

†957 *kiit; *kiət; *kət to bite, to itch.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **kit** to bite, Praok **kit** (contaminated by following, which compare) to cut, sever, Mnar **hit** to bite.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy **ki:t** to nibble, Sre **kiat**, Chrau **kiət** to itch, Biat **ciat** to sting, smart; → Cham, Jarai **keʔ**, North Röglai **keʔ** to bite (or < Proto-Austronesian, below?); ~ Khasi **dkhiat** itch, scabies.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **kat**, **kət** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **kət** to bite.

Cf. further 964 *giit &c.; 1125 *kiən to gnaw; 972 *sguut &c. to (be) cut; 981 *cit &c. to cut up. (BLOOD 1966 104, 356.)

Sora **id-** to scratch, to write.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kitkit: Cebuano Bisayan **kitkit** to nibble, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 160; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *kətkət: Lawangan **kitit** to bite, &c. (cf. ib. no. 149; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 301-2, gnaw.

958 *kat; *kaat to cut.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer, Kuy **kat** to cut, Biat **kat** to saw, Bahnar **kat** to cut, Khasi **khet** to cut down.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **ka:t** to cut, Bru **kaka:t** to slide finely.

Mon **kut** to cut off, ↔ Thai **kùt**, → Kuy **kut**; if → Thai, contaminated by 972

*sguut? Cf. besides preceding. 800 *kac to pluck, break off, to cut (< *kat-s?);

1969 *kəh to cut (down).

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

958a *kət to stop.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **kət** to stop (v.t.), Palaung **kət** [**un**] to hold back, restrain, to refrain (MILNE 1931); ~ Middle Mon **kanat**, Modern Mon **kənot** end; ~ Literary Mon **kamnat** end, Khmer **kəmnət** limit.

(*[]kut see 315 *[ʔ]tuuk to scoop up... .)

***958b *kuut; *kuət; *kət to scrape, scratch, comb.**

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Khmer **kot** to *scrape, scratch*, Bahnar **kōt** to *scrape clean* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese **ko:tə-[ko:i]** to *comb*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kərnù:t** *scraper*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[et]-ko:ət** to *comb*, (— **-hətə**) to *scrape (off)*, Nancowry **ʔitkúat** ad **kúat** to *smooth with hand &c.*

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat **kot** to *comb*.

Kammu-Yuan **khú:t** to *smooth, shave* is ← Lao **khūt**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kutkut**: Malay **kokot** *clawing, to claw*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 221, ***ku(Ct)ku(Ct)**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

See BENEDICT 1975 371-2.

†959 *[c]kuut; *[c]kuət; *[c]kət; *[c]kat to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Central Sakai **chěkot** to *knot*; ~ Vietnamese **gút** to *knot*; by secondary derivation Vietnamese **nút** *knot*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **ku:əc!** to *knot*, Sre **koat**, East Bahnar **kuət** to *tie, knot* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ŋkwat** *knot*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **kəmnu:əc** *knot*, Kuy **k(ə)lu:c**, **lu:c** to *tie [knot]*.

C: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **kət** to *tie together*, Biat **kət** to *knot*, Bahnar **kət** to *tether out to graze*, (GUILLEMINET 1959-63, Rōngao) to *knot*, Jah Hut **jəkət** to *tie*.

D: (Mon) ~ Mon **həkət dakat** to *knot*.

Khmer/Kuy **-c** by metathesis or assimilation. Cf. Palaung (MILNE 1931) **thəkít**; & connected 967 ***[]gut** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10; SHAFER 1965 56, 527; SMITH 1972 210; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 214.)

Sora (i) **ji'kud-** to *knot*; (ii) **jəni(')ka'd-ən** *knot* (**ji-** &c. perhaps = **ji-** to *bind*).

Proto-Austronesian ***ikət**: Malay **ikat** to *tie*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 68). See BENEDICT 1975 323.

960 *[t]kiit; *[t]kiət to have dysentery.

A: (Mon) Mon **[nəa] kit**; ~ **həkít thakit** &c. *dysentery*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **kiết [ly]** *dysentery*.

Connect following, & so 1007 ***ktiit** *posterior...*?

961 *tkiət anus.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon **təkét**, Proto-Semai ***kiət** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Originally by metathesis 1007 ***ktiit**? Connect perhaps preceding.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 118.)

962 *tkat; *tkiæt; *tkuæt (& *tkut?) cold.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat **kat** *cold*, Kammu-Yuan **kát** *cold [weather]*, Palaung **kæt** *[weather] to be cold*, Proto-Semai ***dkat** *cold* (DIFFLOTH 1977); → Shan **kāt**, → Palaung **kat**, Riang-Lang **ṭkat** *cold*; ~ Mon **həkət** *cold [season]*, Chrau **təkāt** *cold*, Rōngao **təkāt** *ague, fever* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Sakai **teket** *cold* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (c)); ~ (***trkiæt** >) Praok **sikiat** *cold [water]*, by metathesis Khasi **khriat** *cold*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **kuat**, (***tkut** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **koat**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kət** *[weather] to be cold*.

Cf. Kuy **ckɑ:ʔ** *cold*; Chrau **dəgət** *chill, shivering*; & **976 *cɲiit** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 340, 354; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (c-e).)

(***dkiaet** see **1010 *gtit** ...*parakeet*.)

963 *d₁rkuæt varan.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon **dirkot** /**dərkot**/, Modern Mon **həkot** *varan*, Khmer **trəku:ət** *Varanus nebulosus*, Kuy **tkɑ:t**, Stieng **rəkɑ:t** *varan*, Chrau **rəkɑ:t** *black varan*, Bahnar **təkōt** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **tərkō:t** *varan*; → Thai **cakùat**.

(***rkiæt** see **1064 *krit** *to creak*..)

***964 *giit; *giæt to bite, to itch, scratch.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_kit** *to scratch*; ~ Mon **həkìt** *bed-bug*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **kiat**, Lawa Umphai **chiat** *to bite*. Connect **957 *kiit** &c.

Sora (i) **gud-**, (**gid-**)**ged-** *to scratch*; (ii, cf. Indonesian) **gu'd-**, **god-** *to scratch*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***gi(t)git**: Malay **gigit** *[insects] to bite*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 55, ***gigit**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, cf. Sora) ***gu(t)gut**: Javanese **gugut** *to crush between teeth*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 56, ***gugut**, discarding Tagalog; Proto-West-Indonesian). (ii) Hardly ← Mon-Khmer!

965 *gæt; *gut to kill.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **kùæt**, Thin **gũt** (also *to cut down*, < **972 *[s]gæt**, which perhaps connect).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kùt**.

966 *gut to go round.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gut** *around*, Bahnar **gut** *to curve, bend*.

(SHAFFER 1965 113.)

967 ***[]gut**; ***[]guət**; ***[]gat** to tie, knot.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cột* to tie.

B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar *guət* to knot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar *təguat* to knot.

C: (Mon) Mon *kòt gat* to knot; ~ → Cham *pagat* to tighten.

Khmer *kù:əc* to knot perhaps = *ku:əc* < 959 ***[c]kuət**, which connect; West Bahnar **(h)əŋɔ:c** to tie up [hair] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) also may belong there. (SHAFFER 1965 527.)

968 ***guut**; ***gu(ə)t** to enter.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *kù:t*, Riang-Lang *_kut*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi *kot* to reach.

Cf. 1046 ***mut** &c. Add as derivation ***pguut** = B71 ***[]guut** to force in?

969 ***t₁gut**; ***t₁[g]uut** quail.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *tgīt* &c. /*tgōt*/; ~ (***t₁rgut** >) Mon *həkət*, Sre *rəgut* (→ Rōglai); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau *vəgut*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan *təkú:t* (!), (?) Khasi *t'ut*, (!) Vietnamese **[chim] cú:t**; ~ Mon *həkùt*, Riang-Lang *_rəkut*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar dialects (**ku:t ku:t* > ?) **[sɛ:m] kəkut** kind of quail (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang *kuut*; Mon *həcem əkhət*; Khmer *ʔù:t lark*, quail. Onomatopoeic?

970 ***rng[ɔ]t** to search, quarter.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *lagñat* /*ləŋgət*/, Modern Mon *təŋòt* to study, Khmer *rùəŋkə̀ət*, TANDART 1935 also *rùəŋkùət* to explore, go to and fro, traverse.

971 ***s[g]ət** to press down on, press out juice.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) (Khmer ***skət* → ?) Stieng *səkət* to press down (on); → Thai *sakòt* to restrain, repress; ~ (***sn[g]ət** >) Mon *kəhət* to crush juice out of, chew to extract nourishment, Khmer *səŋkət* to press down on, suppress, oppress.

Thai is evidence for Khmer ***skət*; head register in derivation then by levelling. Connection dubious Kharía *ta'gɔ̀'j* to chew, &c., PINNOW 1959 307. Cf. 977 ***c[n]ŋiət** to crush.

††**972** ***sguut**; ***[s]gət**; ***sgat** to be cut short, to cut.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *sgūt* /*sgut*/ to be interrupted, cut short, Khasi *kut* to come to an end (& *dkut* to snap, break), Vietnamese *cút* to be too short, to be crippled; ~ Old Mon *sirgūt* interruption, Middle Mon *sagut* **[crawāt]** ruling, decision.

B: (Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan *kùt* to cut vertically with knife, Kensiu *gət*, Temiar *gəd* to cut; ~ Besis *tegöt* to break (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 112).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **skat** to *interrupt, to take a short cut*. (→ Biat **kat** to *decide judicially, to take a short cut*), Biat **[ntok]** **gat** cut; → Cham **saket**; Thai **sakàt** to *obstruct, interrupt*.

Connect 965 ***gət** &c. to *kill*? C perhaps contaminated by 958 ***kat**, which compare; as Khasi **ot** to *cut...*, under the entry 944 ***ʔ[ɔɔ]t**. Khasi **dkut**, Besis suggest variants in ***dg-**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

Sora **gad-**, Santali **ge'd** to *cut*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 334).

Proto-Austronesian ***pu(N)gut**: Javanese **pugut**, **punggut** *cut off*, Cebuano Bisayan **punggut** to *behead* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; → Proto-Semai ***bgut** to *snap* (v.i.), DIFFLOTH 1977?).

973 ***ɲət** to be extinguished.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **ɲət** to *extinguish*, Riang-Lang **_ɲat** to be *extinguished, to extinguish*; ~ Chrau **təɲət**, Riang-Lang **_təkɲat** to *extinguish*.

Cf. 1053 ***yə(ə)t**; 1077 ***lət** &c. Connect following?

*974 ***ɲut**; ***ɲuut**; ***ɲuət**; ***ɲit** dark.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ngut**; ~ **jngut** *murky, turbid*.

B: (Central Aslian) ~ Semnam **həɲɔ:d** *night*; ~ Semai II **məɲɔ:t** *night*.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **[twe:ɲ]** **ɲɲə:t** *pitch-[black]*.

D: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **ɲut** *dark* (TANDART 1935), Khasi **ngit** *black, dark*; ~ Khmer **ɲəɲut** *dark, dim*.

Connect preceding? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (b).)

Santali **ɲũ'd** *darkness, dark*; Sora **'luɲud-**, **'luɲad-** *dark* (PINNOW 1959 390).

975 ***ɲut**; ***ɲuət** to be hungry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) ~ Stieng **pəɲot** to *go hungry, be starving*, Vietnamese **ngố́t** to *crave for*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **[ji:] ɲɔ:t** to *be hungry; hunger*, Riang-Lang **_ɲuat** to *starve, to be hungry*; ~ Chrau **pəɲɔ:t** to *be hungry*, Bahnar **pəɲɔ:t** to *be starving*, Jeh **pa?ɲo:t**, Halang **mə?ɲoat** *hunger*.

Connection uncertain Sakai **got** (i.e. Jah Hut), **pögōt** *hungry* (Semaq Beri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 173; with them cf. (***guət** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **kuat**, Lawa Umphai **khuat**, Mae Sariang **ɲguat** to *want, wish*; Mon **[tək]** **kòt** to *be poor* is probably ← Sanskrit **gata-** *deprived of*.

(BLOOD 1966 64; SMITH 1972 235.)

976 ***cɲiit**; ***cɲiət**; ***cɲait** cold.

A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Sre **ɲit** *cooled, cold*, Sakai **səngit** *cold* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 205 (a)); ~ Biat **[nʔi:k]** **ɲɲɛt** *cool*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **təɲiet** to *feel cold*.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Kuy (c)**ɲe:t** *cool, cold*, Bahnar **ɲa:c** *to cool (v.i), have a cold fit*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **pyngngad** *cool, refreshing*.

Cf. 962 ***tkat** &c.

(SMITH 1972 229.)

977 *c[n]ɲiət to crush.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **təŋet** *to crush in mill* &c. (beside **təŋèt** *to squeeze, crush*), Sre **səŋiat** *to crush, compress* (→ Röglai).

Cf. 949 ***cɲiit** &c. *to confine...*; 971 ***s[g]ɔt** *to press out juice...*

(***t₁ɲut** see 1135 ***t₁ɲun** *nape of neck*.)

978 *lɲuut; *lɲuət sweet, mild-flavoured.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ləŋout**, Chrau **ləŋo:t**, Biat **ŋo:t** *sweet, mild-flavoured*, Bahnar **[ɲām] ɲūt** *very sweet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **ləŋuət** (or A, with post-nasal vocalism?), Vietnamese **ngọt** *sweet, mild-flavoured*.

***978a *sɲiit to burn (v.i.).**

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ɲi:t** *to burn (v.i.)*, Sre **hit** *burning brightly* (→ Biat **hi:t** *alight*).

Cf. Mon **heak sɲek** &c. *to be burnt, scorched*.

Proto-Austronesian ***t' []/Saŋit**: Malay **sangit** *burnt, singed*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 148-9, ***t'aŋit**; Proto-Hesperonesian, ~ ***Saŋit** = *(qS)**aŋi(Ct)** *smell of burnt rice*, BLUST 1970 no. 319, adding Cebuano Bisayan **anghit** *to smell offensive*).

Indonesian not obviously → Mon-Khmer.

***979 *sɲut (?); *sɲuət; *sɲət deserted, quiet.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ɲot** *to be afraid* (?).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Khmer **[mùk] sɲu:ət** (!) *sad*, Sakai **singoit** *afraid* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 49; ?); ~ Khmer **srəŋo:t** *wistful, sad*, Chrau **səŋo:t** *deserted*, Biat **ɲo:t** *silence; secret, lonely [place]*, (— **ɲat**) *silent, deserted*, Bahnar **rəŋo:t** *to miss [person]*; ~ Central Sakai **[göi] tərnguít** *to keep motionless*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **het sɲit** *to be quiet, (— a) to faint*, Khmer **sɲat** (early → Thai **saŋàt**) *solitary, deserted, silent, still*, Kuy **sɲat, ɲhat** *quiet, silent*, Sre **[ɲit] ɲət** *silent*, Vietnamese **ngất** *to faint*; ~ Khmer **srəŋat** *solitary, silent*, (**srəŋo:t** —) *moved to sadness*, Biat **[rɲo:t] ɲat** *lonely, deserted*, (**gu?** —) *to be silent*, Praok **[yen] sɲet** *to be absolutely quiet*.

Back vocalism perhaps secondary, cf. Sora, below. Separate ***sɲu(ə)t** *afraid*?

(SCHMIDT 1905 44.)

Sora **ɲad-ɲad-[dəm &c.]** *silently*.

980 *sɲuət; *sɲət (& *sɲat?) to dry up.

A: (Khmer, ?Khasi) Khmer **sɲuət** *dried up*; ~ Khmer **raɲuət** *withered* (GUESDON 1930), (by labial absorption, or < *-at?) Khasi **rngat** *to dry up*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **sɲit** [*ɲra*] *to be withered*, Riang-Lang **ɲat** *to dry up*.

Cf. 1101 *suət; 1095 *swiit &c. *to wither*.

†981 *ciit; *ciit (& *ciit ciit > *tciit?); *ciət (& *tciət?) to cut up.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **set** *to cut, carve (up)*.

B: (Katuic, ?Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cɔt** *to slice* (probably, rather than A), Kuy **ceɪt** *to slice, chop pieces off [edibles]*, (→, or *tc- >) Chrau **ciɪt** *to cut (up)*.

C: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **siet** *to cut [meat] into small pieces*, Sre **siaɪt** *to cut, sever*, Biat **chiat** *to cut up*, West Bahnar **cɛt** *to chop [edibles &c.] obliquely* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < tc-? Jölong also **sɛt**), Riang-Lang **ɲset** *to cut, gash*, Central Nicobarese [**et**]-[**ɲi:ət**]-[**həŋə**] *to carve wood*.

Cf. Vietnamese **chặt** *to cut*. POU & JENNER 1973 140 derive Khmer ← Hokkien **ciat** 切 *to slice, mince*; rather Hokkien ← Mon-Khmer? Connect perhaps 957 *kiit &c. *to bite...* (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to cut (off)*.

†982 *cat; *cuət; (*cuut cuut >) *tcuut; *cət to stab, pierce, stick in.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **cət** *to prick, sting, to stick in, plant upright*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cɛc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V97; by assimilation?), Kuy **cat** *to poke, stab, to thread*, Bahnar **sat** *to pierce, to dibble, to make nets*, Palaung **sət** *to insert, to tattoo*, by metathesis Riang-Lang **ɲəs** *to pierce, stab, tattoo*; ~ (*cat cat > *tcət >) Mon **chət khyat**, **chat** *to put in, insert*, Biat **cat** *packed tight*, Bahnar **cat** *to stick claws in* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or D) Nancowry **siát**; **ɲisiát** *to insert*; ~ Khasi **kynsat**, **ɲynsat** = Mon **chət**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Halang **coat** *to puncture*, Jeh **co:t** *to pierce*, Praok **suat** *to prick, pierce*, Central Nicobarese [**ɔ:t**]-[**həŋə**] *to pin, fasten*.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **cú:t** *to touch, poke, prod*.

D: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy **ɲcət** *to stick into*; ~ (*cɲpət >) Biat **mpɲət** *spit*.

Back vocalism probably secondary in view of Sora, below; contaminated by 986

*cuut &c. ...*to affix*, which compare? Note also Palaung **sit** *to stab with, pierce with*; Sedang **ɲnie** *to wound*, Kammu-Yuan **ɲiat** *to stick, prick, pierce* (& Bahnar **hiət** *to cut oneself*, &c.: SMITH 1972 230).

Sora **sad-** *to sting*.

983 *cat to gather up.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **ɲsət**, Praok **sut** *to pick (up), collect (up)*, Lawa Bo Luang **səwɪk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sət** *to pick up in fingers*, Sakai **chōd** *to pick up* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 68).

Cf. Khasi **sot** *to pick up, to catch in fingers*; Bel&as **chêchêt** *to gather*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 10.

984 ***caat** to *comb*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **sat**, Khasi **sad**.

985 ***cæt** to *return*.

A: (Bahnaric, South Asian) Stieng **se:t**, Chrau **si?**, Biat **chæt**, Alakong Bahnar **su:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Besis **yut** (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 84). Fronting environmental; Chrau implies palatalization of final. Mon **chut** to *go back (wards)*, compared at SCHMIDT 1905 24, is < 1109 ***jhuut**. (BLOOD 1966 146.)

986 ***cuut**; (***cut cut** >) ***tcut**; ***cat** to *put away from one, to pour, to affix*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Old Mon **cut** /**cut**/ to *put away from one, to put in, to pour out*, Middle Mon **also** to *affix*, Modern Mon **cut** to *put in...*, Khasi **suit** (!) to *pour, to gild* (with *-c by assimilation?); ~ (***cuut cuut** > ***tcuut** >; with vocalism as in 527 ***cuuŋ**) Bahnar **cət** to *fix on, fasten in* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **cot** to *affix*, Bunör **cut**, Central Rölöm **cuit** to *insert, fill a hole* (contaminated by 982 ***cat** ...to *stick in*).
 C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chắt** to *drain off*; ~ (***[b]cat** >) Khmer **cəət** to *drain off*; ~ Mường **chắt** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **giắt** to *fix*.
 C by attraction 982 ***cat**?
 (BLOOD 1966 155.)

986a *.**cat** to *emerge, grow*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **cat** to *come out, sprout, grow, to well up*, Biat **cat** [ka:ɔ] to *flower*, Bahnar **cat** to *put out leaves, take root, flower*.

*987 ***kc[ə]t** to *die*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **kcit** /**kcət**/, Modern Mon **chət** to *die*, Kuy **sət** *extreme, last, to end*, Stieng **cə:t**, Sre **chət**, Chrau **cuit**, Jeh **kaciat** to *die* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), West Bahnar **kəcit** to *die miserably* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khmu' **suut** to *be finished*, Palaung **cuət** (!) [*ghost*] to *leave the world* (MILNE 1931), Mường **chít** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **chết** to *die*; → Lao **cêet**; ~ (***kbc[ə]t** >) Old Mon **kucit**, Modern Mon **həcət**, Kuy (k)**cə:t**, Sre (gə)**sət**, Vietnamese **giết** to *kill*.

Add perhaps Bunör **khit**, Central Rölöm **khuit**, Biat **khət** to *die*, Bru **kucə:t**, with k- originally by hypercorrection; & note Khasi **jot** to *perish*. Front vocalism in North Bahnaric &c. probably environmental; but Palaung -uət obscure. Kuy **sət**, Khmu' by attraction 943 ***ʔət**? Connect perhaps 1053 ***yə(ə)t** to *be extinguished*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 139.)

Sora **kə'jed-** to *die* ~ 'kajjed-, 'kabjed- to *kill*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 324f).

988 ***kuət**; ***kcət** (& ***kcəət**?); by regressive assimilation ***ktuət**; ***kt[ə]t** to *jump, to run*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Bunör **newat** to *run, jump*, Biat **ncuat** to *run*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, North & South Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Khasi **sied** to *leap (on)* (originally compounding form?; with secondary lengthening, or < ***kcəət**), Pangan [ya]-**kēsöt** to *run* (i.e. Bateg Dek; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 198), Central Nicobarese **cət** to *jump, leap* (?; & **cət-həŋə** to *skip*), Nancowry **cát**; ~ Khmer **kəŋchat** (!) to *assume fighting posture with a leap*, Chrau **nchət**, Biat **nchat** to *jump*.

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ntoat** to *run*, Central Rölöm **tuət** to *run, jump*.

D: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng **ntə:t** to *jump, to jump in, cause to splash up*.

Cf. Lao (**ká**) **dōot** to *jump* (→ Kammu-Yuan [kə]dó:t, Bru **do:t** to *jump on to*); Riang-Lang **təkdot** to *jump*.

(BLOOD 1966 85.)

(***tcut** see **986** ***cuut** ...to *affix*; ***tcuut** see **982** ***cat** to *pierce, stick in*; ***dciit** see **1144** ***dciin**[?] *nine*.)

989 ***pcət** *bitter, astringent*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?Khmuic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **phynt** to *be astringent*, Khmer **cət** *bitter*, Stieng **cət** *bitter, astringent, sharp*, Bahnar **tsi:t** *harsh-tasting, bitter* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **cet** (or ← Tai, cf. below?), Central Sakai **běchut** *sour*, ?Nancowry **síat** *spleen, coconut bud, betel nut*.

Khmu' **cat** *sour*, Thin **gləŋ căt** *alum* are apparently ← Tai (← Mon-Khmer?); for Vietnamese **chua-chát** *sour, acid* see **1074** ***sraat**. Connect by assimilation Khasi **btet** *astringent*? Cf. **294** ***[?]ciik** &c. *astringent*; **1895** ***pcaas** *sour*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

990 ***jat** to *run dry*.

A: (Mon) Mon **còt jat**.

Sora **jaŋ'jad-** [*rain*] to *cease; to wipe dry*.

991 ***jat** to *follow*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau **jat**, Besis (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 211) **jet**.

Cf. Thin **yăt**.

992 ***jaat** *cobra*.

(Mon) Mon [sùm] **căt**.

Sora **jʔa:d-ən**, compounding form **ja:d-ən** *snake*.

PINNOW 1959 K 187 compares Santali **jam(b)ro** *rat- snake*, &c.

993 *jət *ten*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Chrau jət *tens*, -ty, Sre jət, Biat jət, Bahnar jīt, Jeh jət, Halang jət *ten*, Bru mancīt; ~ Stieng (BLOOD 1966) jmət, Chrau mət *ten*; ~ Kuy ꞑcət (!). (SHAFFER 1965 350; BLOOD 1966 118; SMITH 1972 208.)

*994 *[]jut; *[]juut *to wipe*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon -jīt /jət/, Modern Mon cət; ~ (*[g]rjut >) həcət *gajuit to wipe esp. on a mat*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?North Aslian) Khmer cù:t, Kuy chù:t, Bru cùat, Stieng jūt, ju:c, Sre, Chrau, Biat jūt, (or A) Kensiu jəd *to wipe*, Nancowry cúac *to massage*; ~ Khasi kyrjuid *to rub, abrade*.

Stieng, Khasi, Nancowry final /c/ by assimilation

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SHAFFER 1965 494; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 105, R 194.)

Sora jo'd- *to smear*, Kharia jə'd *to wipe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 189; Proto-Munda *jə[t]).

995 *jut; *juut *kind of bamboo*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat jut; ~ Sre njut *Arundinaria falcata* (→ Röglai).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar jut *kind of bamboo* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

996 *ju[t]; *juə[t] *to fall, drip*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok cot *to fall (in a shower)*, Central Nicobarese cuʃ, cuiʃ *drizzle, shower, spray, cuiʃ-[lə] to splash*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Palaung juət *to drip, to dangle*, Bru yə:t (suggests *f; ~ (*[j]rjuə[t] >) Palaung rəjuət *falling of raindrops or tears* (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese giọt *drop*.

Connect Sre phat *drop*. Nicobaric *-c by assimilation; or Praok (& Sre) *-t by dissimilation?

997 *ɲ[uə]t *wrinkled, shrivelled*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric, Central Aslian) Chrau ɲə:t *shrivelled, paralysed*, Nancowry ɲúat *to shrivel*; ~ Bru rapə:t; ~ Central Sakai pəɲyoʔt *wrinkled*; ~ (*s.ɲ[uə]t >) Mon həɲot *to be deeply wrinkled, furrowed, flabby*.

Less probably *ɲəʔt, since Mon post-nasal raising is undemonstrated following ɲ; unless Mon contaminated by həɲon ad 896 *sɲuəɲ, hətot < 1155 *[t]ntuət.

998 *t₁iit *to go out, away, to project*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon tīt /tit/, Modern Mon tət *to go out, issue, depart*, Riang-Lang ʔtit *to be final*; ~ Riang-Lang ʔkəntit *to go away*; ~ Bahnar pətīt *bump on head, ridged scar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1007 *kt₁iit *posterior, to break wind*.

†999 *t₁at to be severed, broken, to sever &c.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Mon **tət** to cut across, sever, to cross (in part perhaps < 812 *t₁ac, which connect), Palaung **tət**, Riang-Lang **tət** to be torn, broken, cut off, to break; → Thai **tət** to cut, → Khmer **tət**; Shan **tāt**, → Riang-Lang **tət**, Praok **tət**; ~ Praok **dut** to be cut off, to cut off, Central Sakai **kuntut** maimed, truncated; ~ Khasi **bthat** to broken with the hands, to snap, [**dkut**] **btat** [to broken] with a snap.

Connect (***btət** >?) Kuy **thət** to brake, snap, to be torn; perhaps 1003 *[]tət &c. blocked, to block.

Sora **tad-** to snap, break (v.i.t.).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 262. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian ***tat'tat'**: Javanese **tatas** cut right through, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***kətat'**: Iban, Tiruray **ketas** to cut (BLUST 1973 no. 148; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***tət'tət'**: Malay **tētas** slit open..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1000 *t₁aat hot, to warm.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **tat** to be hot, Riang-Lang **tət** to warm oneself at, Khasi **thad** to dry in sun, to bask in sun.

†1001 *t₁ət mouth.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Aslian) ~ Jehai **tənəd**, Semnam **təni:d**, Semaq Beri **kənət**; ~ (*t₁mət >) Khmer **mət** (contaminated by 1045 *mat eye?), Palaung dialects **muət**, **mot** (MILNE 1931).

*t₁ in view of Munda, below.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 203.)

Sora 'tʔo:d-ən, 'tʔud-ən, &c., ~ Kharia tə'mə'd, &c. (PINNOW 1959 393).

†1002 *t₁ət; *t₁əət to pull out.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung **tut** to pull (out), Riang-Lang **tət** [pɛ] to pull [out] (B), (A) Lawa Bo Luang **təuk** (→ Lawa Umphai **təic**?) to pull.

Sora **tad-** to pull out (RAMAMURTI 1938).

1003 *[]tət; *[]tat blocked, to block.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **tət** to block (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & **dət**, East Bahnar, by back-formation?); ~ Sre **bətət** to dam, Bahnar **pətət**, **pədət** to obstruct, prevent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **ntət** dam.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tat** blocked up, compact, Chrau **tat** solid, dense.

Bahnar variants obscure; perhaps ***bt-**. Cf. Khmer **tan** compact, solid, dense, ↔ Thai **tan** blocked up. Connect 999 *t₁at to be severed, to sever...?

†1004 ***t₁ut**; ***t₁uut** (?); (***t₁ut-s** >) ***t₁uc**; ***t₁uuc** to light.

A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **dot** to set light to, burn, grill, Sakai **tot** to burn (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 467).

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₁muut** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **?mauk**, Lawa Umphai **?maut**, Mae Sarian **?maut** smoke.

C: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre **tuc** to revive [dying fire], Khasi [**pluh**] **thuit** to catch fire, Mường **tốch** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **đốt** to light fire, by metathesis Bahnar **cut** to revive [dying fire] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Riang-Lang **ˀtuc** [**ɲal**] to light, set fire to, burn; & originally as sandhi-form Thin **tuɲ** to light, set fire to, burn?

Cf. 549 ***t₁uuy**.

Sora **tud-** to burn (v.i); (-ən; compounding form) fire.

1005 ***tut**; ***tuut**; ***tuət** to thread, skewer, insert.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **təmbot** small skewer; ~ (by back-formation, or by metathesis < ***ptut** causative) **tbot** to skewer.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **tut** /**tut**/ (PAHTOTHAMYA FRESCOS), Modern Mon **tət** to weave, Khmer **daot** to thread together, skewer, to plant, stick in (→ Cham **đut**), Kuy **tə:t** to insert, stick in, Sre **tout** to stick. in [e.g. drinking-tube in jar], plant upright (in hole), Bahnar **tət** to thread (together), pierce, insert (in hole &c.; tube in jar); ~ Mon **kənot** (&/or C; merging 822 ***c/r/nuəc** spit), Khmer **trənaot** skewer, string.

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **tuət** to thread [needle], skewer [meat].

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**.

1006 ***t₁uut** to toot.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **tut!** to whistle, hoot, Praok **tuut** horn.

Onomatopoeic?

*1007 ***kt₁iit** posterior, to break wind.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **kdət** buttocks, anus, Riang-Lang **ˀtit** anus; to break wind, Vietnamese **đít** anus; perhaps ~ Bahnar **kətēt** clitoris (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Note Central Nicobarese **det**, **dit** anus (< ***d-**); (~?) Bahnar **kənit** base of spine (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Khmer **cəmtət** to stick one's bottom in the air. Hence by metathesis 961 ***tkiət** anus? Connect perhaps 998 ***t₁iit** to go out...

Proto-Austronesian (i) *(**k** [**ɟ**]-)**qə(N)t₁ut₁**; Javanese **əntut** wind, Malay **kəntut** to break wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; 79, ***kə(n)tut**; cf. DAHL 1973 § 8.4, 14.10; prefixed form Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***[q]u(N)t_[1]ut_[1]**; Toba Batak **uttut** wind, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 163; BLUST 1972 no. 86); (iii) ***b** [**ɸ**]**uNtut**; Malay **buntut** posterior, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 36, tail; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 285, fart.

(*kt[ə]t see 988 *kcuət to jump... .)

1008 *ktɔ:t; *ktaat; *g[d]ɔ:t; *g[d]aat to cluck, cackle.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **kətɔ:t**, Khmer **khtɔ:t**.

B: (Bahnaric) ~ (*kptaat >) Biat **pta:t** (!), Bahnar **kəta:t** to cluck, cackle

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **gəltat** clucking (DOURNES 1950), Biat **rtat** brood [of chicks].

C: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung, Riang-Lang **kədɔ:t** to brood.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **khtɔ:t**; ~ Bahnar **kəda:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Kammu-Yuan **kətɔ:t**. Onomatopoeic; so too Burmese **katok**, **katô**; Biat **rtok**.

***1009 *kt₁uut; *kt₁uət wart.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **tut** wart, Palaung **tot** wart, spot on skin; to be warty.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **kətot**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kətuac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N127; *-c?), Kuy **tat**, Stieng **tɔ:t**, Chrau **cɔ:t** wart; → Burmese **katwat**; Cham **katwaʔ**, Acehnese **götuət**, Malay **kətuat**, **kətuat**; ~ (*kptuət >) Khmer **phdo:t** wart.

Sre **[toh] tət** (→ Röglai **[kətal] tət**) may reflect a chime-word ***ktiit**.

Sora **bo'to:d-ən**, 'bo'to:d-ən wart, wen.

(*ktuət see 988 *kcuət to jump, to run.)

1010 *gtit; *gtiət lorikeet, parakeet.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *grtit >) Sre **rətet** green lorikeet, *Loriculus vernalis*.

B: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng, Biat **tət**, Bahnar **[sɛ:m] dət** parakeet

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), perhaps by metathesis (*dkiət >) Vietnamese **két**; ~ (*grtiət >) Chrau **kətiət** parakeet.

(*[t]ntuət see 1155 *[t]ntuun wrinkled; *btat, *btət see 1003 *[]tət blocked, to block.)

1010a *d₁ai[t] to strike, beat.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **tət** to strike with flat of hand, slap, beat out, Khasi **tied** to strike, knock, beat; ~ Old Mon **ḍaṇmāc** /**dəmmac**/, Modern Mon **həmāt** smith.

Distinguish 1014 *ɗat.

1011 *kdaat kind of yam.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Katuic) Mon **kətət** kind of yam (→ Burmese **kadat**), Khmer **kda:t** *Arum indicum*, (→?) Kuy **kda:t** (!) *Caladium* species.

1012 *kduut; *kduət *kind of tree with astringent fruit.*

A: (Katuic) ~ (*knduut >) Kuy **nthù:t** *star gooseberry*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*krduət >?) Mon **hətòt** *Ficus hispida*; ~ Old Khmer **kaṁdvāt**, Modern Khmer **kəntù:ət** *Phyllanthus emblica and acidus*.

1013 *[d]iit; *[d]əət; *[d]uut *to wobble, stagger.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon, Khasi) Mon **dit** *to spin, rotate* (?), Kammu-Yuan **[kəltù:t]-tì:t** *to run around confusedly*, (?) Khasi **[kyllai doh]dit** *wagtail*; ~ Chrau **ndi:t [ndə:t]** *wobbly*; ~ (*dr[d]iit by metathesis >) Khmer **tətrè:t-[tətrò:t]** (& by back-formation **trè:t-[trò:t]**) *shaky, staggering, unsteady*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **[ndi:t] ndə:t** *wobbly*; ~ Biat **rdə:t** *off balance; pitching motion*, by metathesis Khmer **tətr̥:t** (& by back-formation **tr̥:t-tr̥:t**) *tremblingly*.

C: (Khmer, Khmuic; ~ *dr[d]uut >) Kammu-Yuan **kəltù:t-[tì:t]** *to run around confusedly*, by metathesis Khmer **[tətrè:t]-tətrò:t** (& by back-formation **[trè:t]-trò:t**) *shaky*...

Note further Khmer **tətr̥:t** *[moving] jerkily*, perhaps < *dr[d]əət with secondary lengthening.

1014 *ɗat *to strike, beat.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **təət** *to kick*, (TANDART 1935) *to strike*, Khasi **ɗat** *to beat*; ~ (*dpɗat >?) Mon **həɗət** *to snap [fingers]*, Khmer **phtəət** *to tap, fillip*; ~ (< *ɗat-s?) Bru **kaldəy?** *to snap, flip*.

Connect Biat **ɗat** *to beat [cotton], to flip*; by back-formation from unattested nasal-affix form? But Mon **tət** (SCHMIDT 1905 44) is < 1010a *ɗai[t].

1015 *ɗat; (*ɗat-s >?) *ɗac *near.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **ɗət**; → Shan **lāt** *short cut* (→ Riang-Lang **˜ɗat** *to cross, pass (through, by)?*); ~ Khasi **ɟyndat** *in passing, [to go] past*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat **ɗac** *near, nearly*; ~ Khasi **syndait** *to put edge to edge*. Connect obscure Riang-Lang **˜that** *to be near, to approach*.

1016 *kɗit; *kɗiit; *kɗiət *small.*

A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Sre **dit**; → Jarai **det**, Acehnese **dit** (or B?); ~ Lawa Umphai **saʔlet** *little finger*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Vietnamese **nít** *small*; ~ Chrau **nde:t** *a little*, (or A) Khasi **khyndit** *a little, few*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic, Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **liət** *to be short* (?), Palaung **ɗiət**, Mường **đét** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese (*˜niət >) **nhất** *(to be) small*; ~ Riang-Lang **kəndiət** *(to be) small*, Khasi **khyndiat** = **khyndit**, (?; or variant?) Mendriq **kanet**, Jah Hut **kapet**, Semaq Beri **keʔnet** *small*.

Add perhaps Riang-Lang **˜ɗət** *to be short* (< *kɗut?; ↔ Shan **lɔt**). Cf. 939 *ʔit &c. *small in quantity*; 817 *ɗuuc &c. *small*; 816 *ɗəc ...*to be small in quantity*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 280 (a).)

1017 *[k]dūt; *[k]đuut *tip, tail*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **tut** *stump (of tail, limb)*, Biat **dut** *end, tip*, Sre **dut** *blocked, going no further* (DOURNES 1950; or B?).

B: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **dut** *tail of bird*, Stieng **dut** [ier] (or A?) *rump of fowl*; ~ Khmer **kəntù:t** [ʔo:ŋ] *rump of fowl*.

Connect Nancowry **rét** *tip, end*.

Hence perhaps, contaminated by **798** *rʔuuc, Riang-Lang **ˀdut** *to be complete, to come to an end*. Cf. also Lawa Bo Luang **lawk** *end, extremity*.

(*g[d]aat, *[g]d[ɔɔ]t see 1008 *ktɔɔt *to cluck, cackle*.)

1018 *knaat *measure*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Literary Mon [bat] **knāt** *measure, to measure*, Khmer **khna:t** *measure, ruler*, Kuy **khna:t** *size, capacity*.

1019 *tn[oo]t *sugar-palm*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Khmer **tnaot**, Biat [tɔ:m] **no:t**, Vietnamese [thót]-**nót**.

Or *tnu(u)t. Vietnamese may be a loan from Khmuic, cf. with **thót**-Kammu-Yuan **tut** *plant*, Thin **tút** *tree*.

†1020 *pit; *piit; *piət *to pinch, squeeze, press*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Central Aslian) Stieng **pít** *to seize, appropriate, filch*, Sre **pet** *to pick, pluck* (by attraction **823** *pic, which compare), (or B) Sakai **pít** *to pinch* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 106); ~ (*jnpit >) Khmer **cùmpùt** *to pinch, cùmpùt* *to pinch*; ~ Bahnar **kəpít** *to crush, press down with hand*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Aslian) Biat **pɛ:t** *to husband, spend with care*, Bahnar **pít** *to press with finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kammu-Yuan **kəmpít** *to rub against*; ~ (*jpiit >) Khmer **chpít** *pinch [of powder &c.]*, Kuy **bi:t** *to nip, pinch*, (probably, rather than A) Jehai **cəpid**, Lanoh Jengjeng **cəpē:d**, by metathesis Semelai **pəcɛ:t** *to squeeze*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **biət** *to brush or press against, to annoy*, Stieng **piət** *to get one's fingers pinched*, Chrau **piət** *to crowd in on, jostle*, Biat **pɛ:t** *to press, squeeze*, Bahnar **pɛ:t** *to squeeze with fingers*, Kammu-Yuan **púat** *to press*, Riang-Lang **ˀpiet** *to squeeze, massage*; → Thai **biat** *to squeeze between (in crowd)*; ~ (*jpiət >) Kuy **bi:t** *to rub against*, by assimilation Biat **piac** *to massage*; ~ Biat **mpɛ:t** *to press with hands*, Bahnar **cəpet** *to massage*, Praok **biat** *to extract by pressing*.

Connect following & **1024** *puut &c. *to stroke, rub*; & cf. **1036** *cbiit *to rub*; **830** *c[ɓ]ic &c. *to take in fingers*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14, 28; SHAFER 1965 99.)

Sora **pe'd-** to *pinch*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***pitpit**: Javanese **pipit** pressed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) ***[qS]a(N)pit**: Malay **apit** to *squeeze between two surfaces*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, ***h-**; cf. DYEN 1953 § 124); (iii) ***d'əpit**: Acehese **cōpet** to *pinch, squeeze*, Cham **tapi:ʔ** to *pinch, wedge*, Malay **jēpit** to *nip, pinch*, Javanese **jēpit** to *nip, to hold under arm...*, Ilocano **dippit** to *press, press near, crowd in...* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); & numerous related bases. Mon-Khmer forms in ***jp-** ← or contaminated by (iii)? Note further Sanskrit **√pīd-** to *press*! (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1.)

1021 *pat; (*pat-s > ?) *pac; *paac to press, squeeze.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **pat** /**pət**/ to *press, stroke*, Modern Mon **pət** to *rub, press, knead, massage, polish*, Kuy, Chrau **pat** to *squeeze, wring*, Sre, Biat **pat** to *wring out*; ~ Vietnamese **vắt** to *wring out*.

B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **crəbac** to *squeeze, knead, massage*.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pa:c** to *stroke* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect preceding & **1024 *puut** &c. to *stroke, rub*; & cf. **863 *wac** ...to *twist*. (SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1022 *pət; (*pət-s > ?) *pəc to abandon.

A: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **phet** to *leave, abandon, run away*; ~ Vietnamese **vắt** to *throw away*.

B: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmu' **pīc** to *throw away*, Thin **pīk** to *leave, abandon, to pay out, spend*, Semai **pəc** to *throw*; ~ Vietnamese **vứt** = **vắt**.

Connect Burmese **prac** /**pyiʔ**/ to *throw (away)*?

†1023 *puut; *p[əə]t to blow.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **put** to *blow*, Riang-Lang **put** to *blow [wind instrument]*, Semai **po:t**, Jah Hut **put** to *shoot with blowpipe*; ~ Che' Wong **hapud** to *shoot with blowpipe*.

B: (North & Central Aslian) Kensiu **pət**, Che' Wong **pət**, Jah Hut **pə:t** to *blow*.

Or, if Che' Wong **hapud** & Jah Hut **pə:t** are loanwords, B = A? Khasi **put** = Riang-Lang, implying ***b-**, may belong ultimately with **A80 *knbuət** mouth-organ, which compare; as **2028 *puh** &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 145a; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256.)

Sora **pe'd-** to *play on a flute*, Kharia **pe'd** to *pipe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 157, with variant vocalism; cf. ib. 162).

Proto-Austronesian ***putput**: Acehese **pot**, Malay **puput** to *blow*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 122, ***puput**). See BENEDICT 1975 236-7.

‡1024 *puut; *puət; *[ɭpuəc to stroke, rub.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **bo:t** to stroke; ~ **cbo:t** to stroke; ~ (*crpuut >) Sre **rəpout** to rub oneself, Chrau **ləpo:t** to rub, Biat **rpo:t** to rub oneself, to caress, Khasi **syrypud** to rub gently.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pot** to rub, stroke, Khmer **pù:ət** (!) to rub hard, Stieng **puət** to rub, Biat **pə:t** to besmear (oneself), Bahnar **pə:t** to brush against (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **po:t** to compress in hand (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Riang-Lang **puat** (& Palaung **puən**!) to smear, Praok [co] **pət** to clean; → Shan **pət** to rub; ~ Old Mon **sunipot** /**səmpot**/ to stroke, Vietnamese **vuốt** to smooth with hand, to caress.

C: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **pə:c** to stroke (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C probably rather by assimilation < *c-puət than < *puət-s. Connect 1021 *pat &c. to press, squeeze; North Bahnaric shows contamination with this &/or 1020 *pit &c. Cf. also 1042 *[j]bat &c. to feel, grasp.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFFER 1965 467.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'əNput: Malay **jəmput** to take in the fingertips, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 48); (ii) *d'u(N)put: Javanese **ju(m)put** to take in the fingertips, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 49; Proto-West-Indonesian). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 4.)

1024a *puut to strip off.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **bo:t** to strip off, Kammu-Yuan **pú:t** to scrape off [hair &c. from skin], to slough.

1025 *kpət to struggle.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng (**ta-)**pot to fight with fists, Sre [**tam**] pət to wrestle, try one's strength against (→ Röglai), (> secondary *kpuət >?) Central Nicobarese **kəpə:t** to wrestle, Nancowry **kapót**; ~ (*kpət >) Mon **həpət khapuit** to twitch, to thrash about, flounder, Sre **rəpət** to struggle, throw oneself about; → Jarai **pəpə?** (!), Röglai **rəpə?** to struggle.

For Stieng vocalism see 345 *pək. Cf. Vietnamese **vật** to wrestle, to toss in bed.

‡1026 *cpaat to pull sharp instrument across.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **hwat** to shred with a sharp instrument, Khmer **pa:t** to trim down, filed, Stieng **pa:t** to cut oneself on a sharp instrument, Bahnar **pa:t** to whet, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **phát** to cut, trim.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **pà:t** to sharpen. But Kammu-Yuan **pát**, Praok **pat** to cut are ← Tai (SCHMIDT 1905 18.)

By metathesis Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)pat': Malay **tampas** to lop off, Tagalog **tápas** dehusking of coconuts, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 103; Proto-Hesperonesian). Connect perhaps further Malay **pəpat** pollarded, [teeth] filed level... (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 to *pətpət close(d), dense, & at BLUST 1972 no. 14 compared with Tagalog **pitpit** flattened by pounding). Cf. BENEDICT 1975 264, to cut off, cut up.

1027 *[d]paat to strike.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *pāt*, Khmer *p̄i:ət*.

†1028 *[d]put; *[d]puut; *[d]puət; *[d]pət to be severed, broken.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon, Khasi) Middle Mon *puīt* to be cut off, truncated, Modern Mon *pōt* to break, part, to cut, Proto-Nyah Kur **(m)-pūt* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V138), Praok *pot* to beak, (or C) Khasi *phot* to cut, nick; ~ **(d)bp-* >; or D) Mon /həpōt/ *thapuit*, *dapuit* to cut off, break off, (~) Khmer *kambot!* amputated, cut off.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *pot* to be broken, to break off, cut off, Riang-Lang *ṽput* to be severed, to be maimed; → Shan *pūt* to be broken off, cut.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *puat!* to cut (off, up); ~ *təpuət* cut in two (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Biat *[pah] pət* to be too short [to reach], Central Sakai *pāt* to pull [cockle shell] apart, Besis *pōt* to cut (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 302).

Rather than **(t)p-* in view of Munda, below; so Bahnar *puat* by levelling? Connect **(dpəc > ?)* Biat *pēc* to crumble, be eroded, become jagged, Khasi *pait* to break, crack, crumble; perhaps 824a **pac* to cut through. For Kammu-Yuan *pāt* to cut, &c. see 1026 **cpaat*.

Sora *rə'pərd-*, Santali *rəpu'd* to break, &c. (PINNOW 1959 66).

Proto-Austronesian **pud_{2/3}*, *pud_{2/3}*: Toba Batak *purpūr* bare, without vegetation, Javanese *pupur* [end, tip] broken off, Cebuano Bisayan *pudpud*, Ilocano *pudpód* to wear down, decay, at end or tip (PRELIMINARY STUDIES...), &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

*1029 *[l]pət to fold.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Khmer *pat*, Modern Khmer *bət* to fold, pleat, bend (→ Stieng *bə:t* to fold (back)?), Palaung *pət [kəp]* to tuck [trousers] right up (MILNE 1931); by secondary derivation ~ **(prpət >)* Mon *həpōt* folding book, → Burmese *parapuik*.

Cf. 1038 **bət* to bend...; 1086a **[t]lə(ə)t* to be folded back.

Proto-Austronesian **lipət*: Malay *lipat* fold, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98; & by metathesis **lə(N)pit*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 95). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (a).)

*1030 *[s]puut (& *[s]put?) to wrap round.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *put* to tie, [plant] to climb (< variant? BLOOD 1966 *pu:t*), Sre *pout* to roll [cigarette], roll round, bandage, Chrau *pu:t* to wrap (BLOOD 1966), Biat *pu:t* to roll up, to bandage.

(BLOOD 1966 235.)

Proto-Austronesian **t'aput*: Malay *saput* filmy cover; to cover with hangings, creepers, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149). If Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian, source obscure. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 15.)

1031 *[b]et out of true.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bet** *edge of blade which is no longer straight* (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **bet** *to drive in on a slant* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SHAFFER 1965 135.)

†1032 *bat; *buət to tie, bind.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?Palaungic) Middle Mon **bat** *to secure, bind on*, Modern Mon [pən] **pòt** *to be firm, secure*, Khmer **pə̀t** *to tie round, to spin [web, cocoon]*, (or 1042 *[j]bat *to feel* > ?) Palaung **bət** *to twine round* (MILNE 1931).
B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **buət** *to bind*, Biat [tə:m thə:i tə:m] **buat**, (by contraction, or ~ *tnbuət causative >) Bahnar **təmət** *to join end to end* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B secondary. Connection uncertain Riang-Lang **təkbət** *to knot*; or **səmvət** *turban*.
Sora [to(l)] -**ba:d-** *to tie, bind*, 'bad-ən *cord of twisted straw* (unless ultimately ← Sanskrit *baddhā-* bound or related form).
Proto-Austronesian *ta(N)bat: Malay **tambat** *to tie up*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 233.

†1033 *buut; *buət to wring, roll up, turn.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pùt** *to operate rotary mechanical device*, Khmer **pù:t** *to roll into a ball, to wring out clothes*; ~ (*bpuut >) Old Mon **buwut** /bəwut/, Modern Mon **həwùt** *rotary machine*.
B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **bə:t** *to roll up, to follow curving path; meanderings of path* &c. (& to fold (back)), ← Khmer < 1029 *[l]pət?).
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
Proto-Austronesian *butbut: Malay **mēm-bubut** *to turn on lathe*, &c. (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 198; Proto-Malayo-Javanese, to be separate from *butbut *to pull out*).

1034 *kbat; *bat grass.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi). Central Rölöm **bat** (BLOOD 1976); ~ Old Mon **kañbat** /kəmbət/, Modern Mon **kəmot** *grass*, Proto-Nyah Kur *kəmpət (DIFFLOTH 1984 N71), Khasi **kynbat** *herb*.
B: (Katuic). Kuy, Bru **bat** *grass*.
Note Ong-Be **bət** &c., BENEDICT 1975 306. Connect following?

1035 *g[b]uut tuft, clump.

- A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **bo:t**, **buo:t** *tuft, clump, uncleared site* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (→ Cham **kaput**); ~ Khmer **kùmpò:t** *clump [of trees]*, Palaung **kənbuut** *shoot of pampas grass* (MILNE 1931).
Cf. Kuy **puc** *tuft*. Connect preceding?
But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *ruNput *grass* (Malay **rumpu**, &c.; DEMPWOLFF 1938 104).

†1036 ***cbiit** to rub.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **jwīt** to pass one's hand over, Modern Mon **hwīt** to stroke, Khmer **b̥r̥t** to rub on, apply (& by secondary derivation **kb̥r̥t** to rub (on)).

Cf. 1020 ***pit** &c. ...to squeeze, press.

Sora **bid-'bid-** to rub.

1037 ***rb̥ət** to whip, thresh with flail.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **_pat** to fan, winnow, to wag tail, (?) Vietnamese **b̥āt** to strike [fire]; → Shan **p̥āt** to beat; ~ (***rn̥b̥ət** >) Literary Mon **lamuit**, Bahnar **r̥əm̥r̥t** to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **r̥ump̥d̥ət**, Kuy **m̥ph̥āt**, (→?) Stieng **r̥əmbat** whip; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **_səmpat** flail, fan; to thresh, beat.

Cf. variously West Bahnar **habat** to whip (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **h̥əlp̥āt**, Khasi **sympat** to beat, whip; Biat **r̥pat** to whip, to thresh with flail; **m̥hat** to whip; Vietnamese **v̥ut** to lash with whip; & 1092 ***kwit** &c. to beat.

1038 ***ḡət** to bend, manipulate.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Literary Mon **ḡuit** to press with fingers, straighten, Khmer **p̥u̇ət** to bend (straight), Kuy **ph̥āt** to bend straight, Stieng **b̥əit** to soften [cane] by bending (beside **b̥ət** to bend, stretch, ← ?Biat), Chrau **v̥ət** to bend, (— **saʔ**) to stretch [oneself], Biat **b̥ət** to bend, Bahnar **ḡət** to press with fingers, straighten; → Cham **b̥əʔ** to bend, curl (v.t.), Acehnese **b̥ət** bent over backwards; to stretch.

Cf. 1029 ***[l]p̥ət** to fold. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 8 (b).)

(***ḡut** see 1178 ***ḡun** to heap up.)

†1039 ***[c]ḡiit**; ***[c]ḡiət** to cover, close, block up.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic) Khmer **b̥r̥t** to cover, close, Thin **bit** to extinguish, to be extinguished (?), Riang-Lang **ṽbit** to cover, close, stop up, Vietnamese **m̥it** to be hermetically closed; → Thai **p̥it** to close; ~ Palaung **kənbit** to block; ~ Riang-Lang **ṽsəmbit** cover, stopper.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ ***[c]n̥ḡiət** >) Bahnar **m̥iet** to stop up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Earlier ***cb̥ḡiit** &c., ~ 949 ***c̥ḡiit** &c. to confine, restrict? But perhaps ***t̥ḡ** if Munda, below, is not cognate. Cf. further 1098 ***s/mp̥/iit** stopper.

Kharia **ja'pi'd̥** to shut one's eyes, &c. (PINNOW 1959 93; ?; perhaps contaminated by cognate of 1020 ***pit** &c. to pinch, squeeze...; so semantically e.g. Acehnese **pet** to close eyes, Toba Batak **pitpit** closed [eyes] < Proto-Austronesian ***pitpit** to clamp, DEMPWOLFF 1938 119, to which Khmer is compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 1).

1040 ***c̥ḡiit**; (***c̥ḡiət** >) ***c̥ḡait**; ***c̥ḡət**; ***c̥ḡəət** sticky, to stick on.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **b̥r̥t** to exude, to stick, affix, Palaung **bit** to be sticky, Lawa Bo Luang **pit**, Lawa Umphai **ph̥it** glutinous [rice], Khasi **bit** to stick.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **pə:t** to *stick on, affix*, Bru **tapet**.

C, D: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) (apparently) → Stieng **pot**, **pə:t** to *stick on, affix* by interdialectal borrowing; **(C)** Cham **pàʔ** to *stick to*; ~ (***crɓ-** >) Literary Mon **jaɓuit** to *be sticky*; ~ Mon **həbət**, **(D)** Riang-Lang **ʔsəbət** *gum of tree*, by metathesis **(C/D)** Sre **bəsət** *latex*.

Khmer **cəə bət** *mastic* is perhaps < ***crɓiit** by popular etymology, cf. **cəə gum**, **bət** to *rub on*. For Stieng **pot** < *-ət see 345 ***pək**. Earlier ***cbʔiit** &c. ~ 948 ***cʔi(i)t** *sticky*? The following may be connected by metathesis: Vietnamese **nép** (< ***c[ɗiɓ]**?), Kuy **[do:i] di:p** (< ***[c]ɗiip** or ***[c]ɗiəp**), Biat **[pih] lʔe:p** (< ***cndiip** by hypercorrection?) *glutinous [rice]*; Khmer **dəmnaəp** *glutinous [rice]* (by secondary derivation < ***cdəəp**?).

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

†1041 ***[j]ɓiət**; ***[j]ɓaat** to *suck in mouth*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **biət** to *purse [lips] in token of disapproval* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?), Khasi **biat** to *eat [pulses] a little at a time*; ~ Mon **həbet** to *suck in mouth*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **(k)bi:at** to *chew*, Bru **kubat**.

B contaminated by 1371 ***ɓaam** to *chew* (& 1375 ***kɓiim** &c., 1376 ***gɓam** to *have in one's mouth*?).

Sora **be'd-**, **be:d-'be:d-**, **sa'be'd-**, Santali **jembe'd** to *sip, suck*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 251; Santali perhaps compound, cf. Kharia **ɟə'b**).

†1042 ***[j]ɓat**; ***[j]ɓaat**; ***[j]ɓuut**; ***[j]ɓuət** to *feel, grasp*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **[cəm] bət** to *feel, palpate*, **bət [toa]** *fist*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khəbat** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V142), Biat **bat [ti:]** *fist, to clench*, Riang-Lang **ʔbət** to *feel, palpate*, Khasi **bat** to *hold, catch hold of, grasp*; ~ (***[j]nɓat** >) Sre, Biat **mbat**, Chrau **səmvat** *handful*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **hməuɔk**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **hmət** to *hold, catch hold of, grasp*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **pɨ:ət** to *rub [ointment] on*.

C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau **vu:t** to *grope for [fish]*, Biat **bu:t** to *feel, grasp*, Bateg Deq **bət** to *hold*.

D: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ɓɔ:t** to *put hand &c. in hole, grasp for fish, take fish from trap*; ~ Kuy **(k)ma:t** to *clench; handful*.

Connect by metathesis 1262 ***[j]ɗaap** to *pass hand along*. Cf. also Kammu-Yuan **səpát** (**səpó:t**), **səpú:t** to *snatch, grab*; & 1024 ***puut** &c. to *stroke, rub*. **C, D** perhaps secondary, or contaminated by this, but cf. Munda.

Kharia **ce'pu'd** to *hide in fist, to clench*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 137; Proto-Munda *-ud). Proto-Austronesian ***d'a(N)bat**: Malay **jabat** to *touch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45).

1043 ***rmɓ[ɔɔ]t** *tears*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **rumɓat** /**rəmbət**/, Modern Mon **[daik] kəmət**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamboat**, Lawa Umphai **rambuat**, Mae Sariang **yambuāt**, **lambuāt**.

†‡1044 *[l]b[a]t soft, tender.

(Mon, Katuic) Mon **bət** *to be soft, tender, delicate, young*, Pakoh **labɔt** soft, pliable (so *-ɔt?)

Cf. Sre **m̥ə:c** soft.

Sora 'lama'd-, 'labad- soft [clay &c.].

Proto-Austronesian *lənbut: Malay **lěmbut** tender [meat], gentle, soft [voice], &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94).

†‡1045 *mat eye.

(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **mat** /mət/, Modern Mon **mòt**, Kuy **màt** eye, Sre **mat** face, eye, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar, Halang **mat** eye, Jeh **mat** eye, face, Kammu-Yuan **màt**, Khasi '**mat** eye, Mường **mặt** eye, face (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **mặt** face, Kensiu **məd**, Temiar **mad**, Semelai **mət**, Central Nicobarese [oəl]-**mət**, -**ma:t** eye, Nancowry ʔuálmát, ʔumát; ~ Khasi **khmat**, Vietnamese **mắt** eye.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 163; BLOOD 1966 357; SMITH 1972 222; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 83 (a).)

Sora 'mʔo:d-ən, compounding form 'mad-ən, Kharia mɔ'd, mɔ'd, &c. (PINNOW 1959 250).

Proto-Austronesian *mat₂a: Malay **mata**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 206; DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 10.6, 14.13). See BENEDICT 1975 283-4.

1046 *mut; *muut; *mæt to enter.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **muut** (BLOOD 1966), Sre, Bahnar, Halang **mut**, Jeh **mòt**.

B: (Katuic, ?Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Kuy **mù:t**, Sakai **mɔit** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 77; or A?), ?Nancowry **mút** to hide.

C: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar **mæt**, **muut** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **təmæt** to cause to enter.

Cf. 968 *guut &c.

(SHAFER 1965 348; BLOOD 1966 162; SMITH 1972 212, 227.)

1047 *mut; *muut hammer.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **mut** (→ Röglai).

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mu:t**; → Jarai **mu:t** (& t^hmu:t!), North Röglai **mũ:ʔ**.

Chamic finals indicate borrowing. Sre excludes *tm- or *dm-; Jarai t^hmu:t ← A variant *muut muut?

(*muut see also 1186 *mun[] pimple.)

1048 *k[p]mat; *k.mət gall.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khmer) Mon [klɛŋ] **kəmot**, Sre [play] **mat** (DOURNES 1950), Biat [plai] **mat**, Bahnar [ɗa:k] **kəmat**, Riang-Lang **kəmət**, Central Sakai **kəmat**; (or B) by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **prəmat**.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Kuy **mət**, Bahnar **kəmət**, Vietnamese **mật**, Pangan **kəməd** (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 4).

(SHAFER 1965 356.)

1049 *kmuət; *kmiət woodworm, weevil.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **khmo:t** *woodworm, weevil*, Kuy **kma:t** *weevil*, West Bahnar **mə:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [con] **mọt** *woodworm*; ~ Bahnar (kə:n) **kəmə:t** *woodworm*, Palaung **kərmuət** *weevil*.

B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 957 *kiət to bite...) Stieng **kəmie:t** *weevil*; ~ Biat **rmiat** [coh] (beside **rpiat**...) *weevil*.

THOMPSON 1967 367 gives Mường **mọch**, Vietnamese **mọt** *termite*. Distinguish Sre **mo?** *weevil*, ← Röglai **mo?**, : Tagalog **umok**.

1050 *cmuət to question.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **cmot** /cmot/; ~ Palaung **sərmuət**.

1050a *tmit short post.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **tmit**, Modern Mon **met** *post supporting veranda*, Biat **mit** *marker stake*.

1051 *tmaat[] vulture.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Katuic) Old Khmer **tmāt**, Modern Khmer **thma:t**, Stieng **kəma:t**; ~ Old Mon **tinmāt** (& **timān**) ?/təmmat/, Modern Mon **kəmat**, Kuy **mì:t**, Bru **mìət**.

On Old Mon variants see 416 *mraik[]; perhaps /təmmāt/ or the like.
(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1052 *rmit; *rmiit; *rmiət Curcuma species; yellow.

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Khasi) Mon **mìt** *turmeric*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***muyt** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N28), Sre **rəmit** *greenish- yellow*, Chrau **rəmuət** *yellowish*, Biat **rmuət** *saffron* (→ Stieng **rəmət?**), (or B) Khasi **lmit-lmit** *rather [yellow]*; ~ Khasi dialect **shyrmìt** *turmeric*.

B: (Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **rəmit** *turmeric, yellow*, (or A) Central Sakai **rēmít** *saffron*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **rmyat**, Modern Khmer **rəmiət**, **lmiət** *saffron*, Kuy **lmi:t** *yellow*, Khasi **lmet-lmet** *very [yellow]*, Proto-Semai ***rməet** *yellow* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(*yiit, *yiət see 941 *[?]iit coucal.)

†1053 *yət; *yəət to be extinguished.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung yət; ~ piət to extinguish; ~ (*[t]nyət >) Stieng jɛ:t to extinguish, extinguished, Biat jhət to extinguish.
 B: (Palaungic) Praok yuət to be extinguished; ~ (*pyəət > ?) Lawa Bo Luang ʔyuət, Lawa Umphai ʔjuət to extinguish.
 Cf. 973 *ɲət; 1077 *lət &c.; 987 *kə[ə]t to die.
 Sora pa'ni(:)d- to be extinguished.

1054 *[s]yət grass.

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon sət thatching-grass, Imperata arundinacea, Jeh set (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) Kammu-Yuan cít, Thin kyit, kīt grass; ~ (*[s]nyət >) Sre jhət, Bahnar ʔjɛt grass.
 Khmuic, Bahnar suggest (secondary) *cy-!
 (SHAFFER 1965 167; SMITH 1972 221; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 96.)

1055 *rit kind of palm yielding writing-material.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon rət Corypha umbraculifera, (manuscript written on) palm-leaf, Khmer rùt Latania rhaps leaves.

†1056 *riit; *riət to rotate, go round, to grind.

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Palaung grit, Praok krit to grind [grain]; ~ (*[t]lriit >) Kuy lɛ:t to grind, to gin cotton.
 B: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon ret /ret/ to visit, Modern Mon rət to go round, go about; ~ (*[t][r]riət >) Khasi tylliat to grind; ~ (*rniət —properly nominalisation— > ?) Riag-Lang _niet to grind.
 For cognacy of CVC form cf. Munda. Connect 1064 *krit &c. to creak; A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass?
 Sora rid-, Kharia ri'd to grind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 76).
 Cf. Tibeto-Burman *krit to grind, BENEDICT 1972 38 no. 119; Karen *gr[e]t, ib. 141-2 n. 382.

1057 *rət; *rəət; *rat to be startled, alarmed.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, ?Mon) Old Khmer rat, Modern Khmer rùt to run (away), Vietnamese giật (for **răt) to jerk, (— mình) to be startled (≠ to pull forcibly, < 1058 *rət); ~ (*rnr- >) Mon kərət to cry, whimper (or B), Sre nrət, Biat ndrət to start with fright; ~ (*rət rət > *trət >) Khasi thred, thret very much [startled].
 B: (Khmer) ~ Khmer prɛ:t startled.
 C: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau ndrət spasm, to jerk, Bahnar kədrat to start with fright.
 Separate Central Nicobarese dət-ɲərit to be startled, < *d-.

†1058 *rut; *ruut; *ruət; *rət; *rat; *raat; ruc; *ruuc; *rəc (& *rəc?); *rac to pull hard on, pull up, out, reap.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Sakai **rot** to pluck out, uproot (or < variant?); ~ Palaung **bruut** to extract [tooth] (MILNE 1931); (or C?) ~ Khasi **kynjrot** to pull off bit by bit; ~ Nancowry **hayúut** to push or pull away, **tiyúut** to jerk.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) Biat **ru:t** to slide (v.t.), Nancowry **yúk** to cut something smooth, (or *c-rat >?) Praok **rut** to pull apart, away; (or H) → Thai **rúut** to strip [leaves &c.], milk; ~ Khmer **cro:t**, Stieng **səru:t** to reap, Bahnar **h^aru:t** [h^arə:t] to pull hard on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **rút** to pull (back, out), withdraw.

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Mon) Mon **ròt rat** to reap; ~ (*rn- >) **nòt not** sickle (&/or E, J); ~ (*cruət >) Biat **rhuat** to withdraw, Bahnar **hrə:t** to pull on, out, up, Jeh **so:t** to reap, Halang **soat**, Kammu-Yuan **ró:t** to strip grain (& **hó:t**; by back-borrowing ← Tai?).

D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mường **giật** to pull on (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **giật** to pull forcibly, snatch (for **răt; ≠ to jerk, be startled, < 1057 *rət); ~ Bahnar **hərət**, Gölar Bahnar **gərət** to pull with a jerk (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **h^(a)rə:t**).

E: (Khasi, Mon, Nicobaric) Khasi **rat** to uproot; ~ **prat** to cut [grass], clear [bushes], Mon **ròt rat** to reap, Proto-Nyah Kur *rəc (DIFFLOTH 1984 V104; *-c?), Nancowry **yat** to cut.

F: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Bru **riat** to snatch; ~ Bahnar **bra:t** to pull on, out, up (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

G: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **ruit** to pull out; ~ Bahnar **hruc** to yank out [branch] after cutting.

H: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:c** to pull out, draw out, Kuy **rò:c** to withdraw [fuel from fire]; ~ Khmer **rəbaoc** pulled away, out, uprooted, Kuy **po:c** to uproot, pull out; ~ (*cruuc >) Praok **ruuc** to uproot, Mường **rúch** to withdraw (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

I: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Katuic) Proto-Semai *rəc to uproot (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Khmer **krəc grec** dislocation, to dislocate, (or J?) Kuy **khəc** sprained, Bru **ri?** to harvest; ~ Bahnar **h^(ə)rək**, **h^(ə)rəc** to reap, sever, tear (off) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (or J), (*-əc >? but cf. D) **h^(ə)rəc** to pull on, out, up.

J: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **rút** to pull, to tear out; ~ Khasi **kynjrait** to jerk, pull with a jar.

G &c. in part or wholly by assimilation < *c-rut &c. rather than < *rut-s &c. Cf. 866 *[]wəc &c. to cut, reap; 839 *rəc to slice, cut through; A28b *ruuk to pull up.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40, 60; SMITH 1972 237)

Sora **rud**-(**rud**-) to pluck [flowers], **ruj**-, **rui**- to pluck, to pull out, to snatch, to wrench (PINNOW 1959 381).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***Surut** to *pull between hands*: Malay **urut** to *stroke, rub, massage*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 162, *c-; BENEDICT 1975 358, which see, adds Ami ***mi-Surut** to *pull*); (ii; ***parut**) Ilocano **parut** to *uproot*, Pangasinan **pálot** to *pull out*.

†1059 ***rut**; ***ruut**; ***ruət**; ***rət** to *sprinkle, scatter*.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **phruut** to *sprinkle, scatter*.

B: (Katuic) Bru **rù:t** [*flowers, fruit, leaves*] to *drop off completely*.

C: (Palaungic) Praok **ruat** to *sow broadcast*; ~ Praok **pruat** [**ruac**] to *be scattered*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung **rət**, Riang-Lang **rat** to *sprinkle*; ~ Palaung **prət** to *scatter*.

Cf. 837 ***ra(a)c**; 843 ***ruc** &c. to *fall, drip*.

Sora **jo'or:q-** to *drip*, [*tears to flow*].

Distinguish forms with other finals at PINNOW 1959 219. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 395.

1060 ***rut**; ***ruut**; ***r[ə]t** (to catch fish in) kind of fish-trap.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:t** to *catch fish in fish-trap* (ʔəŋrùt) resembling lobster-pot, Sre **rut** trap for flying white ants (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **ruut** large open-mesh fish-trap.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **kərət karut** basket with open bottom for catching mudfish, basket for penning fowls.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **nthrət** basket for penning fowls.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

*1061 ***ruut**; ***ruət**; ***rət**; ***rat**; ***rit**; ***riit**; ***riət** to *tighten, constrict*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer **rù:t** to *draw* [e.g. curtains] together (or < 1058 ***ruut** to *pull hard on...?*; → Thai **rùut** to *pull* [curtains &c.], probably → Kuy **rù:t** to *pull, slide*), Kuy **rò:t** to *shrink, to hunch up*, Biat **ro:t** to *shrink, become tight*, Palaung **rut** to *draw in with drawstring* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_rut** to *draw in*; → Shan **hùt** to *tighten*; ~ Mon **hərət sarut** to *pull* [string] tight, close [bag] with string.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **rù:ət** to *seize round top or neck*, Stieng **ruə:t** to *tighten, pull in*, Praok **rət** to *gird*, Lawa Umphai [**hau**] **ruat** rice-sack; → Acehnese **ruət** to *secure* [trousers] firmly; ~ Palaung **kruət** to *strangle with a cord* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_səkruat** to *strangle, choke, smother*; ~ Mon **kròt grot** to *fit closely*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Kuy **rət** to *tie, bind* (or E); → Shan **hùt** to *tighten* [belt &c.]; ~ Biat **krət** to *shrink, huddle together*; ~ (***sr-** >; or D) Kuy **sat** to *tie*.

D: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_rət** to *gird*; → Thai **rát**, Shan **hăt**.

E: (Khmer) Khmer **rùt** to *draw up tight*.

F: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Kuy) Kuy **rì:t** (or G; → Thai **rīit**) to *squeeze out, press on*, Sre **ri:t** tight, Biat **re:t** to *tighten*, Chrau **re:t**, Bateg Nong **rit**, Semai I **ri:d** to *squeeze*; → Cham **ri:ʔ** to *draw net in*.

G: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Stieng **riət** [kɔu] *to strangle with a cord*, West Bahnar **rɛ:t** *to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **riat** *to tie together*, Temiar **rəyəd** *to squeeze*; ~ (*[s].riət >) Bahnar **hərə:t** *to draw tight, to gird, to strangle, to reduce in size*, Vietnamese **riết** *to draw tight*.

Connect Nancowry **ʔɛc** *tight, to strangle*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***Səyət**: Malay (**h**)**ěrat** *constriction*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 425; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii; ***ka[r]rt**) Ivatan **kalút** *to close with a draw string*. Note also Malay **chěrut** [*python, belt, noose*] *to squeeze*; ← Mon-Khmer?

1062 *ruut; *ruət to buy.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rət** (& **rat**!) *to barter, buy*.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **roat**, Biat **rwat**, Jeh, Halang **ruat** *to buy*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a ***đuuk**.

(BLOOD 1966 83; SMITH 1972 232.)

1063 *ruət tier.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **rù:ət**; ~ **tru:ət** *to lie one upon another, piled up*; ~ Middle Mon **tambrot** /**təmrot**/, Modern Mon **pərot** [caik] *small stupa on tiered base of large one*.

*1064 *krit; *kriit; *kriət; by metathesis *rkiət to creak.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **krit** *creakily* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kre:t** *creakily* (TANDART 1935).

C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **kret** *to creak*, Khmer **kriət** *creakily* (TANDART 1935), Khasi **khret-khret** *grating*, Nancowry **ʔiāt** *to squeak*.

D: (South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Sre **rəkiat** (→ Rōglai), Biat **rciat** *to grind, creak, gnash*, (or C?) Central Nicobarese **kěət**-[cəka:] *to gnash*.

Connect perhaps 1056 ***riit** &c. ...*to grind*, whether or not original. Onomatopoeic (As **D**) Sora **ri'ked-** *to creak*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kiət**: Acehnese **k/r/et-k/r/et** Onomatopoeic for *creaking, grinding*, Malay **kiat** *to creak*, **k/ěr/iat**-[**kěriut**] *creaking*, Javanese **kět-kèr-kěr-kèt** *to creak, squeak*, Tagalog **k/al/it** *creak*, Cebuano Bisayan **k/ág/it** *to make a creaking sound*, &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 168; Proto-Hesperonesian).

Note also Javanese **krěkět** *grinding or grating sound, to grind* [e.g. *teeth*] (< ***k/ar/ətkət**, cf. Cebuano **kagitkit** *n.*?).

1065 *kruət (& *krut?) kind of bee.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre **krot** *kind of bee of medium size* (< variant?), Bru **krɔ:t** *bee*; ~ Stieng **kəndrɔ:t** *wasp*, Chrau **kəndrɔ:t** *small kind of bee*, Bahnar **kədrɔ:t** *kind of bee of medium size nesting in hollow trees*, Jeh **kadro:t** *honey-bee*, Halang **gədroat** *kind of apid*; ~ (***kpruət** >) Khmer **prù:ət**, **pru:ət** *kind of bee building layered nest in hollow trees* &c.

Connect obscure Mon **hərot** *kind of bee nesting in hollow trees*.

(SMITH 1972 236.)

1066 *graat to scatter.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **krad**; ~ Riang-Lang **kənatrat** *seed-harrow*.

Connect 837 *ra(a)c.

***1067 *criit; *criət to cram in.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chre:t** *close together*; apparently by back-formation ~ Sre **ri:t** *close together*, Biat **re:t** *to pack close together*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **criət**, TANDART 1935 also **criət** *to intercalate, press on, pack in, jostle*, Kuy **si:t** *to crowd against, crowded*; ~ Literary Mon **taret** *to press into*. Sora **sə'ried-** *to be overfilled, crowded, to become tight, rigid, swollen, 'sare'd- tight*.

1068 *criit; *t₁riit cricket, to chirr.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central & South Aslian) Central Sakai **jarét** *variety of mole-cricket*, Besis **sērē-it** *to whine* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 97 (a)); ~ Mon **kəret canrit**, Khmer **cəŋrət** *cricket*; ~ Bru **ʔabri:t** *cricket*; → Thai **cīŋrīit** *cricket*; Malay **chěŋkěrek** *mole-cricket*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tre:t**, Chrau **[kɔ:n] tre:t** *cricket*, Sre **tri:t** *to whistle*, Palaung **[ə]krit** *cricket*.

Onomatopoeic? Note Ilocano **kuriat**, Pangasinan **kóryat** *cricket*. Otherwise B by assimilation

(SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

(*t₁riit see preceding.)

1069 *drit; *driit to slope.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[ŋke:ŋ] dru:t** *sloping*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **trè:t** *to slope, lean, incline*, Bru **trè:ʔ** (by dissimilation?).

1070 *priit; *priət banana.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **pri:t**, Jeh, Halang **priət**.

B: (Katuic) Kuy **pri:t**.

(SHAFFER 1965 104; BLOOD 1966 224; SMITH 1972 214.)

1071 *mraat rough, untamed, viovlent.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **pərət** *to be viovlent*, Khasi **mrad** *animal; cruel, inhuman*, Central Nicobarese **maiya:t** *rough, unplanned*, Nancowry **yāt, puyāt**.

1072 *sriit rhinoceros.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *srīt* /*srit*/, Modern Mon *set*, (~?) Lawa Umphai *raip*; → Thai *rêet*.

Also Khmuic, see SHORTO 1971.

1073 *sriit; *sriæt cold.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *sre:t* *cold to the touch* (TANDART 1935).

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *rét* *to be cold, feel cold*.

1074 *sraat sour, acid.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng, Sre *səra:t*, Chrau *sa:t* (BLOOD 1966 *srə:t*), Biat *chra:t* *sour, acid*, by vowel metathesis (**sa(a)rət* >) Central Nicobarese *haiyət*, *hă:yət* [*fluid*] *to turn sour*; ~ (**spraat* >) Vietnamese [*chua*]-*chát* (for ***trát*) *sour, acid*.

(BLOOD 1966 332.)

***1075 *lit; *liæt; *lait to lick.**

A: (Khmer) Khmer *lùt* *to lick, lap*.

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *leæt* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang *liæt*, Praok *let* *to lick*, Bru *liæt*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *klè:t* *to lick*; ~ (**lmpiaet* >) Sre, Biat *mpiat*, Chrau *ləpiaet*, Bahnar *rəpiet*, Jeh *lapiat*, Halang *rəpiat*, (by metathesis, or ~ **p[]liæt* >?) Semnam *pələd* *tongue*.

C: (Khasi, North Aslian) Semang *lat* *to lick* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 65); ~ Khasi *thyllied* *tongue*.

Cf. Khasi *jliah* *to lick*; 1286a **liəp* *to lick*; 1409 **[c]lim?* &c.

(SHAFFER 1965 351; BLOOD 1966 105; SMITH 1972 228; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 TANDART 1935 164.)

Proto-Austronesian **l₁id₃aq* *tongue*: Malay *lidah*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 16.3; cf.

DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, **dilah*). So connection dubious Proto-Austronesian **Zilat* *to lick*: Malay *jilat*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, **d-*; DYEN 1951; DAHL 1973 § 16.4; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 328.

***1076 *lit (?); *liit; *liæt slippery, to smear on.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat *lūt* *worn, well- worn, well-trodden* (or ad 953 **l?iit* &c., which compare?).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Semang *lit[lut]* *smear* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 291), Central Nicobarese *le:tə* *to smear face with pigment*; → Röglai *lit [dou]* *sticky*; ~ Mon *kəlet* *to be smooth, to slip*; ~ Sre *kəni:t* *red clay*, Biat *ɲle:t* *dirt, dirty*; ~ West Bahnar *bli:t* *to waterproof with wax or oil* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai *bli:t* *to stick*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *let* /let/, Modern Mon *lèt* to smear on, Khmer *liət* to caulk, Kuy *li:t* to scoop up, smear on (probably, rather than A), Khasi *liat* to fall through, slip, miscarry (contaminated by 1081 *lut &c., which compare); → Malay *liat* (in sense) clayey; ~ Mon *klet* to be glutinous, sticky, adhesive, Palaung *kleət* to be smooth, slippery; → Acehnese *kliət* clayey; ~ (*[k]pliət >) Mon *kəlet* to smear with, smear on, Vietnamese *trét* to smear, to caulk; ~ Biat *glə:t sprain*, (nti:ŋ *glə:t*) dislocation; ~ Kammu-Yuan *ləmè:t* smooth (or ad *lʔiit &c.?).

Slippery contaminated by *lut &c.? Cf. further Vietnamese *trát* to coat, smear, *trượt* slippery ~ *mướt* to be smooth and shining; *sét* clay; & 1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.

Sora 'tule(:)d-ən gum, pus.

Proto-Austronesian by metathesis *li(N)kiət: Acehnese *lōkiət* viscous, clayey, Malay *lekit* adhesive..., Javanese *lèngkèt* to cleave to (→ Malay *lengket* sticking together), &c. (cf. BLUST 1973 no. 198; Proto-Hesperonesian; also *likət: Javanese *likèt* to stick, sticky, Pampangan *likat* stickiness, &c., Proto-Hesperonesian; *ləkət to stick, DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, Proto-West-Indonesian; perhaps contaminated by *Zəkət to stick, DAHL 1973 § 14.5 &c. = DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (*d-), 47 (*d'-)).

1077 *li[i]t; *lət to be extinguished.

A: (North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *leət*-[ŋoŋ &c.] burnt out, quenched, Nancowry *liát* completed, finished; ~ Semang [ya'] *pəlīt* to extinguish (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (b)), Semaq Beri *pəlet* night.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Aslian) Khmer *lùət* to extinguish, Central Sakai *lôʔ* to be extinguished; ~ Old Mon *plit* /plət/, Modern Mon *plət* to be extinguished, Pangan [ya]-*plöd* to extinguish (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Connect Praok *pruut* to extinguish? Cf. 973 *ŋəʔ, 1053 *yə(ə)t; 423 *lək &c. to sink, be immersed, 854 *ləc &c. to be flooded, to sink, 1287 *ləp &c. to immerse; 721 *ləŋ to be immersed.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 18.)

†1078 *laat to be spread out flat.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *li:ət* to spread (v.t), to extend, be spread out; flat, Central Rölöm, Bahnar *la:t* flat; ~ (*lmlaat >) Biat *bla:t* bottom (e.g. of river), East Bahnar *bla:t* flat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 324.)

Sora *la'd-* to spread out [cloth], to hold [legs] wide apart, *la:d-'la:d-* to spread, unfurl, stretch (v.i.t.).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *dayat: Malay *darat* dry land, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 37; BLUST 1972 no. 89 adds Oceanic).

1079 *laat (laac?) bare.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Semai **la:d** (TAUERN 1914); ~ Mon **həlat** *to be bare, bald, shaven, to bare*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***təlaac** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V106), Khmer **sralāt** *to bare* (GUESDON 1930);

Connect Proto-Semai ***laac** *bald* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

1080 *l[o]t to jump, to run.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lò:t** *to jump, spring*, Kuy **lò:t** *to jump*, Sre **lot** *to go*, Chrau **lo:t** *to run (away)*. (Cf. B61.)

†1081 *lut; *luut; *luət; *lət; *lat; (*lut-s &c. >) *luc; *luuc; *luəc; *l[ə]c to slip (off, down).

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **lūt** *to slip away, to let go of*; ~ (*[r]mlut >) Bahnar **təblut** *to cave in*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) ~ Khmer **rəlù:t**, **ləlù:t**, Stieng **rəlu:t** *to abort, give birth prematurely*, Biat **[prah] rlo:t** *to fall [head over heels]*; ~ (*[r][b]luut >) Biat **rblo:t** *to slip off*, Vietnamese **trượt** *to slide down*; ~ Palaung **plut** *to take off [clothes &c.]*, Vietnamese **trút** *[rain] to pour; to shed [load], to yield up [soul]*; ~ Bahnar **hlūt** *to fall into a trap* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **lot** /lot/, Modern Mon **lòt** *to fall prone*, Lawa Bo Luang **[hlai?] luat** *[rain] to fall*, Vietnamese **lọt** *to slip into, pass through, fall into*; ~ (*[r]mluət >) Jölong **təbluət** *to slip, to slip from hand &c.* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **sibluat** *to shake out, shake off*; ~ (*[t]rluət >) West Bahnar **təduat** *[tool] to fly off handle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **lət** *to abort (v.t.)*; ~ **rlət** *to slip off*.

E: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **phlòət** *to falter...*, (— **sniət**) *slip up*.

F: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi **loit** *to take off, undress, untie, detach* (or H?), Vietnamese **lột** *to strip off, to slough* (rather than A); ~ Sre **pluc** *to come loose, fall off* (→ Röglai), (or H?) Khasi **phloit** *[ring round handle] to come off*.

G: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Palaung **lut**, Mon also **luit** *to take off [clothes &c.]*, Central Nicobarese **[et]-lo:ic-[həŋə]** *to slough*, Nancowry **ʔitlúc**, **ʔitlíc** *to skin, to peel*; ~ Khmer **plə:c** *slippery*; ~ Khasi **[kaba mih] phylluid** *prolapsus*; ~ Bahnar **təplo:c** *to lose hold of [fish]*.

H: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **lùac** *to skin, to take off*; ~ Bahnar **təblo:c** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), **təbluəc** *to slip, to slip from hand &c.*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **klúac** *to slip*, (or F?) Khasi **khloid** *to dislocate*.

I: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **lac** *to fall out through hole*, Central Rölöm **lac** *to fall* (BLOOD 1976); ~ Mendriq, Jah Hut **bəlac** *smooth*; ~ Kuy **slec**, **lhec** *to slip*, Temiar **səlej** *smooth*.

Cf. 1076 ***lit** &c. *slippery, to smear on*, with perhaps mutual contamination Connect as causative 856 ***luc** &c. *to steal?*

(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

Sora **pa'lud-**, **'pa:lo:d-** *to slip through*; ~ Kharia **ǰə'ɓ'd** *slippery, to slip*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 259; Proto-Munda ***ǰələd**); Sora **ǰə'loj-** (beside **ǰə'lo:-**) *to slide*.

1082 *luut; (?) *luət to err.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lūt** *to commit a fault*, Palaung **lut** *fault*, (MILNE 1931) *to err*, Praok **lut** *to err*; ~ Middle Mon **[byi]** **plut** *to impute blame*, Modern Mon **plut** *to slander, traduce*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***luuc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V107; ***-c?**); (~?) Riang-Lang **plut** *to repent*.

B: (Mon) ~ Mon **plòt blot** **[plèt]** *to miss the mark, go astray* (or < **861 *b]lac?**).

1083 *[]luut; *[]luc to sprout.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **lù:t**; ~ Middle Mon **klut**, Modern Mon, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khluc** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V108; ***-c?**); ~ Middle Mon **talut** *to cause to spring up*, Modern Mon **kələt** *to plant*.

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **shylluit** *to bloom*.

Perhaps ***t₂l-** or ***cl-**, Khmer by back-formation; Khasi **then** by progressive assimilation < ***-ut?** Connection uncertain Kharia **kə'le'd** *bamboo shoot*, &c., PINNOW 1959 256 (Proto-Munda ***qəlit**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58)

1084 *luət; *luus; *luəs to draw out.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **lòt** *drawplate*, Palaung **luət**, Praok **lɔt** *to draw out*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **luat** *to draw out, take out*; → Shan **lòt** *to withdraw [bolt]*; ~ (***luət luət** > ***t₁luət** >) Riang-Lang **truat** *to draw out*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang **lu:yh** *to pluck feathers*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lù:əh luəs** *to draw (out), cut strips off; wire, cord*, &c., Stieng **[se:] lu'h** *brass wire*; → Thai **lûat** *wire*, → Kuy **lù:t**.

A hardly all ← Tai ← C; the same final variant between **1078 *laat** and **191 *laas**. Cf. Röglai **ləh** *to withdraw*; ← a variant ***ləs?**

(SMITH 1972 509.)

1085 *kl[ɔɔ]t kind of creeper from which ropes are made.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **[tə:m]** **klɔ:t**, Sre **klot** (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **klɔ:t** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Semang **hadlud** *Daemonorops species (?)* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 41?

(SHAFFER 1965 67.)

1086 *[c]laat frightened.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **hlit** *to flee in terror*

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok **lat**, Lawa **hlat** *to be afraid*; ~ (***[c]blaat** >) Khmer **cùmlì:ət**, Bahnar **pəlìt** *to frighten* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (& by levelling **pəhlit**); ~ (***[c]rlaat** >) Kuy **ra:t** *to be afraid of [someone]*.

Bahnar fronting probably normal in context. Cf. 857 ***klaac**.

(***clu(u)t** see 1083 *[]**luut** to sprout.)

1086a *[t]læt; *[t]læt to be folded back.

A: (Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Kuy **k(ə)læt** to roll up, fold back, turn inside out; ~ (→) Sre **plot** to folded back (DOURNES 1950); by secondary derivation ~ Sre **tərplot** to folded back.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **rlæt** to be turned up, folded back; ~ **plæt** to be turned up, folded back.

Or ***plə(ə)t** by metathesis < 1029 *'[l]pæt to fold, Kuy by secondary derivation?

(***t₂lu(u)t** see 1083 *[]**luut** to sprout.)

1087 *[t]luæt (whistle) flute.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Kuy **lu:t** [tu:t], Khasi (compounding form!) [ʼdong] **lot-lot**; ~ Mon **kəlot talot** &c.

Earlier *[t]luy [t]luy, connected Khmer **khloy**?

1088 ***t₁luæt**; ***t₁læt**; ***t₁læt** to swallow.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric; ~ ***t₁nluæt** >) Kammu-Yuan **klùat** to swallow [sth. large], Vietnamese **nuốt**, Central Nicobarese **cínlu:ət-[həʃe]** to swallow.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₁blæt** >) Riang-Lang **təklat** to swallow.

C: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ ***t₁mlæt** >) Kammu-Yuan **kəmlə:t**, Praok **bluut** to swallow. Originally perhaps all ***t₁nl-**, > ***t₁ml-** by dissimilation, denasalized in Riang-Lang Cf. 1201 ***lu[u]n** &c.

(***plə(ə)t** see 1086a *[t]læt to be folded back.)

1089 *[s]luut (& *[s]lut?) deaf.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hlut**, Riang-Lang **lut**, Praok **luut**, Lawa Bo Luang **hlauk**, Lawa Umphai **hlaut**, Mae Sariang **hlaut** [suak]; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səlút**; by secondary derivation (*-ut?) ~ Khasi **kyllut**.

†1090 ***wit**; ***wiit**; ***wiæt**; ***wæt**; ***wat**; ***waat**; ***wut**; ***wuut**; ***wuæt** to go round, curve, bend, turn.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **vùt** to stir repeatedly, beat, Bahnar **wit** curve, eddy (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (— **wi:ŋ**) to whirl round, (**wit wih**) (in) return, to return; (or B) → Malay **wet**, **uet** to turn by back-paddling, to waggle [finger], wriggle [buttocks], Iban **uit** to turn by back-paddling; ~ Sre **kuit** (& **kuet**) to bend back; ~ Khasi **kyrwit** round, turn.

- B:** (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **wì:t** *dizzy*, Riang-Lang **_vit** *to surround; to turn round, stir round and round*; ~ Sre **kui:t** *bent, to bend (v.t.)*; ~ Lawa Umphai **rawit** *to surround*.
- C:** (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Chrau **wè:t** *to turn round*, Bahnar **wēt** *to turn [e.g. collar] back* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **_viet** *to wring [clothes]*, Praok **vət** [və] *to change direction*, Lawa Bo Luang **wiat** *to turn*, Khasi **wiat** *to bend [bow]*, Temiar **wē:d** *giddy* (BENJAMIN 1976B 132); ~ Bahnar **ruet** *to wring [clothes]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- D:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng **uə:t**, Bahnar **wət** *time, (recurrent) occasion* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has Bahnar **wə:t**, **wɜ:t** *to turn (v.t.)*), Kammu-Yuan **wùt-[rəŋwùt]** *[many] wagging, wagging, Khasi wet-wet [to go] round hurriedly*.
- E:** (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khasi **wat** *time*; ~ Khmer **khvat-[khvaen]** *intertwined, meandering*, Biat **kwat** *hooked, bent back*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kətwət** *to wag, wave*; ~ Mường **quăt** *to bend* (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **quăt** *to turn (v.i.)*; ~ Khasi **kyrwat** *turn of path*.
- F:** (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **vì:t** *to turn boat by paddling*, Stieng **ua:t** *to wag [tail]*, Bahnar **wat** *circular, to encircle* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **quăt** *to fan, to winnow*; ~ Khasi **kyrwad** *turn*; ~ West Bahnar **təwət** *to turn (v.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- G:** (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_wot**, **_vot** *to be bent, crooked, to arch*.
- H:** (Palaungic) Praok **vut** *to turn away (v.i.)*.
- I:** (Bahnaric) Bahnar **wə:t** *to turn (v.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Chrau **[rəwi:] rəwə:t** *dizzy*.
- G-I secondary.** Connect besides Sre **kuet** (above, **A**; ~ **tərkuet** caus.) Sre **wè:t** *to turn round (v.i.t.)*; & **862 *wic** &c. *twisted*. Add **B73 *wiət** *to repay?*
Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to circle, wind* (or : **1794 *wi(i)l?**).

1091 *wat; *waat to throw.

- A:** (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **vəət**, Kammu-Yuan **wat**.
B: (Palaungic) Lawa **wat**.

1092 *kwit; *kwiət; *kwət to beat.

- A:** (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Chrau **kwut** *to lash*; ~ Khasi **khyrwit** *to beat with stick, kyrwit to beat*.
- B:** (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **hviət** *small stick*; (~) Khasi **kawiat** *to beat with sth. small*.
- C:** (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Palaung **hvət** *to hit with small stick* (MILNE 1931), (!; ?) Vietnamese **quăt** *to whip, beat*; ~ (***krwət** >) Halang **wot** *to hit*, Praok **sivət** *to beat, flog*.
Vietnamese tone obscure. Note Gölar Bahnar **huat** *to whip*; Palaung **hviən** *to hit*; Khmer **rəvəc** **ravic** *to swish to and fro*. Cf. **1037 *rbət** *to whip, thresh with flail*.

(***[g]wat**, ***gwaat** see **867 *kwaac** *to scratch*.)

1093 ***rwia̯t** *subject to fits, mad.*

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **rəvət** (*to go*) *mad*, Central Nicobarese **əroa̯t** *fits, spasm, convulsion*, (**əroa̯t -paiyuh**) *mad*.

Assuming (i) *-**wi-** inhibits Nicobaric ***r** > **y**, (ii) *-**wia̯-** > *-**wia̯-** > **-oa̯-**.

Connection uncertain Bahnar **hawɛ:n**, **hawɛ:ŋ** *mad* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1094 ***[r]wət**; ***rwə̯t**; ***[r]wəc**; ***rwə̯c** *inattentive, to forget.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon) Old Mon **wit** /**wət**/, Modern Mon **wət** *to forget*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***thəwət** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V144), Biat **rwət rwət** *vague, obscure*, Chrau **[cwt]** **ləwət** *to faint*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **rwu:t** *imprudent, careless*.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **wait-[ŋəyən]** *to forget*, Nancowry **wác** *to miss a target*.

D: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***rawuuuc** *carelessly* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect (via a form ***s-rwi(i)c?**) Stieng **auic**, Sre **hui?**, Chrau **huc** **[cɛʔ]** *to forget*; Bahnar has **hiə̯t**.

1095 ***swiit**; ***swia̯t**; ***swat** *to wither.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer) **svət** *not as when new or young...*, *to wither*, Kuy **swet**, **fet**, Praok **vit** *to wither*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **wúat** (& **wúat**) *to shrivel, shrink*, Palaung **hviət** (MILNE 1931) (& Palaung **hiət**; contaminated by 1101 ***suət**, which compare?) *to wither*, Riang-Lang **~viet** *wrinkles, to be wrinkled, to wither*.

C: (Khmer, Viet-Muong) Khmer (GUESDON 1930) **svāt'** *to wither*; ~ Vietnamese **quắt** *to shrivel, shrink, dry up, be wizened*.

Khmer has further **svə̯t** *flaccid*; (GUESDON 1930) **svöt** *to wither*. Cf. also 980 ***sɲuət** *to dry up*. (Cf. PINNOW 1959 K 525.)

1096 ***swat**; ***suət** *thin, small.*

A: (Mon, North & South Aslian) Middle Mon **swat**, Modern Mon **hwət** *to be small*, Sakai **wat** *thin* (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 65); ~ Old Mon **sunwat** /**səmwət**/ *small; child*, Modern Mon **həmot** *child*, Pangan **hamad** *thin* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

B: (Palaungic) ~ Palaung **kərhuət** *to be thin, slender* (MILNE 1931).

1097 ***siit**; ***siət** *to comb.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sət**; ~ Khmer **snət**, Chrau **səni:t** *comb*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) ~ Stieng, Biat **nət**, Central Rölöm **niət** *comb*; ~ Semang **könsiet** *comb* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 210A).

Cf. Bru **nci:ʔ** *to comb*.

(BLOOD 1966 93.)

1098 *siit; *siət to stop up.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **se:t** to plug up; ~ Biat **nche:t** to plug up; ~ Stieng, Chrau **səpɛ:t**, Sre (→ Röglai) **səmpit**, Biat **mpe:t** stopper, cork.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **siət**, Kuy **si:t** to insert in sheath, slot, &c., Stieng **siət** to stop up.

(* []siit see 1103 *[s]rsiət kind of tree.)

1099 *sut; *suut kind of bee.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **sut** small kind of bee, Stieng **su:t** (or B?), Chrau **su:t**, Biat **chot** bee.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?South Aslian) Bahnar **su:t** large kind of bee, Kammu-Yuan **hu:t** kind of bee, Besisi **shūht** small wild bee (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 140; or A?).

Connect 873 *suc &c. to sting?

(SHAFFER 1965 253; SMITH 1972 218.)

1100 *suut to sharpen; sharp.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **sout**, Chrau **so:t**, Biat **cho:t** sharp, Khasi **shut** to sharpen.

(BLOOD 1966 17.)

1101 *suət to dry up.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng **suət**, Sre **suat** dry, dried up, Chrau **suət** to dry up, Biat **chuat**, **chwat** to (get) dry, Rongao **tsət** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai *soot [stream] to dry up (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect Kuy **sɔ:t** to be dry; & cf. Kuy **se:t** to dry up, Bru **thre:t**; & cf. 980 *sɣuət to dry up; 1095 *swiit &c. to wither.

(BLOOD 1966 84.)

(*suət see also 1096 *swat thin... .)

†1102 *gsuut to rub.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Bahnar **su:t** to rub (on), wipe, Palaung **sut** to rub, Nancowry **sút** to rub; ~ Biat **rchu:t** to rub on, Khasi **kyrshut** to rub, scour, Pangan **gersoyd** to rub (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 194); ~ Mintil **ngəsōt** to wipe.

Cf. 879 *khuc &c. to wipe, wash; & Central Nicobarese -**ʃe:c-** to (wipe) clean, Nancowry **séc** (rather < *cʔaʔ-s?).

(SMITH 1972 219.)

Sora **go'soid-** to wash, wipe (& with variant vocalism **go'sad-** to wipe dry), Kharia **gɔ'sɔʔ** to anoint, &c. (PINNOW 1959 207).

(***psi(i)t** see 1903 ***ptis** *fungus*.)

1103 ***[s]rsiət**; ***[]siit** *kind of tree*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **kəset** *Pentace burmanica*, Khmer **trəsiət** *Pentace* sp. (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.), Bru **kasiat**; → Burmese **kasac**[*khā:*] *Pentace burmanica*; Thai **sīsiət** *Pentace burmanica*, *Acacia catechu*.

B: (Katuic, ?Palaungic) Kuy **se:t** *Acacia farnesiana* (?; Thai **kràt^hin**), perhaps (~?) Riang-Lang [**khe?**] **khīt** *Dolichandrone* spp.

1104 ***hiit**; ***hət** *to sniff, pant*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Khmer **hət** *to sniff (at), inhale*, Stieng **hi:t** *to sniff; cold in the nose*, Bahnar **he:t-he:t** *to pant, be out of breath*, Mường **hút** *to smell* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 106), Vietnamese **hút** *to inhale*, Pangan **häd** *smell* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 292 (a)).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer **hət** *to be out of breath*, Biat **hət** *to be out of breath; cold; tobacco*, Bahnar **hət** *(to smoke) tobacco*, Bru **het** *to sniff*, Central Nicobarese **hət-[hətə]** *to smell*, Nancowry **hūt** *to sniff*.

Cf. Khmer **hət** *asthma* (→ Kuy, Biat **hu:t**); **1106** ***hut** &c. *to suck...*; **1294** ***hiip** &c. *to suck in, to inhale*.

1105 ***hat** *narrow, crowded*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau **hat** *crowded*, Sre **hat** *narrow, restricted in size*, Biat **hat** *narrow*, Bahnar **hat** *crowded together* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (BLOOD 1966 351.)

***1106** ***hut**; ***huut**; ***huət**; ***huc**; ***huuc**; ***huəc** *to suck, drink*.

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **hot** *to suck up, to (swallow in one) gulp*, (or B) Stieng **hu:t** *to inhale, to suck up last of drink*, Nancowry **ʔitnót** *to suck*; ~ (***huc-hu(u)t** > ?) Kensiu, Sabum **jəhud** *to suck* (& Kintaq Bong **jət**, Temiar **jəd?**).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **hút** *to suck, inhale*; ~ Thin **hmut** *to suck up*, (~?) Praok **ɣət** (!) *to nose-kiss*, Lawa Bo Luang **hɣaʔuk**, Lawa Umphai **hɣaut** *to smell*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer **hu:ət** *to absorb water and dry up quickly* (contaminated by **1101** ***suət**); ~ (***huəc-huət** > ?) Biat **chuat** *to absorb*; ~ (***cnhuət** > ?) Palaung **pu:t** *to absorb, suck up* (MILNE 1931), Teresa-Bompoka Nicobaric **pu:t-[hətə]** *to suck*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **huc** *to drink [water]*, Temiar **huj** *to sip* (BENJAMIN 1976B 138); → Jarai **huc** *to drink from a glass*.

E: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **ho:c** *to sip [hot liquid]*, Chrau **hu:c** *to drink*, Bahnar **hu:c** *to drink from spoon*, (so probably, rather than B) Jeh **hut** *to drink, suck*, Halang **hu:t** *to drink*.

F: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **hɔ:c** *to drink by sipping* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **huy?** *to drink [soup] from spoon*, (or C) Acehnese **uət** *to swallow*.

Note semantic consistency of forms with each final; *-c by expressive deformation?

Munda supports their unity. Connect perhaps 1104 *hiit &c. *to sniff...*; 796

*[c?]u(u)c *drunk*; but connection dubious 829 *bu(u)c *to suck*; or Mon sòt **jrot** &c. *to suck*.

(SHAFFER 1965 274; SMITH 1972 243; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 165 (b).)

Kharia **u'd** *to drink, to sip*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 142).

Proto-Austronesian *u[d₁]u[d₁]: Malay **udut** *to smoke*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 159;

Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay; →

Thai **dùut** *to suck, to absorb*, Shan **lūt** *to smoke*, → Riang-Lang [i] **ˀdut** *tobacco*).

See BENEDICT 1975 401.

1106a *[k]hɔ:t *to dry up*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon **khɔt** [*e.g. plaster*] *to dry*, Bahnar **khɔ:t** [*water*] *to dry up*, Bru **khɔ:t** *to evaporate*.

1107 *[k]huut; *[k]hu(ə)t *to call*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **khut** /**khut**/ *to call, summon*, Modern Mon **khut** *to name*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **khut** *to call, summon, denominate*.

(*chiit, *chait see 949 *c?iit *to confine, restrict*.)

1107a *chət *insipid, tasteless*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **chət**, Palaung **cət** (MILNE 1931).

1108 *chut; *chuət *to escape, to deliver*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **chət** *to be healed, saved, to heal, save*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Literary Mon **chot** *to avoid, escape, not to be*, Palaung **cuət** *to deliver, disenchant* (MILNE 1931).

Connect obscure Vietnamese **thoát** [**khỏi**] *to escape*.

1109 *jhuut *to go backwards*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Central Asian) Mon **chut** **chut** *to go back, backwards* (→ Burmese **chut**), Vietnamese **tụt** *to slide down, fall behind* (contaminated by **trụt**, ~ 1081 *luut *to slip*); ~ Proto-Semai *krɣɣɣt *to go backwards* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect 876 *huc &c. *to decrease...*?

1110 *[t₁]hat *to excess*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Old Mon **thatta** /**thət**/ [*earth to quake*] *violently*, Khasi **that** [*to shake, tremble, stink*] *very much*; → Acehnese **that** *excessive, very*.

Cf. following.

1111 *dhat *thick, well-built.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Middle Mon **that** *to be powerful, severe* (separate probably Old Mon **thatta**, see preceding), Modern Mon **thot** *to be strong*, Khmer **thət** *to be fat* (→ Biat [deh] **rdhot** *thickset*, with secondary prefix?), Palaung **hət** *to be thick*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭhət** *to be thick*; ~ Old Mon **dirhat** /**dərhot**/ *strength, magnitude*, Modern Mon **səṭhot** *strength*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 20.)

1112 *phat; *phaat *to distribute, disburse.*

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phat** *to spread evenly, sprinkle, dissipate, to repay [debt]*, Biat **phat** *to hand over*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **pha:t** *to pay, repay, (tam —) to distribute* (→ Röglai **pha:**), Vietnamese **phát** *to distribute*.

1113 *phut *to cease.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **phuit** *to cease, to sever*, Khmer **phot** *end; to cease, to end, exceed, come up to*.

Connect probably **875 *huc** &c. *finished*, **1539 *həy** &c. *finished*.

1114 *rhat *rotary device.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **hot** *spinning-wheel, cotton gin, windlass of well, sugar-cane crusher* (→ Burmese **rahat** *spindle, wheel*), Khmer **rəhat** *spindle, winder, rotary machine*; ~ (***rnhat** >) Kuy **ṛhat** *spinning-wheel*.

(***lhiət** see **953 *lʔiit** ...*slippery*; ***lhəət** see **954 *lʔuət** *wet, cold*.)

(***ʔiən** see **882 *ʔa[i][n]** (*elder*) *brother*.)

†1115 *ʔ[anʔ; *ʔən[] *3rd person singular pronoun.*

- A: (Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bru **ʔan**, Palaung **ən**, Riang-Lang **ṭnʔ** *3rd person singular pronoun*, Vietnamese **hắn** *he, she*, Central Nicobarese **ən** *3rd person singular pronoun*, Nancowry **ʔən**.

- B: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Stieng **ə:n** *who, what, which?*, Riang-Lang **_an** *clause-subordinating particle*; → Shan **án** *which* (or ← A, or ad Praok **an**, below; then → Riang-Lang?).

Connect Praok **an** *that, in this* (< ***ʔaa-n**, ***ʔii-n?**); ~ Palaung **nan** *this*, Praok **nan** *thus*, probably → Shan **nần** *that*, **nán** *thus*, **nàn** *there*.

Sora **'an[in]** *3rd person singular pronoun*.

1116 *ʔaa[n] *tray of betel-box.*

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **an** [**hədoʔ**], Palaung **an**.

Or ***-n**.

(*ʔain see 882 *ʔa[i][ɲ] (elder) brother.)

1117 *ʔən to be, exist.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **ən** to exist, to have, Riang-Lang **ṭan** to be the case, be true.

1118 *ʔɔn to be small in quantity.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **'an** /ʔɔn/ to have few, little of, to lack, Modern Mon **on** to be small in quantity, to lack, Khmer **ʔɔn** to diminish; → Cham **'an** diminution.

Mon vowel raising regular, as following nasal?

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 28.)

1119 *ʔun; *ʔuun; *ʔuən; *ʔan; *ʔaan to give.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **uun**.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **ù:n**.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **ʔa:n**, Bru **ʔõ:n**.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar **an**, Thin **ʔăn**.

E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng, Chrau, Biat **a:n**.

Vocalism obscure, though E probably secondary.

†1120 *ʔuun (& *ʔun?); *ʔən to place, put.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔũn** (< *ʔun?), Palaung **un**, Praok **uun** to place, put (down), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔauŋ** to make [e.g. promise], put.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **ən** to place, put, Biat **ɔn** to keep, Khasi **en** [rob] to dress, put on.

Kharia **un** to put, keep. (PINNOW 1959 377).

1121 *[ʔuun[]; *[ʔən[s] to hide.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **o:n** v.t., Riang-Lang **ṭun** to be hidden, to hide.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ẩn** to hide (v.i.).

Perhaps *[t]ʔ-, ~ following Cf. 1168 *[d]puun &c.

(*cʔən see 951 *cʔ[ə]t sated, cloyed.)

1122 *[t]m[ʔ]uun; *[t]m[ʔ]uən; *[t]m[ʔ]aan false, untrue.

A: (Mon, ?Nicobaric) Mon **həmɔn** *thamun*, *samun* to be untruthful, to be untrue (or Mon < *mun cf. 1185), ?Nancowry **ɲũn** lie (suggests *snʔuun).

B: (Palaungic) Praok **muan** [ti pɛ len] to falsify.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *man* to be false.

~ preceding? Probably not *sm-, since *sbmuən > Praok **simuan; but perhaps *dmʔ-, if further connected 1168 *[d]puun &c. to hide.

1123 *lʔaan path.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **dan** path, Khmer **da:n** path, trail, scent (& by levelling **lʔa:n**) (→ Cham **ḍan**); ~ Khmer **lùmʔa:n** path, trail, scent.

1124 *lʔun; *lʔuun; *lʔuən; *lʔən soft, tender.

A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer **don** soft, weak, Old Mon **lu'in** /ləʔən/ to soften, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ləʔun** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V149).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **on** [meat] to be tender (MILNE 1931).

C: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **ḍ:n** soft, mild, pale, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **non** to be tender, young, weak; ~ (***lmʔuən** >) Bahnar **rəmuan** (→ Jarai **r̥muan**) soft, flexible; ~ Pangan **tələmoyñ** soft (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 335 (b)).

D: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **ḍon**, Khmer **tùən!** to be soft, Kuy [lʔi:] **lʔən** limp, unresisting, Sre **lən** (& **də:n**) docile, (easy to) tame, (probably =) **lən** young, tender, Praok **ɔn** to be soft, tender, ?Nancowry **ḡón** soft; ~ (***lmʔən** >) Sre **ləbən** soft, Biat **rban** (→ Chrau **ləvan?**) soft, flexible, Bahnar **rəmən** soft, flexible, weak, debilitated; → Cham **laman** tender, weak, Röglai **ləhmən** soft, North Röglai **lahmĩn** soft, tender.

Khmer at D obscure; Middle Khmer **pantan** to soften is regular. Cf. 909 ***ḍuun** &c. soft; & Bahnar **həbo:n** soft and springy.

(SMITH 1972 74)

1125 *kiən to gnaw.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng **kie:n**, Sre **kian**, Biat **cian**, Kammu-Yuan **kíḍṇ** (!); (?) ~ Vietnamese **ghen** to be jealous, envious.

Connect 957 ***kiit** &c. to bite...; & cf. Mon **kəhèn ganiən** to gnaw (< ***ngiən?**); Khmer **ʔəŋkiəm** to chew at, nibble. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 28.)

†1126 *kan; *kaan woman, female.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **kan** female [animal], Bahnar **[dra]kan** woman, female, Thin **kũn** woman, girl, Lawa Bo Luang **kəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **kən** female [animal]; ~ Bahnar **akan** wife, Kammu-Yuan **cəmkũn** woman, Thin **cəmkũn** girl, woman.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ka:n** wife, Nancowry **kán**.

Add Kammu-Yuan **kəm[ràʔ]** wife, &c., by contraction (Khmuic; under the entry 183 ***mraʔ**).

(SHAFFER 1965 44; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 64.)

Kharia **kən[səl'duʔ]** woman (≠ child—for which see following—in view of **kəḍpəʔuʔ** man?), Sora **ən[sə'lo:-]**, **in[selo:-]**, **un[sə'lo:-]**, &c. (cf. PINNOW 1959 330).

(***kun** see 892 ***kuj** to bend down... .)

†1127 ***kuun** (& ***kun?**); ***kuən** *child*.

A: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **kon**, **kvan**, Modern Khmer **ko:n**, (***kun** > ?) Khasi **khun** /**khun**/, Nancowry **kón**.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Old Mon **kon** /**kon**/, Modern Mon **kon**, Kuy **ka:n**, (Stieng **ko:n**, Sre **kon** ← ?) Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kɔ:n**, Jeh **ko:n**, Halang **koan**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:n**, Palaung **kuən**, Riang-Lang **ṭkuan**, Praok **kɔn**, Lawa **kuan**, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **con**, Temiar **kəwət**, Central Nicobarese **ko:ən**, Nancowry **kúan**; ~ Bahnar **kəno:n** *number of a woman's births* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Semai **kəno:n**, Semelai **kənən** *child*.

~ 1187 ***kmun** &c. *sibling's child?*

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; SHAFER 1965 4; BLOOD 1966 57; SMITH 1972 75; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 102.)

Sora **oʔo:n-ən**, compounding form 'o:n-ən, Kharia **kəŋ-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 205; Proto-Munda ***kɔ(:)n**).

(***kuun** see also 892 ***kup** *to bend down, bent*.)

1128 ***ŋkiən** []; ***ŋkən** []; ***ŋkuən?** *finger, toe*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **ken**, **təken** (Mon dialect also **təŋen**) *finger, toe*, Praok **gen** *finger*, Lawa Bo Luang [**ʔdɔih**] **kean** *little finger*, ?perhaps by metathesis Central Nicobarese **kəne**-[**tai**, **la:h**] *finger, toe*, Nancowry **kané** *hand*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang [**ʔdɔih**] **kəuŋ**, (!; with secondary lengthening?) Lawa Umphai **ŋgum** [**te?**] *thumb*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ngón** *finger, toe*.

*1129 ***d₁kan** *bamboo rat*.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Khasi **dkhan** *hill-rat, mole*, (~?) Kammu-Yuan **təkán** *bamboo rat*; ~ Nyah Kur **ŋkán**.

(Proto-Austronesian ***dəkan**) Malay **děkan** *bamboo rat*.

(***d₁kuun** see 892 ***kup** ...*bent*.)

1130 ***gan** *to cross*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gan** *to cross, go through*, Chrau **gan** *across*, Bahnar **gan** *to cross* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFER 1965 108; BLOOD 1966 344.)

1131 ***gən** *stable, enduring*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kòn** **gan** *to be original, primal*, Biat **gən** *stable, fixed*, Praok **kən** *still*, Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **còn** *to remain; still*.

Add, by assimilation, Old Khmer **gan** *to remain*, Modern Khmer **kùəŋ** *to stay, last out?*

1132 *t₁gin *to concentrate mentally.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **-tgin** /tgøn/ *to apply [mind]*; ~ Middle Mon **taguin**, Modern Mon **həkɔ̃n** *to observe, keep [ritual practice]*, Palaung **təgen** *to consider well* (MILNE 1931).

1133 *pgeen *to offer to a superior.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **pəkìn**; ~ Old Mon **pirgin** /pərgin/, Khmer **prəkè:n**, Kuy **khè:n**; → Thai **prak^heen**.

1134 *pgan *to take hold of.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **pəkòn** *to yoke*, Literary Mon **bgan** *also to take hold of, come to grips*, Old Khmer **kān**, Modern Khmer **kan** *to hold* (→ Stieng **kan** *to take, accept*), Kuy **kan** *to carry, hold, in hands*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 61.)

1135 *t₁ɣun; *t₁ɣuən; *t₁ɣut *nape of neck.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **ɣu:n** [kɔu], Mendriq **ʔuɣut**, Temiar **taɣən** *neck*.

B: (Katuic) Bru **ɣu:n** *nape*.

C: (by assimilation: Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **təɣət** *nape of neck*.

Connection dubious Sre **jənkout**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 27.)

1136 *lɣ[uə]n; *lɣaan *dew.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[da:k]** **ɣu:n**.

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **[om]** **rəɣan**.

Vocalism unusual.

***1137 *ciin?** (> Pre-Bahnaric ***cin**); ***ciən** []; ***cain** [] *cooked.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon **cin**, Khmer **chʔɣn**, Stieng **si:n** (BLOOD 1966 **sin**), Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Sre, Bahnar **sin**, Jeh, Halang **cen**, Kammu-Yuan **sín** (*to be*) *cooked*, Palaung **sin**, Riang-Lang **˜sin** *to be cooked, ripe*, Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **chín** *cooked*; ~ Mon **həcin**, Kammu-Yuan **pənsín** *to cook*.

B: (Aslian, Nicobaric) Temiar **cət** (BENJAMIN 1976B 133), Proto-Semai ***cæ^dn** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **ɪʃi:an-** *cooked*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **cɛ:n** *to be ripe, cooked*.

Bahnaric, Palaungic appear to exclude ***ʔc-**, which Danaw **ă tsən** suggests.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 246; BLOOD 1966 145; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 237.)

Sora (**ə**-)'**sin-**, Kharia **i'sin** *to boil, bake, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 86).

1138 *ciin, (*ciin ciin >) *nciin to look at.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **si:n**, Chrau **se:n** to look at, (*nc- >) Vietnamese **nhìn** to look (at), stare.

1139 *cən; *cəən leg, foot.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chân** leg.

B: (Viet-Mường, ?North Aslian) Vietnamese **chơn**, (or A?) Kensiu **can** foot.

Cf. 538 *juŋ &c.

***1140 *cuun; *ciin to desire.**

A: (Palaungic) Riag-Lang **sun** to desire, wish to.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **sin** to desire, wish to, (~?) Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **xin** to ask for.

(?) Sora **o:n-** desiderative/habitual prefix.

1141 *.caan to borrow.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunör, Central Rölöm **ca:n** to borrow, Sre **ca:n** to borrow, hire, buy on credit, Bahnar **ca:n** [to buy] on credit (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Praok **san** debt.

(SHAFFER 1965 71; BLOOD 1966 287.)

1142 *[?]cuun to walk bent over.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Mon **cun** to walk with a stick, Sre **cun** to walk bent over (DOURNES 1950), ?Nancowry **sónsiri** to stop, bend, bow; ~ Old Mon **circūn** /**cərcun**/, Modern Mon **həcun** staff.

(***cnciən**[] see 1145 ***nciin**[] ring.)

1143 *[c]ncan; *[c]ncaan to brace oneself, kick off.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəcan** to brace oneself, be ready to spring.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **həcan** **dacān** &c. to push laterally against a firm surface, to brace, prop, (— **kri:p** **kləŋ**) to leap away, Biat **ncha:n** to leap away, take off with a bound.

1144 *dciin[?] (> Pre-Bahnaric *dcin); *dciit nine.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **se:n** (BLOOD 1966 **sin**), Chrau **sun**, Biat **chin**, Sre, Bahnar **sin**, Vietnamese **chín**; ~ Bahnar **təsin**, Jeh **tacèn**, Halang **cəcin**.

B: (Mon) ~ late Old Mon **dincit** /**dəncit**/, Modern Mon **həcit**.

Earlier ***dciint**? But B perhaps by assimilation Cf. 1351 ***ctiim**; in view of Sora **'tim̩ji-**, **tin̩ji-**, &c., & Kharia **'təmsin̩** (PINNOW 1959 372) perhaps by metathesis from a common source, ***dciim**-(**t**[]) or the like.

(SHAFFER 1965 242; BLOOD 1966 145; SMITH 1972 50.)

†1145 *nciin[]; *nciən[s]; *nciən[] *ring*.

A: (Mon, North Aslian) Middle Mon *lacin*, Modern Mon *kəcin*, Pangan *chin* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (a)).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer *ʔənciən* (→ Stieng *nciən*), Kuy *ɲci:n*, Lawa Umphai *ɲjaim*, (by palatal absorption) Vietnamese *nhấn*.

C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *cancyan*, Modern Khmer *cənciən*, *cùənciən*, Bahnar *təkhien* (!; & dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, *tətia:n*, *təca:n*, &c.). (SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

Sora *en'si:-n* (by popular etymology referred to *-si:-n hand*, : 244 *sii[ʔ]). Proto-Austronesian **k'ink'in*: Malay *chinchin*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 87; Proto-West-Indonesian; Philippine langs. have **k'ink'ɪŋ*); probably → Central Sakai *chinchit* (&c., cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 133 (b)).

Proto-Austroasiatic **ciinciin* or the like; C then contaminated by Indonesian.

Note Ancient Chinese *jiuən* 瓊 *large jade ring*, from which POU & JENNER 1973 no. 144 derive Khmer.

(**nciin* see 1138 **ciin* to look at.)

1145a **[p]cun*; **[p]cuun*; **[p]cuən* *shelter*.

A, B, C: (Bahnaric) Stieng *cuən* *temporary hut for travellers* (C), (B) Biat *cu:n* *shelter, shed*; ~ (A) Bahnar *bəsun* *hut, shelter* (& East Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, *pəsuən*: C).

1146 **jən* (> Waic **jiən*); **j[u]n* *heavy*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *jən*, Praok *cən*, Lawa Bo Luang *cian*, Lawa Umphai *chian*, *chuan*, Mae Sariang *chian*; ~ Riang-Lang *kəcan*.

B: (North Aslian) ~ Kensiu *hənjut*.

Cf. 52 **kjəʔ* &c.

1147 **jən*; **jəən* *back of knee*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre *jon*.

B: (Bahnaric) Biat [*chəŋ*] *jə:n* *hock* (or A?), Chrau *jə:n* *heel* [ʔ], Bahnar *jə:n* *back of knee*.

†1148 **jun*; **juun* *to hand over, bring*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Old Mon *jin* /*jən*/ *to make over, hand over*, Sre *jun* *to bring*, Biat *jun* *to convey*, Chrau *iun*, (or B) Semaq Beri *jon* *to give*; ~ (**jnjun* >) Mon *həyən* *to carry on shoulder*, Chrau *njun* *to hand over, to lead*, Biat *njun* *to convey, to send*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *jvan*, *jon*, Modern Khmer *cù:n* *to offer, to escort*, Kuy *chù:n* *to give back, to see off*, West Bahnar *je:n* *to bring, carry* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; with secondary vocalism); ~ Khmer *cùəncù:n* (& *ʔəncù:n*) *to carry*, Kuy *ɲchù:n* *to carry from one place to another*.

Cf. Biat **ncuan** to carry from one place to another.

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 32, S 99.)

Sora **ʃʔu:n-** to be within reach, ~ **ab-ʃʔu:n-** to reach, present, place within reach, hand to.

1149 ***t₂jun** ***t₂juun** to bend knees.

A: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂pjun** >) Riang-Lang **_səkɔn** to squat.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường) ~ (***t₂rjuun** >) Mon **həcùn** [animals] to sit, lie, crouch; ~ (***t₂njuun** >) Vietnamese **nhún** to lower oneself by bending one's legs.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect by interdialectal borrowing Sre **cu:n** **kəltəŋ** to kneel (→ Röglai). Cf. **938** ***chop**.

1150 *[**p**]jun; *[**p**]juun large kind of deer.

A, B: (Stieng, Central Aslian) Stieng **jun** largest kind of deer (A), (B) Sre **ju:n** *Cervus aristotelis*, Chrau, Biat **ju:n** deer, (A/B) Sakai **pajón** roed (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 81 (b)).

1151 ***ʔənʔ**; ***ʔəən**[] to receive, to suffer, endure.

A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon **ñin** passive auxiliary (or B), Vietnamese **nhận** to receive.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **ʔɿn** to receive, accept, collect, Riang-Lang **ʔən** to bear, endure.

Cf. **883** ***ʔəŋ** to endure ...; earlier ***ʔəŋ ʔəŋ**, *-n by dissimilation? Connect perhaps also Semang **jid** to get, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 14.

1152 *[**ʔnɔn** near.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central Aslian) Old Mon **ñan** /**ʔnɔn**/, Modern Mon **ʔnɔn**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***ʔan** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V152; implies *-an), Old Khmer **ñyan**, Temiar **ʔəŋn**. (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 198.)

1153 ***tin**[ʔ] to go up.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **tin** /**tɔn**/, Modern Mon **tɔn** to go up, come up, Proto-Nyah Kur ***tun** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V153; implies *-un), Mường **ténh** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **đến** to arrive (at), come (to), reach; ~ (? , ***tpin**[ʔ] > ?) Vietnamese **bến** landing-place, station.

Vietnamese tone perhaps levelled on derivation, if cognate. Khmer (elevated) **taən** to wake up, get up is ← Tai **tũun**.

1153a ***t₁een** to tread.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **te:n** to tread on, run over, Bru **kate:n** to tread, Kammu-Yuan **té:n** to tread, step, stamp.

Cf. **1195** ***lin**ʔ to trample.

1154 *t₁un; *t₁uən to carry, bring.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **ton** to bring, Riang-Lang **ṭon** to hold esp. in fingers, carry.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **tu:n** to carry on shoulder, Palaung **ton** = **ton**.

1154a *t₁uun (kind of) bamboo rat.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **tən tun** *Rhizomys cinereus*, Kammu-Yuan **tú:n** kind of bamboo rat larger than rat *sumatrensis*.

1155 *[t₁]nt₁uun; *[t₁]nt₁uen; *[t₁]nt₁uət wrinkled.

A: (Palaungic) Praok **dun**.

B, C: (Mon) Mon **hətot (həton)**.

C contaminated by 997 *p[uə]t, which compare?

1156 *btuun; *btuən to recur, to repeat.

A: (Mon, ?Katuic) Old Mon **tūn /tun/** to return, do again, Modern Mon **tən** to recur, ?Kuy **to:n** & Bru **ntù:n** to follow; (?) → Burmese **turn**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **phtù:ən** to repeat.

(***dun** see 1741 ***dul** hill.)

1157 *duən pole, lance.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Literary Mon **don** lance, pike, Khmer **tù:ən** fish-spear, (**lùmpè:ŋ** —) kind of lance, Mường **tòn** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **đòn** lever, carrying-pole; → Thai **t^huan** tasselled lance.

1158 *d[uu]n to perch.

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon **ḍūn /ḍun/**, Modern Mon **dun**, Central Nicobarese **ḍuən-[hətə]**, Nancowry **rúan**.

Note, Nancowry fronts following **r** : so ***ḍuən**? Cf. 1357 ***dəm** &c. ...to roost.

1159 *.ḍuən wide hat of straw &c.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **du:ən**, Bahnar **ḍuan**, Vietnamese **nón**; ~ (***.nḍuən** >) Stieng **ḍuən**, Sre **ḍoan**, Chrau **ḍuən**; → Cham **don**, Jarai **həḍoan**, Jarai dialect **ḍuan**, Röglai **ḍuət**, North Röglai **ḍuat**.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence, for which cf. Khmer Connection dubious Khasi **shaton**.

1160 *kḍan restricted in size.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **ḍən** to be narrow, restricted in size; ~ Old Mon **kuḍan /kəḍən/** to cause to contract, Modern Mon **həḍən** to make narrow; ~ Bahnar dialects **həḍan**, **rəḍan**, **səḍan** below average length (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1161 *kɗɔn *to fish with a line.*

A: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **ɗɔn** (*k*)**ɗan**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cərndɛɲ** *fishhook* (DIFFLOTH 1984 V117a; implies *-**ɲ**), Central Nicobarese **koron**-[**hətə**] *to fish with a line.*

1162 *peen *to thresh by trampling.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **pin** *to thresh*, Khmer **baen**, Stieng **phɪ:n!** *to thresh by trampling*, Riang-Lang **ṽpɛn** *to tread on, thresh*; ~ Chrau **mpɛ:n** *to thresh by trampling.*

Cf. Biat **ple:n**, under the entry 1195 ***lin?**.

1163 *pən *female.*

A: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung [i]**pən**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔapəuŋ**, Lawa Umphai **rapən**, Mae Sariang **ʔapən**; ~ Praok **bon** *female*, (~?) Semelai **kəmpə:n** *wife.*

Perhaps cognate with Lawa is Old Khmer **prapvan** *wife*; Modern Khmer has **prəpʊən**, apparently contaminated by Sanskrit **prabandha-** *band, tie, connection*; Old Khmer may be connected Malay **pěřempuan** *woman, wife*. See LEWITZ 1967.

(SHAFFER 1965 22; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 67.)

1164 *p[ɲən[] *to wind, coil.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **pən** *to roll [turban]*, Bahnar **pən** *to bandage, wrap, wind on to reel*, Palaung **pən** *to screw in, to crank, turn*, Riang-Lang [li] **pan** *to rotate (?)*; → Shan **pǎn** *to revolve*; ~ Biat **mpən** *to roll [turban]*, (or next?) Vietnamese **vǎn** *to coil [turban, hair] round*; ~ Palaung **kərpən** *to turn round (v.t.)*.

Or ***pwən?**, causative ~ 1208 ***wən?** *coiled...?*

(SHAFFER 1965 102.)

1165 *pən; *pan *to sit on eggs.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pən**, Sre **pən** *to sit on [eggs]*, Bahnar **pən** *to take to one's bed, be confined to bed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar **ʔəpən** *to nurse* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **pan** *to sit on [eggs]*, Bahnar **pan** *to take to one's bed, be confined to bed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Stieng vocalism perhaps related to that before stop, for which see 345 ***pək**.

***1166 *pun?; *puən[]; *pan[]** *four.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Palaung **phon** (!), Riang-Lang **ṽpon**, Praok **pon**, Lawa Bo Luang **paun**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **paun**, Mường **pón** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **bốn**; ~ Serting **hěmpudn** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 250).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Old Khmer **pvan**, Khmer **bu:ən**, Kuy **pɔ:n**, Bru **pɔ:n**, Chrau **puən**, Biat **puən**, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **puan**, Central Nicobarese **fo:ən**.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **pan** /pɔn/, Modern Mon **pɔn**.

Palaung **ph-** by counting deformation on **phən** *five*, ~ 1214 *sən.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 24; BLOOD 1966 82; SMITH 1972 72.)

Kharia 'iʔpɔn, &c. (PINNOW 1959 397; Proto-Munda *-pɔn).

1167 *kpuun raft.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kbo:n**; ~ Biat **mpu:n**.

1168 *[d]puun; *[d]puən to hide.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **poun**, Chrau, Biat **pɔ:n** *v.t.*

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **pù:ən** *v.i.*, Stieng **puən** *v.t.*

Connect perhaps 1121 *[]ʔuun[] &c.; 1122 *[t]m[?]uun &c. *false, untrue*.

(BLOOD 1966 13.)

1169 *biən plump.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **[pòk] pèn** *to be fat, plump*, Khasi **pian** *short and stout*.

1170 *baan pedestal dish.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pàn**, Old Khmer **vān**, Modern Khmer **pì:ən**, Kuy **phì:an** *pedestal dish*, Palaung **ban** (*pedestal*) *tray; tin bath*, Mường **pàn** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **bàn** *table*.

Connect variously Thai **p^haan** *pedestal dish*, Shan **pàn** *wicker or wooden tray*; Burmese **ban**: *wicker tray*. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 2 derive all the foregoing, with Malay **puan** *large betel-box*, ← Ancient Chinese **b^huan** 盤 *vessel; tub, tray, dish, plate...*; Palaung in sense *tin bath* is certainly likely to be ← Chinese.

1171 *bən? time.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **bən** (*future*) *time*, Praok **pon** *time of day*, Mường **pận**, Vietnamese **bận** *time (quantifier)* (BARKER & BARKER 1976).

1172 *bən; bæən we (inclusive).

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **bən** *we*, Central Rölöm **ban**, Bunör, Bahnar **bən** *we (incl.)*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **bə:n**, Chrau **və:n** *we (incl.)*.

(BLOOD 1966 115; cf. SMITH 1972 58.)

***1173 *jban; *jbaan; *jbən; *jbəən girdle, skirt.**

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi **pan-** *what is tied round* (compounding form!), Sakai **aban** *cloth* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 173; !); ~ Khasi **jympan** *girdle*; ~ (*jrb- >) Mon **həpàn** *skirting-board round outside of house* (B; probably → Burmese **khā:pan**: *skirting-board, monk's girdle*), (A) Gölar Bahnar **həban** (*to put on*) *cloth skirt*.

C: (Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon **hwən** (in sense) *coping [of well]* (or D; ?); ~ Sre **mbən** *to wrap [skirt &c.] round*, Biat **mban** *[woman] to put on [skirt]*; ~ Bahnar **aben** (contaminated by Cham, below), Kontum **bəben** *skirt*.

D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **jympien** *woman's undergarment*.

Bahnar vocalism in C post-palatal, cf. 1054 ***[s]yət**. Note Mon **həpət** *belt*; perhaps by back-borrowing ← Burmese **khā:pat** /**khəba?**/, ultimately connected 1032 ***bat** *to bind*.

Proto-Austronesian ***a(N)bən**: Cham **apən** *woman's waistcloth*, &c., Minangkabau Malay **amban** (& by metathesis **əmban**) *breastband for knapsack, saddle-girth*, Javanese **amběn** *(to fasten) skirt-girdle* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

1174 *[j]baan**; ***[j]buun** bridge, causeway.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **svān**, Modern Khmer **spì:ən** (→ Thai **tàp^haan**, **sap^haan**), Kuy (th)**phì:an** *bridge*; ~ (***[j]rbaan** >) Mon **həpən** *highway*, (or Khmer →?) Stieng **səba:n** *bridge*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **pun** *to pave, to bridge over*.

Or ***so-**; then Kuy **th-** contaminated by Thai.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1175 *dba**an to climb, scale.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **dwān** /**dwan**/ *to assault, march against*, Literary Mon **dwān** *to assault, to climb*, Modern Mon **kwàn** *to climb*, Khmer **pì:ən** *to climb, to march against*.

1176 *rbin**; ***rbən**; ***rban** firm, secure.**

A: (Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Old Mon **rbin** /**rbən**/, Modern Mon **pən** *to be firm, secure* (or B), Mường **pèn** (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **bền** *durable*; ~ (***rmb-** >; or B) Late Middle Mon **lamuìn**, Modern Mon **kəmìn** *constantly*.

B, C: (Khasi) Khasi **lpān** *stoutly*; by secondary derivation ~ **pnen**, **pnan** *rigid*.

Add perhaps Khmer **lañbān'**, **rañbān'** *habit* (GUESDON 1930) (B/C; cf. Mon **kəmìn**); & by metathesis Biat **nəp** (& **knəp**!) *firm, durable*. But Connection uncertain Palaung **mūn** *to be secure* (MILNE 1931).

1177 *ḡan**; ***ḡaan** interlaced.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) (Late Middle Mon **tḡan** [**tḡoy**] *to be thronged* contaminated by 910 ***tḡaṇ** *to twist (together)*, which compare,) Mon **bən** [**boa**] *to be interlaced, to throng*, Khmer **pḡən** *interlaced*; ~ Khmer **prəpḡən** *interlaced, heaped up*.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **pì:ən** [**pì:ə**] *to be on top of one another*; ~ **prəpì:ən** *to pile on top of one another*.

heaped up &c. by attraction following.

‡1178 ***ḡun**; ***ḡuun**; ***ḡə[ə]n**; ***ḡut** to heap up.

- A: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Stieng **bun**; ~ Literary Mon *thaḡuin*, *saḡuin* to collect, amass (or C?), Biat **rḡon** to save (up).
- B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Khmer **vvan**, Modern Khmer **pù:n**, Kuy **phù:n** to heap up, Biat **bu:n** to heap up, to amass, Jeh **bo:n** to stack (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **bun** /**buun**/ heap of leaves and branches for burning; → Thai **p^huun** to heap up to overflowing; Toba Batak **bun** to be plentiful (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 35, ***bun**; or A); ~ Biat **mbu:n** heap, Mae Sarian **moun** quantity, (or C) Praok **bun** sum, total.
- C: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Umphai **mbuun** quantity.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Biat **but** to have, possess, contain (?); ~ (***.nḡut** >) Sre **ḡut** heap, stack, mound.
- Cf. preceding; & note Biat **mbuc** heap (< ***.n[ḡ]uc**); Riang-Lang **ṽbuc** heap, band, share, to heap (< ***ḡuuc**).
- (SCHMIDT 1905 60.)
- Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bunbun**: Malay *bumbun* heaped up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 35; Proto-Hesperonesian; Tagalog doubtful, but other Tagalic cognates available); (ii) ***ta(N)bun**: Malay *tambun* heap, embankment, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125-6); (iii) ***tiNbun**: Malay *timbun* heap, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 136; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 312; 299, gather... (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 16.)

1179 ***[ḡ]ḡə[ə]n** to get, obtain.

- A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **bu:n** to get, obtain, to be able to, Kammu-Yuan **pùan** to get, to be able to, Palaung **bun**, Riang-Lang **ṽon**, Praok **pon** to get, obtain.
- Kuy suggests ***.ḡ-**.

1180 ***[ḡ]ḡan**; ***[ḡ]ḡaan** relation by marriage.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar **ban** spouse's sibling's spouse of same sex as speaker (in double marriage alliance); ~ (***[ḡ]nḡan** >) Kuy **kman**, Sre, Biat **ḡan** daughter-in-law.
- B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon **gamān** /**ḡamān**/, Modern Mon **həman** son-in-law.
- Derived perhaps by contraction ***kuən ḡa(a)n**; then cf. for Middle Mon **g-** 903 ***k/n/dīn**.

1181 ***min** to carry in arms.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **mìn**; ~ Bahnar **kəʔmìn**; ~ Old Mon [**bo'**] **minmin** ?/**mnmon**/ nurse.
- (SCHMIDT 1905 50.)

1182 *m[]iən ring round haft of dah &c..

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mìən**, Stieng **miən**, Biat **mɛ:n** (→ Sre, → Röglai, **mɛ:n**?).

Or ***mwìən**, ~ **1208 *wiən coiled...?** Sre may reflect a variant ***m[]iin**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

1183 *man; *maan to be competent.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **man** to be skilled, able.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **mān** [not] to be able, Modern Mon **màn** to win, to be able, Old Khmer **mān**, Modern Khmer **mì:ən** to possess.

Connect obscure Bahnar **gua:n** to be skilled, able (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(SCHMIDT 1905 46.)

1184 *maan to work clay.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **mān** /**man**/ potter's establishment, Modern Mon **màn**, Kuy **mì:ən**, Bahnar **ma:n** to work clay.

Connect **A92 *mɔ(ɔ)n** to mould?

1185 *mun true, manifest.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_mɔn** truly, definitely, Vietnamese **mồn** [môt] to be clear, evident, manifest, Temiar **mun** true (BENJAMIN 1976B 137).

1186 *mun[]; *muun?; *muən[]; *muut pimple.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **mùn** pimple, acne, Biat **mun** [ndɔŋ], Bahnar **mun** pimple; → Cham **mun**, North Röglai [cara]mũn.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **mun** pimple (MILNE 1931), Vietnamese **mụn** boil, pimple; → Jarai **mu:n** acne; ~ Mon **kəmɔn paman!**, Hre **?mɔn**, Sedang **mɔn** pimple.

C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **mùan**, Central Nicobarese **mɔ:n** pimple; → Acehnese **muən**.

D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [nói] **mụt**.

Literary Mon spelling follows learned derivation from Sanskrit **pāman**. Connect Kuy **mìn** (< ***məp**?).

(SMITH 1972 61.)

†1187 *kmun; *kmuun; *kmuən sibling's child.

A: (Mon, ?Central Aslian) Old Mon **kmun** /**kmøn**/ nephew, Modern Mon **mən** sibling's child, (probably, rather than B) Semang **těmun** nephew (i.e. Lanoh; (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 41), by vowel metathesis Temiar **koman** sibling's child (BENJAMIN 1976B 133).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **mun** son's wife; ~ (***knmuun** >) Sre **kəmo:n** sibling's child; → Jarai **amɔn**, Röglai **kəmo:n** sibling's child.

C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **kma:n**, Stieng, Biat, Bahnar **mɔ:n** *sibling's child*, Jeh **mo:n**, Halang **moan** *nephew*, Kammu-Yuan **kəmɔ́:n** *classificatory nephew*, Central Nicobarese **kəmo:ən-[ji-yɔ:l]** *cousin*, Nancowry **kamúansi** *family*; ~ Chrau **kəmo:n** *sibling's child*; → Cham **kamo:n**, North Röglai **kamuān**, Acehnese **kömuən** *sibling's child*.

~ 1127 ***kuun** &c. *child*? Cf. also 1497 ***[g]m[uu]y** &c. *sibling's child*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 50; BLOOD 1966 56; SMITH 1972 76.)

Kharia **ki'min** *daughter-in-law*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 287; Proto-Munda ***kimin**?).

1188 *smin? *to feel kindly towards.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **[chān] smin** ?/smøn/ *to have compassion for*, Vietnamese **mến** *to be fond of*.

1189 *[s][n]muən *hog-plum, Spondias mangifera.*

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **səmoan** (→ Röglai **həmoan**), Chrau **səmuən** *hog-plum, Spondias mangifera*, West Bahnar **həmuən**, East Bahnar **səmuən** *kind of tree with edible leaves and fruit and medicinal bark* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **[soh] mon** (compounding form!) *kind of edible fruit resembling guava*.

1190 *yɔn *to weaken, ebb.*

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **yùən** *to droop, go limp*, Palaung **yɔn** *[population] to dwindle* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **yɔn** *to be poor*, Praok **yɔn** *to fall back, retreat*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **cɔn**, Lawa Umphai **con** *poor*.

***1191 *[t]yun; *[t]yuun** *(to) swing.*

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[t]nyun >) Biat **phun** *to start [cradle] swinging*.

B: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) Mon **cùn!** **[cèa]** *baby's swing*, (~) Kuy **yò:n** **[yì:a]** *swing, to swing*; ~ Riang-Lang **jun** *to swing*.

Mon **cùn**, Kuy **yì:a** by opposite phrasal deformation?

Proto-Austronesian ***t[]-Saiun**: Iban **tayun** *swing*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 115, *(CtT)**ayu(nN)**; Proto-Hesperonesian); ~ ***Saiun** *to swing* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13, ***cəjun**; add Bikol **hayon hayon** *to swing arms*, &c.; → Sre **əyun** *sling cradle, to swing*, Bahnar **əjun** *hammock*).

1192 *riən *to learn.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **riən**, Kuy **rì:n**, Stieng **riən**, Biat **rɛ:n**; probably → Thai **rian**, → Lawa Bo Luang **hlian**, Lawa Umphai **hrían**, Mae Sarian **hian**.

1193 *run; *ruun *Maranta dichotoma reed.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùn**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ru:n** *giant reed*.

Connect by metathesis Khasi **nor** *reed*?

1194 *[b]ruun (& *[b]run?) *intestinal worm*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **pərùn!** (by spelling pronunciation? **barun**, **mrūn**), Khmer **prù:n**, Kuy **phrù:n**, Stieng **brun** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 has **bru:n**), Chrau **vru:n**, Biat **bru:n**.

Connection uncertain Vietnamese **trùn** worm.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)

†1195 *lin? (& *liin[]?) *to trample*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **lǎn** *to tread on*; ~ Mon **plon** *to thresh by driving cattle or buffaloes over*, (variant, or contaminated by 1162 *peen) Biat **ple:n** *to thresh by trampling*; ~ (*[l]nlin? >) Vietnamese **nện** *to trample, ram down*.

Cf. 1153a *t₁een *to tread*.

Sora 'ale(:)n- *to thresh by trampling*.

1196 *[]liin *fat*.

A: (Bahnaric) → Röglai **li:n** *fat, robust*; ~ Sre **kəni:n**, **kənin** *fat, robust*, Biat **ŋle:n** *fat*; ~ Bahnar **ple:n** *fat*.

Connect perhaps (***drlən** >?) Khmer [trəlùk]-trəlùən *to be fat, plump*.

†1197 *liən *to apply manual pressure*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lèn** *to stuff, cram in*; ~ (*[l]nliən >) Palaung **niən** *to strangle, throttle*, (MILNE 1931) *to roll [rice] into a ball*.

Santali **lin** *to press with the hands*, &c.

(PINNOW 1959 335).

1198 *laan *to be deceitful*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **làn**; ~ Khasi **phlan** *to flatter, cheat, to pretend*.

Praok **len** *to deceive* is perhaps ← Shan **lén**.

1199 *lən; *l[a]n *time (quantifier)*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lần**.

B: (Mon) Mon **lòn lan** (or *luən?).

†1200 *lun (?); *luən; *lən (& *lan?) *to pass, to exceed*.

A: (Palaungic; probably, rather than B) Lawa Bo Luang **loan**, Lawa Umphai **lən** *very*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon **l(w)on** /lon/ *to elapse, be past, to surpass, exceed, exceedingly*, Modern Mon **lòn** *also to go past*, Praok **luan** *to go past, to pass, escape*, Vietnamese **luồn** *to pass, sneak [through], slip underneath*; ~ Riang-Lang **pluan** *to project*; → Shan **pùn** *to exceed*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **lùən** *very, excessive (ly)*, (*lan >?) Biat **lan** *past, ago*.

Cf. Sre **lin** to exceed & Nancowry **lián** to reach, (-la) to overtake.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

Proto-Austronesian ***lauan** to overtake: Singhi **rawan**, Maranao **laoan** (BLUST 1970 no. 238; Proto-Hesperonesian).

‡1201 ***lu[u]n**; ***luən** to swallow.

A: (Khasi, North & South Aslian) Sakai **lüt** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 526); ~ Khasi **klun** to gobble, gulp, swallow, Besis **gəloyt**, **gəloyn** to swallow (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

B: (Bahnaric) Biat **rwan** (with **r-** by levelling on derivation), Stieng **luən**, Sre **loan**, Bahnar **luan**, **luən** to swallow; ~ Biat **rɣuan** to swallow; mouthful.

Kuy & Bru have **lù:n** & Pakoh **lo:n**, ← or contaminated by Thai **klun**. Connect 1088 ***t₁luət** &c.?

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***lunlun**: Malay **lulun**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 99); (ii) ***tələn**: Malay **tələn**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134). See BENEDICT 1975 402-3.

‡1201a ***luun**; ***luən** round, to roll.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **lu:n** to roll (up), turn back, wrap up, Biat **lo:n** to roll (up) (v.t.), Khasi **lun** [**pyllun**] perfectly round; ~ (***t₁luun** >) Biat **klō:n** to roll (up) (v.t.), roll into a ball; ~ Khasi **tyllun** to roll (v.i.); ~ Chrau **təklo:n** to roll up by secondary derivation; ~ Khasi **pyllun** (large and) round.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) ~ Stieng **ləpuən** ball of thread &c.; ~ (***bluən** >?) Vietnamese **tròn** to be round; ~ Khasi **pyllon** (small and) round; (?) ~ Mon [**to**] **pəlon** skein; ~ Bru **kalō:n** to roll into a ball.

Cf. Mon **lè lìn** to roll.

Proto-Austronesian ***l₁ulu:** Toba Batak **lulun** rolled up, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 99, ***lulun**; DAHL 1973 § 15.5, 7-8). Cf. Li ***bluan** round, BENEDICT 1975 367.

1202 ***luən**; ***lən** to go, proceed.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **l(w)on** /**lon**/ to go in procession, Modern Mon **lòn** to go from place to place.

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **lan** to go; ~ (***lnlən** >) Praok **nən** to accede, come on [**to**]. SCHMIDT 1905 58 compares Khmer **lùn** to canter.

1203 ***[k]lun** tadpole.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **klun** (→ Röglai **klut**), Chrau **[kə:n] klun**; ~ (***[k]plun** >) Bahnar **plun**.

Cf. 1793 ***luul**.

(SMITH 1972 60.)

1204 ***ɟlan**; ***ɟlaan** *restless*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **trăn** *to roll, toss (in sleep)*.

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klàn** *to be restless, fidget*, Khmer **chli:ən** *incoherent, garrulous* (TANDART 1935), (— **-pì:ən**) *aggressive, threatening*.

†1205 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***t₁ulan** >) ***t₁lan**; ***t₁laan** *python*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Mon **klən**, Old Khmer **tlann**, Modern Khmer **thlan**, Sre, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **klan**, Lawa Bo Luang [saʔəuŋ], **kləuŋ**, Lawa Umphai [saʔoiŋ] **klən**, Khasi **thlen**, **ʔlen**, Vietnamese **trăn** *python*, by vowel metathesis Che' Wong, Jah Hut **talun** *snake*; → Cham, Röglai **klan**, Jarai **tlan**, **klan**, North Röglai **tlat**, Acehnese [ulöə] **lhan** *python*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **tula:n** *python*, Nancowry **tulán**.

(SHAFFER 1965 89; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 321.)

By metathesis Sora **tunal**-[ʔa:d-] *python*.

1206 ***pliin** *marvellous, to marvel*.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (***p[p]liin** >) Sre **pəli:n** *miracle, magic act* (→ Röglai); ~ (***p[r]liin** >) West Bahnar **pəle:n** *to be wide-eyed, look startled* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1207 ***slin**; ***slin** *to go up*.

A: (Viet-Mường) Mường **lênh** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **lên**; ~ (***splin** >?) Mường **trênh** (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **trên** *(to be) above, on*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **lian** *(to go) out*; ~ Praok **klian** *to lift*.

†1208 ***win**; ***wiin**; ***wiən**; ***wən**[?]; ***wan**; ***waan** *coiled, to wind, bend*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **win** *curve, eddy* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese [en]-**win** *(a)round*.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [en]-**weenə** *zigzag*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Khmer **vìən**, Bahnar **wə:n** *to curl up*; ~ Mon **kəwen** *to be curly*, Khmer **krəviən** *to roll up, curl up*, Central Sakai **kör-yuwen** *to be curly*, (~?) Vietnamese **khuyên** *circle, ring*.

D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Chrau **wən** *to wear*, Biat **wən** [man] *to put on [waistcloth]*; ~ (***kwən**? >? ***kwən** >?) Vietnamese **quấn** *to be rolled round, to roll round*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **vəən** *to put round*, Bahnar **wan** *to roll up [e.g. thread]*, Vietnamese **vằn** [vəo] *to be winding, tortuous* (& **oằn**-[oai] *to squirm, writhe*), Central Nicobarese [en]-**wən**-[hələ] *to wind, coil (v.t.)*, Nancowry **hawən** *to roll*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kwán** *to wind [thread &c.]*; ~ Lawa Umphai [maŋ] **mon** *circular*.

F: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **wuan** *to roll, wind*.

F secondary. Add perhaps following; A98 **wan to wear round neck...*; & as derivatives **pwən?* = 1164 **p[]ən[] to wind, coil*; **mwiən* = 1182 **m[]iən ring round haft...* . For Vietnamese *vấn to coil round* see **p[]ən[]*; for *vấn to wring...*, 931 **wəp?*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(?) Kharia *ũĩ to twist*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 317; or : 931 **wip* &c.?).

1208a **wiin; *wiən crippled, deformed.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer *khvɔn cripple, crippled*, Biat *khwi:n disabled, infirm*.

B: (Mon, Khasi; ~ **lwiən* > ?) Mon *wèn to be crooked, deformed*; ~ (**lmwiən* >) Mon *kəmèn cripple*, Khasi *lymmen digitless extremity*.

= preceding?

1209 **kwan to grip, hold.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *kuan to clench, grip with [hand]* (DOURNES 1950), Biat *kwan to hold*, Bahnar *kuan to grasp and hold*; ~ (**knwan* >) Sre *kəman to grip with [hand]*.

(SHAFER 1965 47.)

1210 **swaan nerve, sinew, tendon.*

A: (Bahnaric) Biat *chwa:n*, Bahnar *hua:n*; ~ Chrau *sənwa:n vein, tendon*.

(SMITH 1972 64.)

1211 **san in high degree.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Middle Mon *san very, indeed, certainly*, Bahnar *[suk] san perfect [contentment]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *hun*, Lawa Bo Luang *həuŋ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *hən* (by attraction 1219 **hə(ə)n*) *to be many*; ~ Khmer *sban clear, certain, sure, clearly...* .

Connect obscure Khmer *sùn most, very* (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

1212 **[s]əən to wedge.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *sə:n to wedge, peg*, West Bahnar *tsən, tsēn to raise with wedges*

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1213 **suun; *suən to mould, cast in a mould.*

A: (Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer *so:n to shape, mould [clay, wax, &c.]*, (?) Chrau *su:n to bear [child]*.

B: (Mon) Middle Mon *s(w)on /son/*, Modern Mon *son to cast in a mould*; → Old Burmese *swan*, Modern Burmese *swan:*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26.)

1214 *suun; *suən; *sən five.

A: (Mon, South Aslian) late Old Mon *sūnna* /sun/ in compounds *five*, Modern Mon [cəh] *sən* *fif[teen]*; (by contraction *muəy suun *one five*) ~ Old Mon *m̥sūn*, Modern Mon *pəsən*, Sakai *m̥əsogn* *five* (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 158).

B: (Palaungic; so by contraction ~) Praok *phuan*, Lawa Bo Luang *phoan*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *phən*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riag-Lang *ṭhan*, (by counting deformation on saw *four*?) Khasi *san*; (by contraction) ~ Palaung *phən*.

Cf. Kuy *sə:ŋ*.

(SHAFFER 1965 365.)

(*rnsən, *rnsuun, *rnsuən see 1421 *rmsuum nest.)

1215 *hiən asthma.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic, Viet-Muong) Sre *hian* *asthma*, *tuberculosis* (→ Röglai), Biat *hian* *asthma*, Bahnar *hiən* *to cough*, Bru *ḥən*, Vietnamese [*ḅinh*] *hen* *asthma*.

1216 *haan goose.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *há:n*, Palaung, Lawa Bo Luang *han* *goose*, Khasi *han* *duck*; ↔ Thai *hàan* *goose*, *swan*, Lao *haan*, Shan *ḥăn* *goose*; ~ Mon *əhan* *goose* (< *ṭəhan by popular etymology < *ṭhaan < *hnhaan, cf. Late Old Mon *ṇa-* onomatopoeic prefix?); ~ (*kuən haan > *kṇhaan >?) Khmer *khṇa:n* (→ Biat *kṇa:n*), Kuy *ṇa:n*, Kammu-Yuan *ṇà:n* *goose*.

Connected further Sre, Röglai *tahən*; Cham *liṇu:n*. POU & JENNER 1973 no. 201 derive Khmer from prefix + Ancient Chinese *ṇan* 雁 *wild goose*; whence doubtless Vietnamese *ngan* *swan*, *wild goose*.

1217 *ha[a]n place.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *hān* /han/, Thin *hən* (!; contaminated by Thai *hèn*?); usually weak forms: Old Mon *han* /hən/, Literary Mon *huin*, *han*, Sre *hə* *locative particle*, Khmu' *ha?* *to*, *at*, Palaung *ha* *place*, Riag-Lang *ha*, in compounds *ha-* *place*; *where*; *at*, *on*, *to*, Praok *ha-* in *hakte* *earth*, *territory*, Khasi *ha* *locative particle*, Besis *ha* *at*, *in*, *to*... (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 178 (c)), Central Nicobarese *ən-* *at*, *to*.

Add as derivation 1222 *[t]haan time?

1218 *haan to die.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *há:n*; ~ *phá:n* *to kill*; ~ Biat *pha:n* *corpse*.

1219 *hən; *həən to grow, to increase.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hən** to grow in height, Riang-Lang **ṭhan** to be long.

B: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Thin **hɣn** more, Mường (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **hơn** to surpass, be more than; ~ Khasi **byrhien** [people] in large numbers (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Cf. Proto-Semai ***hii^dn** to grow taller (DIFFLOTH 1977). But connection dubious following

1220 *h[ɔ̌]n; *h[ɔ̌ɔ̌]n to grow.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **hɔ̌n**, Sre **hon** [plants] to grow (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **ha:n** to sprout, Sre **ho:n**, Chrau, Biat **hɔ̌:n**, Central Rölöm **hɔ̌an** [plants] to grow, Bahnar **hɔ̌:n** to grow.

Connection dubious preceding.

(BLOOD 1966 53.)

1221 *khɔ̌n thick, to congeal.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **khɔ̌n** [liquids] to be muddy, dirty, viscous, thick, Khmer **khɔ̌n** to congeal, become viscous, to crystallize.

Note Burmese **khan:** to be dried up, referred at BENEDICT 1972 166 n. 444 to Tibeto-Burman ***ka(ʔ)n** (: Ancient Chinese **kan** 乾 dry, ib. 191). But separate Kammu-Yuan **khun** dregs, Thin **khūn** to be dirty, muddy (< ***ksun?**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

***1222 *[t]haan time.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **tha:n**; ~ (***[t]phaan** or ***[t]mhaan** >) Palaung **phan** (MILNE 1931), Praok **[ju] phan**.

Riang-Lang **pan** era is ← Shan **pán**. ~ 1217 ***ha[a]n** place?

Remo **tam-[me]** (PINNOW 1959 184; ?).

***1223 *dhaan branch, palm-frond.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **thì:ən** [slɤk] palm-frond, Biat **tha:n** branch, fork, Kontum Bahnar **tha:n** branch (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 789 ***dhaaŋ**, with similar semantics.

Proto-Austronesian ***daqan:** Malay **dahan**, Cham **tha:n** branch, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41, ***[dd]ahan**; SHORTO 1975 92 n. 27).

See BENEDICT 1975 240-1.

1224 *ʔap; *ʔaap to suffer constraint.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***[p]nʔap** >) Biat **ɗap** to master, subdue.

B: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Literary Mon **'āp** to be constrained by, Bahnar **a:p** [not] difficult; since, by the effort of (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; ?); ~ Old Mon **p'āp** /pʔap/ to compel, hold in subjection, Vietnamese **áp-[ou̯c** &c.] to oppress.

Connect Bahnar **pəɛ:p** to subjugate.

1225 *ʔap; *ʔaap; *ʔəp *dark, to shade*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer ʔap *mist, darkness, to obscure* (→ Cham ʔap *n.*), Palaung əp *to be dark* (probably, rather than C), Rieng-Lang ʔəp *shadow, to overshadow*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung ap *to be dark*, Central Nicobarese a:p *to close lid*, Nancowry ʔáp *to be shut*; ~ West Bahnar aa:p *shady retreat* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Palaung iʔap *darkness*.

C: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan əp *cloudy*, Central Nicobarese ʔb *mist, fog*, (— cəka:) *overcast sky*.

Cf. 1268 *yup &c. *overcast sky*.

(*ʔuup see 1295 *haap *to eat*.)

1226 *kʔip; *[k]ʔiip; *kʔiəp; *kʔə[]p; *kʔup; *kʔaip; *khaip *centipede*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau kəʔup; ~ Sre kərip.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat e:p, Jeh kajip, Halang gəji:p, Kammu-Yuan kəʔi:p, (!) Lawa Bo Luang saʔaic, Lawa Umphai saʔaip.

C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar kəe:p, Proto-Semai *kʔeep (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese kəe:əp, Nancowry kaʔiáp; (or D) ~ Khasi nep [har-har].

D, E: (South Bahnaric) Stieng kuə:p, kə:p, Biat op.

F, G: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer kʔaep, Kuy (kh)hə:p, Bru kahi:p.

E secondary from D, F-G from C. Lawa s- obscure. Cf. Thin kəʔit (beside kəʔip *scorpion*), Besis kiʔit (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 66, which see). (SHAFFER 1965 360; SMITH 1972 184.)

1227 *cʔaap *smelling of fish*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔa:p *smelling of fish*, Biat [bɔ:u cri? bɔ:u] a:p *to stink*; ~ (*cnʔaap >) Chrau cənda:p *smelling of fish*.

1228 *rʔip; *rʔiip; *rʔiəp *to close [eyes]*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi [khap]-rip *to wink*; ~ (*rnʔip >) Sre by sandhi nim [mat] *to close [eyes]*, Bahnar ʔnip *to blink, wink*, Khasi [khap] ngip *to close eyes*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrip *to look with eyes half closed, wink*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng ri:p (or A?), Praok yip *to close [eyes]*; → Shan yēp *to blink*; ~ Biat je:p *to close [eyes]*, Lawa Bo Luang hnip, Lawa Umphai rahnip *to close, shut*; ~ (*rrʔiip >) Mon hərep *to wink*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi khrib(-khrib) *twinkling*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **tɛp-tɛp** to blink, **tɛ:p**, Thin **yap**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **yiap** to close eyes; ~ (***rnʔiəp** by palatal absorption >) Chrau **ɲəm [mat]** to close [eyes] (by sandhi, with secondary lengthening), Vietnamese **nhấp [nháy]** to blink, wink, twinkle (& **nhắm [mắt]** to close [eyes], by sandhi & phrasal assonance), Central Nicobarese **ɲəp-** to wink, blink, Nancowry **ɲóp** [~ **ɲóp**]; ~ (***rpʔiəp** >) Khmer **ph'əp** to move [lips] nervously, to blink (GUESDON 1930); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Literary Mon **tha'ep** to close, shut (probably), Thin **kǎnʔyǒp** to close mouth, Palaung **kəŋɲəp** to close [eyes], to wink, blink (MILNE 1931); (ii) Palaung **kəŋʔiəp [ɲay]** wink.

†‡1229 ***sʔaap** to yawn.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **kəa:p** (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **həa:p**), Jeh **kaʔa:p**, Halang **kəʔa:p** (or < derivation?), Riang-Lang **ʔap**; → Jarai **h'a:p**; ~ (***snʔaap** >) Mon **həap**, Khmer **sɲa:p**, Kuy **ɲʔa:p**, Sre **ɲgap**, Chrau **ɲga:p**, Biat **ɲga:p [bic]**, Bahnar **kəʔɲa:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 **hɲa:p**), Thin **hɲap**, Lawa **ɲa:p** to yawn, Khasi **sngab** gills, Central Nicobarese **hiŋ-a:p** yawn, Nancowry **hiŋáp**; → Röglai **ɲgap**, North Röglai **samaʔã:ʔ** to yawn; probably Thai **ɲáp** [mouth] opening and closing rapidly.

Cf. Palaung **hiəp**.

(SMITH 1972 197.)

(Connect) Kharia **aŋ-gə'b-ɬaʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 373a; Sora has **ɑ(·)ŋ-e:m-da:-, ʔe:bʔ**).

Proto-Austronesian ***Suab**: Malay **uap**, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 428; add as prefixed forms (i, ***təʔ[]-Suab**) to belch, DEMPWOLFF 1938 133, ***təʔab**, less Tagalog; with Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***təR₂R₂ab**, NOTHOFFER 1975 77; Bikol **tig-áb**, &c.; (ii) Acehnese **göröʔəb, gömöʔəb** to belch). Cf. further ***[]aŋap** to open mouth, DEMPWOLFF 1938 15; ***Səgab** to gasp for air, DEMPWOLFF 1938 63 (Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 427.

1230 ***[s]ʔəp** (to) sweat.

A: (Khasi, Central Aslian) Khasi **s'ep** sweat, to sweat, Sakai **sěöpⁿ** sweat (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 533); ~ Sakai **seng[']öp** to sweat (i.e. Semai; ib.).

†‡1231 ***kap**; ***kaap** to bite.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, North & Central Aslian) Kuy, Chrau, Bunör, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang, Kensiu **kap**, Temiar **kab**; ~ Central Sakai **kikap** to bite; ~ (***[k]rkap** >) Khmer **trəkap** to snap up (TANDART 1935; beside **trəkùp**!); ~ Khasi **jkap** snapping with teeth, **jkep** to bite with teeth.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[op]-ka:p-[hətə]**, **ka:pə** to bite, Nancowry **ʔupkəp**, ~ **kanəp** tooth.

(SHAFFER 1965 9; BLOOD 1966 356; SMITH 1972 191; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227-8.) Sora **ka:b-** (& **küb-, kib-**), Mundari **ha'b**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 294).

(Proto-Austronesian ***kabkab**) Pangasinan **kabká** *to gnaw*, Pampangan **kabká** *to bite*.

1232 *kap to fasten.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **khap** *to fasten, close*; ~ Sre **bəkap** *to fasten*.

Cf. 1240 ***p-gap** *to join*.

1233 *kaap chin.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ká:p**, Riang-Lang **ṭkap**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **kap**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ṭgap**.

(SHAFFER 1965 9.)

1234 *kəp time.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **kup**, **kip** /**kəp**/, Modern Mon **kəp** *time*, Bahnar **kəp** *moment*, Palaung **kəp** *time* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **kap[si]** [*to*] *morrow*, Khasi **khəp** *occasion, time, turn*.

1235 *k[ɔɔ]p (& *kəp?); *k[a]p; *kaap tortoise, turtle.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ko:p** *swamp turtle*, Sre **kop** (< ***kəp**?) *small species of terrestrial tortoise*, Chrau, Biat **kə:p** *tortoise*, Bahnar **kə:p** *tortoise, tortoise shell*, Jeh **ko:p**, Halang **koap** *turtle*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **kəp kəp** *tortoise* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ka:p** *turtle*, Nancowry **kap** (or B?).

A conceivably by secondary labialization.

(SHAFFER 1965 11; SMITH 1972 202.)

††**1236 *[c]kiip; *ckiəp, *t_[1]kiəp; *ckap, *t₁kap; *[c]kuəp to pinch, grip.**

A: (Palaungic) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sakaip** *narrow*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **kep** **skep** *to pinch, grip with claws*, Khmer **kiəp** *to grip with tongs* (or = **kìəp** < 1239 ***giəp**, which connect?), **thkiəp** *to grip with claws or tongs*, Khmu' **ke:p** *to grip with tongs*, Thin **skěp** *to carry under arm*, Lawa Bo Luang **kheap** *narrow*; ~ (***.nkiəp** >) Kuy **ṭki:p** *to pick up with tongs &c., pick fruit with forked pole*, Biat **nce:p** *to carry on hip*; ~ Khmer **dəṅkiəp**, **təṅkiəp** *claws, tongs*; ~ (***cmkiəp** >?) Praok [**sikhəp**] **sigəp** *narrow*; ~ (***crkiəp** >) Middle Mon **sakep** (with *s-* by levelling on simplex), Modern Mon **həkep**, Khmu' **srke:p**, Lawa Bo Luang **sakeap**, Lawa Umphai **sakep** *tongs*; by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **nēp** *tongs* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **thkap** *to grip with tongs*, Vietnamese **cáp** *to carry under arm*; ~ Biat **ṭkap** *to grip with tongs*, Khasi **tyngkhap** *to insert between, place under arm, hide* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Mường **cáp** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **gắp** *to pick up with chopsticks*; ~ Khmer **dəṅkap**, Biat **ṭkap** *tongs*; ~ Sre **səkap** *tongs* (→ Röglai); by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **nap** *tongs*.

D: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Praok **sikhəp** *narrow*.

A similar initial alternance is suspected in following. Connected further 1312 ***ckiəm** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26, 28; cf. SHAFER 1965 49, 318; SMITH 1972 185.)

Sora 'sakab- to grip (v.i.) ~ sab'ka'b-, 'sakka'b- to grip with tongs ~ 'sakkab-['la:ŋ-ən] tongs ~ sənabka'b° tongs.

Proto-Austronesian *t'i(N)kəp: Malay **sikap** *close-fitting*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153; incorporating *t'i(N)kap to grasp, ib., cf. Cebuano Bisayan **sikup** *kind of bird of prey*, = Malay **burong sikap**). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

†1237 ***ckup**, (?) ***dkup**; ***ckuup**; ***ckuəp**; ***ckəp**; ***ckəəp**, *[d]kəəp; ***ckap**; ***[c]gəp** to cover.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre **kup** to take, seize, catch, Biat **kop** to put lid on, cover over, Khasi **kop**, **skop** cover; ~ Temiar **cərkəb** to close (BENJAMIN 1976B 158); (→ Burmese **dukut** monk's shawl); (or *[c]g-?) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **knup** rainshield.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ko:p-[hətə]** to close hand, Nancowry **ʔupkūp** to fold arms against cold &c.; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋkú:p** to cover e.g. with net; ~ Chrau **nko:p** husk.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **ka:p** to catch, hold, arrest, Bru **kəəp**.

D: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Muong, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Mon **kəp** to catch with a fish-basket, Literary Mon **skuip** to cover (or, with derivatives), Khmer **kəp** to bury, hide by burying, Central Sakai **köp** to get, catch; ~ Middle Mon **sakuip**, Modern Mon **həkəp** lid, Central Sakai **jərkəp** cover; (?) ~ Old Mon **dukup** /**dəkəp**/ chief, Literary Mon **dakuip** also lid, cover, Modern Mon **həkəp**; ~ Proto-Nyah Kur *[c]əŋkəp cover, lid (DIFFLOTH 1984 V163a); ~ Temiar **cənkəb** lid (BENJAMIN 1976B 146); ~ Khmer **bəŋkəp** to bury, hide by secondary derivation, (~?) Vietnamese **gáp** to fold, to close [book]; (or F/G?) ~ Nicobaric **hakəpŋaca?** to cover sth. tightly.

E: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gə:p** rock shelter, overhead cover (< *[d]k-); ~ Biat **ŋkə:p** field shelter, Chrau **səkə:p** lean-to, shed.

F: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian) Sre **kap** quantifier for clothes (DOURNES 1950), Khasi **skap** husk, Central Sakai **kap** to get, catch.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **kəp** to cover, Riang-Lang **_kap** to put on, wear; ~ Bahnar **həgəp** cave.

A similar init. alternance in preceding; but ***dk-** perhaps by metathesis < 1261 ***k-dukup** &c.; or ← Austronesian ***takub**, &c., below. Add A102 ***kəp** to wait, lie in wait for?

(SHAHER 1965 529.)

Sora **kub-** to be covered up, **in'kub-** to put on a cover or veil.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kubkub**: Javanese **kukub** *covered*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected further ***ta(N)kub** *to cover; lid* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128); ***təkub** *to cover, shut* (BLUST 1973 no. 109; Proto-Hesperonesian); ***tu(N)kup** *to cover*. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 142); ***tikup** *to shut, close* (BLUST 1973 no. 114; Proto-Hesperonesian); &c.; (ii) ***kəbkəb**: Javanese **kəkēb** *lid*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 76-7; Proto-Hesperonesian); connected ***təkəp** *to cover; covering* (BLUST 1973 no. 108; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 258-9.

(*t_[1]kiəp, *t₁kap see 1236 *[c]kiip *to pinch, grip*; *[d]kəəp, *dkup see above.)

†1238 ***[p]kup; *pkuup; *pkuəp; *pkap** *inverted, face down*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ku:p** *to bend down, hide, to turn upside down* (or B), Bahnar **kup** *to bow, greet respectfully; face down*; ~ Chrau **ŋkup** *face down, prone*, Biat **ŋkop** *to turn over on one's face*, (— **ŋke:ŋ**) *to overturn*, (~? by secondary derivation?) Bahnar **səkup** *to be upside down*.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ˀkup** *to fall prone*; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Palaung **səkup**, Riang-Lang **ˀsəkup** *to overturn*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **səŋkú:p** *to turn upside down*, Riang-Lang **ˀsənkup** *to overturn*, Praok **gup** *to fall prone*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **[kup] kəp** *[to lie] face down* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Proto-Semai ***kəəp** *to lie (face down)* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

D: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **phkap** *to turn upside down, to lie face down*; ~ (?Old Mon **pu'kap** /pəkəp/,) Modern Mon **həkəp** *to overt, turn upside down*.

Or ***kup** &c., ***kap kap** > ***pkap**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 10, 16.)

Proto-Austronesian ***taNkub**: Malay **tangkop** *face down*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128; & variants, in ***-p** also, usually glossed *to cover*; cf. preceding). Cf. also Malay **lukup**, **lungkup** *inverted, capsized*, Acehese **lungkəb** *[to lie] face down*.

Senses *face down, to overturn* may be limited to Sumatra & Java languages; then ← or contaminated by Mon-Khmer?

†1239 ***giəp; *gap; *gaap** *to grip, squeeze*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kìəp** (TANDART 1935; & **thkìəp**, = or contaminated by **thkìəp** < 1236 ***tkìəp**, which connect), Stieng **giəp**, Bahnar **ge:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **giəp** *to grip with tongs*, Vietnamese **kəp** *to press, squeeze*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Vietnamese **căp** *to nip, grip*, Nancowry **káp** *to hold*; ~ Biat **ŋgap** *to press, squeeze*.

C: (Khmer, Nicobaric) Khmer **kì:əp** *to press, squeeze*, Central Nicobarese **[hə]-ka:pi-[yənde]** *to grasp*.

Cf. Thai **kʰiip** *to grip with tongs or claws*; ← a variant ***giip**? Connected further 1242 ***[t]ga(a)p** *fork, clamp, to clamp*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 49.)

Sora **gab-**['tur-] *to hold between fingers or in fork, to pinch* (or : ***[t]ga(a)p**?).

POU & JENNER 1973 no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese **yiēp** 挾 *to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry...*

‡1240 ***gap**; ***gaap**; ***gup** *fit, fitting, sufficient.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Mon **gap** /**gəp**/ *to be fit for, fit to, pleasing to*, Modern Mon **kòp** *to suffice*, (— **kò**) *ought, to be fit to*, Old Khmer **gap**, Modern Khmer **kəp** *fitting*, Bahnar **gap** *just enough* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **gap** *enough*, Jeh **gap** *adequately*, Praok **kup** *to suffice*; → Cham **kəp** *enough, just right*, Jarai **gap** *to suffice*, North Röglai **gap** [si] *enough*; ~ (***pgap** >) Middle Mon **pagap** [**gwor**] *to make fit*, Modern Mon **pəkòp** *to put together, join, to harness*, Khmer **phkəp** *to please, to adapt, adjust*, (or ***pgaap** >, with secondary shortening) Sre **gap** *to tie together*; ~ Khmer **caṅgāp** *joint* (GUESDON 1930) (cf. usual **dəŋkəp** &c.), (or B?) Central Sakai **janggap** *hip*.

B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **ga:p** *to suffice*, Biat **ga:p** *suitable, enough*, Central Nicobarese **ka:p**-[**tuələ**] *tight [knot]*, Nancowry **hakəp** *to fix, to fit*; ~ Kontum Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **bəga:p** *to harness together; growing together*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **gəp** *enough*.

C secondary. *To join by attraction* 1232 ***kap** *to fasten?* Cf. following, & Khmer **kù:əp** *fold, to join*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36.)

Proto-Austronesian ***gənəp** (sc. ***g/ən/əp**): Malay **gənap** *complete...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 54; Proto-Hesperonesian).

But connection dubious Sora **a(·)b-** *to fit, to be fit*.

1241 ***gəp**; ***gap** *friend, to associate.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kùp gap** *to associate with, meet*, Sre **gəp** *friend*, Biat **gəp** *I*; (?) → Cham **kəw?** *kin, one another*, Röglai **gəu** *friend*, North Röglai **gə?** *sibling*, Acehnese **gəb** *person, people*; ~ (***gməp** >) Biat **məp** *to meet*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Central Rölöm **gap** *friend* (BLOOD 1976), Khasi [**ia**] **kap** *to make an alliance, meet friends with*; ~ Mường **căp** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **gặp** *to meet*.

B by attraction preceding? Or A contaminated by (rather than →) Indonesian?

1242 *[t]gap; *[t]gaap *fork, clamp, to clamp*.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **kap** *prong*; by secondary derivation (?) ~ **khn̄ap** *cloven hoof*; ~ (*g[r]nap >) Bahnar **gənap** *reinforced rim of basket, binding*.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kèp gāp** *fork of tree, to be forked, to sit astride*, Khmer **ka:p** *frame, crucible tongs, cramp-iron* (& by levelling on derivation, below, Khmer **thgāp** *to keep [legs] pressed together*) (GUESDON 1930), Stieng **ga:p** *to take in tongs, clamp*, Sre **gap** (or < A?) *to fasten [thatch, rim of basket &c.]*, Jeh **ga:p** *to hold with slit stick* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979) (& Bahnar **ga:p** *to bind rim of basket &c., to hold or fasten with clamp*; ← Jeh, or < *g-?), Palaung **gap** *to affix*, Vietnamese **cáp** *rim, edge, to edge mat*; → Cham **kà?**, Jarai **ga:p**, North Röglai **ga?** *to bind rim of basket &c.*; ~ Khmer **prək̄i:əp** *fork* (!; GUESDON 1930 has **tragāp**); by secondary derivation (?) ~ (*g[r]n- >) Sre **gənap** *bamboo fastening of thatch or basket* (DOURNES 1950; or A?), Jeh **kanə:p** *split stick*, Halang **gəna:p** *sticks for roasting fish*; (or A?) → North Röglai **ganā?** *frame of rim of basket*.
- Connect 1239 *giəp &c. *to grip, squeeze*, with which there is contamination; so *ga(a)p, if to be constructed as variants, are secondary. POU & JENNER no. 168 cite Ancient Chinese **kap** 挾 *to press, clasp under the arm, pinch, carry*, **kap** 夾 *to press from two sides, squeeze*, **kap** 挟 *pincers, chopsticks*.
- Sora **gab-**['tur-] *to hold between fingers...* is more probably : 1239 *ga(a)p. (SHAFFER 1965 109; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 59.)

1242a *ŋ[a]p; *ŋaap; *ŋuup (*early*) *morning*.

- A: (Palaungic) Praok [pon] **ŋəp** (!) *morning*, Lawa **ŋəp** *early morning*.
- B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang **ŋap** *to get up early*, Khasi **ngab** *early in the morning*.
- C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ŋup** *morning*; ~ Mae Sariang **sa?ŋaup** *dawn*.
Praok perhaps < *ŋuəp; back vocalism secondary.

1243 *cap; *caap; *ciəp; *cip; *cup *to seize*.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Asian) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer **cap** *to seize, catch*, Stieng **cap** *to take, accept*, Semai I **cap** *to hold*; → Thai **càp**; ~ Biat **map** *prey*.
- B: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **ca:p** *to catch, hold, between forefinger and thumb*, Central Nicobarese [op]-[ja:pə] *to seize*.
- C: (North Bahnaric, North & Central Asian) Kintaq Bong **cəp**, Jah Hut **cə:p** *to hold*; ~ (*ciəp by palatal absorption > *.cəp >) Bahnar **cəp** *to take hold of*.
- D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **cɔp** *to take a pinch of*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **ɲip** *to catch*.
- E: (Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **ɲup** *to take*, Biat **ɲup** *to seize*; ~ Bahnar **cup** *to seize with claws, take between fingers* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- C-E secondary. Bahnar ultimately < *pcap < *cap cap?
(SHAFFER 1965 361; BLOOD 1966 163; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 49 (a).)

1243a * [ʔ]caap *kind of small bird.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **ca:p** *sparrow*, Kuy [cɛ:m] **ca:p** *weaver bird*, *Ploceus philippinus*, Bahnar **ca:p** *paddy-field pipit*, *Anthus novae-seelandiae richardi*.

1244 * [ʔ]cuup; * [ʔ]cuəp; * [ʔ]ciəp *to put on, wear.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **cup**, Praok **cup**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **caup** *to wear*.

B: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **sop** *to cover, wrap, thatch*; ~ Central Nicobarese **opcuəp** *woman's waistcloth*, Nancowry (ʔu)**cúap**.

C: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese [hai]-**ciəp**-[hətə] *to put on [woman's waistcloth]*; ~ **opciəp** *woman's waistcloth*.

C probably secondary. Note also Bru **səp**, **sup** *to wear [ring]* (or rather 1245?).

(***kciip** see 1252a * [k]ti[]p *cockroach*...)

1244a *krcaap *scales of fish.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **krəsa:p**, Chrau **gəsa:p**, Biat **rcha:p**, (Bahnar **kəca:p** ←?) **Jeh kaca:p**, Halang **kəca:p**.

(SMITH 1972 195.)

†1245 *bciip; *bciəp; *bcəp; *bcap; *bcaip; *bcup; *bcuup; *bcuəp *to adjoin, adhere.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **cip** *to be set edge to edge* (→ Burmese **cip**), Bahnar **ji:p** *joined edge to edge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **bsiap** *to put between two things, to insert*, **siap** *to insert*, (~?) Palaung **siəp** *to pile neatly, to lay [one thing] on another in a pile* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Khmer, Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang **ˀsap** *to put in, on*; → Shan **shāp** *to thrust into*; ~ Khmer **pracap'** *to cohere* (GUESDON 1930).

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **cap** /**cəp**/, Modern Mon **cəp**, Khmer **cəp** *to adhere*, Biat **cap** *to fasten together*, Sre **cap** *to fasten together; bundle, sheaf*, Palaung **cəp** *to affix* (or < C, or ← Burmese), Khasi **bsap** *to mix with, to insert*, Vietnamese **cháp** *to join, assemble*; → Cham **ca?** *to tie together*, Jarai **cap** *to tie up*; Burmese **cap** *to join*, → Shan **səp** *to be connected with*, whence ultimately Riang-Lang **tərcap** (**tər-** reciprocal) *to be connected with, to connect*; by secondary derivation ~ Mon **phyəp**, Khmer **phcəp** *to join*.

E: (Kuy, Khmuic) ~ Kuy **cə:p** [*shut*] *tight*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərsá:p** [**òm**] *confluence*.

F: (Palaungic; ~?) Palaung **suəp** *to join, to connected* (MILNE 1931); → Shan **sūp** *joint, to join*, whence ultimately Riang-Lang **tərsuəp** *joint, link*.

G: (Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) ~ Palaung **kərcup** *to be close together* (MILNE 1931), (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **giúp** *to help*.

H: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **op-ʃuəp**-[hətə] *to attach extra gunwale*.

Secondary are E, to B; & F-H, cf. Munda. Add following?

(SCHMIDT 1905 12.) (I) Kharia **ji'b** *to touch*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 283); (II) Sora **ja:b-** *to touch, to stick*, **jab-'jab-** *to abut*.

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***t'it'ip**: Malay **sisip** *to insert*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 155; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1246 *[b]cuəp**; ***[b]cəp** *to repair to, repair together, meet*.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cu:əp**, **cù:əp** *to meet (together)*, Sre **cop** (!) *to visit*, Biat **cə:p** [**uəp**] *to inspect*; ~ Kuy **cu:p** *to come together, come back to starting-point together*, (~?; by secondary derivation, **ta-** reciprocal) Stieng **tacuə:p** *to meet, join*.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Old Mon **cup** /**cəp**/ *to arrive at, come to*, Modern Mon **cəp** *to arrive (at)*, Kuy **səp** *to meet, encounter*; ~ Middle Mon [**n'ā**] **bacuip** *to bring to*, Modern Mon **həcəp** *to hand to, to conduct*.

= preceding? Connection uncertain Kensiu **cub**, Temiar **ci:b** *to walk* (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 42).

1247 *jəp** *horsefly*.**

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **chù:əp**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **jə:p**, Jeh **jo:p**, Halang **joap**. (SMITH 1972 203.)

1248 *gja** *solid, stout*.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **cəp**, **khečəp** *solid, enduring*, Kuy **chàp** *tough, stout*, Stieng **jap** *solid*, Central Rölöm **jap** *solid, strong*, Bahnar [**kəjap**] **jap**, **yap** *very solid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **kəljap** *solid, hard*, Bahnar **kəjap** *solid*, Jeh **kajap**, Halang **gəjap** *sturdy*; → Rōglai **kəjap** (& **gənap** < ***gənjap**), Malay **kəjap**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 44; BLOOD 1966 347; SMITH 1972 193.)

1249 *jnja** *to flutter*.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həyəp** *to flap, f.[wings]*, Khmer [**haə**] **cùənci:əp** *to flutter about* (TANDART 1935).

Cf. (i) **1267 *yəp** &c. *to move up and down*; (ii) Proto-Austronesian ***t'aiap**: Cham **thya:w?**, &c., Acehnese **sayöəb**, Malay, Iban **sayap** *wing*, Ivatan **sayáp** *to fly* (so Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. SHORTO 1975 88).

1250 *t₁ap**; ***t₁əp** *to pierce*.**

A: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **dap** *to cut into*, Kammu-Yuan **táp** *to prick, pierce*.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **tap** *to stab, pierce* (probably, rather than A), Stieng **ta:p** *to pierce*, Bahnar **trəp** *to stick into the ground, to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **tàp** *to set in ground*, Halang **təp** *to put in ground*; ~ Biat **ntəp** *to stab, spear, goad*, Bahnar **hətəp** *to stick into the ground, to pierce* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B originally by hypercorrection on dialects which have **ta-** < ***tə-**? (BLOOD 1966 126.)

‡1251 *t₁aap to slap.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Stieng, Sre, Chrau **ta:p** to *clap, slap*, Biat, Jeh **ta:p** to *slap*, Bahnar, Halang **ta:p** to *slap, hit*, Praok **tap** to *strike, beat*, Khasi **thab** to *hit with hand, slap*.

Khmer **təp** to *hit with fist* is ← Thai **tòp**.

(SMITH 1972 198; cf. SHAFER 1965 76.)

Proto-Austronesian *t₂abt₂ab: Javanese **tatab** to *beat*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; DAHL 1973 § 14.12). See BENEDICT 1975 228-9, *beat*.

‡1252 *t₁əp; *t₁əəp; *t₁ip; *t₁up to bury, cover.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon **tip** /**təp**/, Modern Mon **təp**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***təp** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V166), Kuy, Biat **təp**, Stieng **ta:p**, Chrau, Bunör **təp**, Central Rölöm **tap** to *bury*, Khasi **thep** to *entomb [bones]*, (~?) **təp** to *bury*; ~ Khmer **dəndəp**, **təndəp** to *wrap oneself in, cover (oneself)*; ~ Riang-Lang **səntap** *shelter*.

B: (Bahnaric) Rōngao **tə:p** to *bury* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***ktəəp** >) Chrau **cə:p** [**mat**] *eyelash*.

C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***tip** [*hole*] to *be covered up* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian, ?Mon) Sakai **tup** to *cover* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 183), Semang **tūb** to *sow* (i.e. Jehai; ib. P 132; contaminated by 1343 ***p-t₂əm**); → Acehnese **tob** to *close, cover*; ~ Mon **hətop** *cover, lid, flap* (or ← variant?); → Cham **hatu?**, **tu?** *lid of pot*; ~ Sre **tərnop** *lath covering joint in planking*.

Primacy of forms uncertain. Cf. 1261 ***dəp** &c. to *cover*; 1273 ***rup** &c. to *cover* (BLOOD 1966 130; SMITH 1972 182.)

Mundari **topa** to *bury, to cover*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***tutup**: Malay **tutup** to *shut, to cover*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 144); (ii) perhaps ***qatəp**: Malay **atap** *roof*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 16, *-; 62, ***h-**; DYEN 1953 § 117). See BENEDICT 1975 406-7, *thatch*.

1252a *[k]ti[]p; *[k]tiəp; *[k]t[ə]p; *ktup; *kciip cockroach, vermin.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tip** *cockroach*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **teap**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təp** *flea*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **tə:p**, Biat **tap** [**dər**] *cockroach*, Nancowry **muptáp** *flea*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **cup** *cockroach*.

E: (Katuic) Kuy (?a:) **si:p** *cockroach*.

Note Riang-Lang **sup** **sap** *cockroach* Lawa perhaps by contamination, cf. Palaung **sətiər** *flea*; so *-t₁- not certain.

1253 *[k]t₁ap egg.

A: (Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, ?North Aslian) Sre, Biat **tap**, Chrau **cap**, Temiar **tab** (!), Shom Pe Nicobar **ka'te:əb**, (? , by assimilation) Jehai, Semnam **kətəd**; ~ Bahnar, Halang **kətap**, Jeh **katap**.

Cf. 1348a *kt₁əm.

(SHAFFER 1965 359, 398; BLOOD 1966 376; SMITH 1972 190; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 36.)

1254 *ktaap to catch up (with), be in time.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đáp** to catch [train &c.]; ~ Old Mon **kintāp** /**kəntap**/ to have time to, Modern Mon **hətap** to have time to, to catch up, to catch [train...].

*1255 *[k]t₁əp cloud, precipitation.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kətp** dew, mist, Riang-Lang **təp** snow, mist, cloud. (~?) Kharia **tì'ri'b** c., &c. (PINNOW 1959 284; Proto-Munda ***tirib**).

1256 *kntəp dove.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat **ntəp**, Chrau **gətəp**, Bahnar **kətəp**.

Cf. Stieng **təp**; BLOOD 1966 401 pigeon has Stieng **təp**, Sre **ntəp**. Onomatopoeic? (SHAFFER 1965 569.)

1256a *kntuəp; *kntap grasshopper.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **kəndəp**.

B: (Mon) Mon **hətp** **khatap**, **gatap**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəntap** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N40). Khmer vocalism post-dental.

1257 *jt₁ap layer, to superimpose.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **tap** /**təp**/ times, -fold, Modern Mon **təp** to place in sequence, to fold, Kuy with secondary lengthening **thəp** to lie, lay, on top of, Sre **tap** layer, to be superimposed, Chrau, Biat **tap** layer, Mường **táp** (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese **đắp** to pile up; → Burmese **thap** layer, → Middle Mon **thap**, Modern Mon **thəp**, → Bru **təp**, **thəp** to fold one layer over another; ~ Khmer **sɾətəp**, Jeh **ratap** to fold one layer over another (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **syrtap** fold, layer.

Cf. following & Central Nicobarese **kəta:pə** pile.

1257a *pntup; *[p]ntuəp to add.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **bəntəp** to pile up (contaminated by preceding?).

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **ntəp** to add (to), add one by one.

1258 *dap stockade, military unit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Middle Mon **dap** stockade, Modern Mon **tòp** stockade, military unit, Old Khmer **dāp** to bar, Middle Khmer **dāp** fence, Modern Mon **təp** army, Bru **təp** hut in forest; → Burmese **tap** military unit, fortification, probably → Palaung **təp** army (MILNE 1931); Cham **təp** earth rampart; Thai **tʰáp** army.

1259 *daap low.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tì:əp** to be low, small in height, Kuy **thì:ap** low, Bru **tiap**, (~ *pdaap > ?) Sre **da:p** to lower, place lower down (DOURNES 1950).

†1260 *dəp to block, dam.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **dap**, Modern Khmer **tùp** to block, dam (≠ to cover, < following, which compare), Kuy with secondary lengthening **thà:p**, Chrau **dəp** (& by metathesis Biat **bət**) to dam, Riang-Lang **_tap** to stop, dam, Vietnamese **đập** dam; → Shan **təp** to dam; ~ Khmer **khtùp** to block, close; ~ (*krdəp >) Bahnar **kədəp** (in sense) to block.

Sora **dab-** to obstruct, dam (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 42.)

1261 *dəp; *dəəp; *dap; *daap; *dup; *duup; *duəp; *[d]ip; *diəp to cover.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **tùp dap**', Sre **dəp** to cover, Biat **[kəp] dəp** to lie in wait for, Bahnar **dəp**, Palaung **dəp**, Praok **təp** to cover, Vietnamese **nấp** to hide; ~ Sre **ndəp** to cover, Chrau **ndəp [mat]** invisible, Biat **ndəp** hidden, covered; ~ Old Mon **kđip /kđəp/**, Modern Mon **dəp** head (& Nyah Kur **kđəp**); ~ Mon **hədəp** to fold over, close (or B, E, H?), Stieng **kəldə:p** to shut [door, window], Sre **kəldəp** to cover over, Chrau **gədəp** to cover hole, Bahnar **kədəp** to hide from sight, to shelter; handful, Khasi **khyrdep** to shut [door] without fastening, slam [door], (or C?) Central Nicobarese **kərap-[hətə]** to catch [bird] in trap, shut [door, window]; ~ Central Nicobarese **kəndəp** bird-trap (or C?); ~ Sre **bənəp** cover, lid, West Bahnar **hənəp**, **rənəp** cover, lid; in shelter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **də:p** to catch with hand, take what is held out, Biat **də:p** to receive; ~ Bahnar **kə:nə:p** to take shelter; ~ Chrau **pəndə:p** to catch, seize.

C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) ~ Khmer **kdap** to hold tightly in hand, close [hand]; ~ Vietnamese **nấp** cover, lid, (probably, rather than A) Central Nicobarese **dənəp** cloth cover.

D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang **tuap** to shut, Central Nicobarese **da:pə**, **[op]-da:p-[həʃe]** to spread cloth; ~ Central Nicobarese **dəna:p** cloth cover.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) ~ Khasi **kdup** to cover, embrace, envelop, defend, protect; ~ Khasi **kyndup** double handful; overhang, Central Nicobarese **kendup** covering or wrapping of leaves; ~ Sre **bənəp**, **bənəp** cover, lid (DOURNES 1950). Connect Nancowry **tóp** to cover oneself, **kutóp** fist,

F: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **du:p** to *hide, to cover [mouth]* (or **E**), Riang-Lang **dup** to *cover [pots &c.]*, Vietnamese **núp** to *hide, take cover*; ~ Khmer **kdaop** [*flower*] to *close; to stop up, cover with hand*; ~ Thin **kəndop** to *fish with a fish-basket*; ~ Khasi **kyndub** *shelter*; ~ (***k[r]đuup** >) Bahnar **kədo:p** *fistfull; to cover, shelter*.

G: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon **hədop** to *close, fold*, Bahnar **kədo:p**, **kədo:p** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

H: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **kəntɔp** [**srɔy**] *fez, woman's cap*.

I: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **nép** to *hide oneself*.

In Eastern languages largely merged with (& otherwise contaminated by) preceding.

Cf. also 1252 ***t₁əp** &c. to *bury, cover*; 1273 ***rup** &c. to *cover*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 462; BLOOD 1966 124; SMITH 1972 201.)

(i) Sora **dab-**, Kharia **ɖa'b** to *cover*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 3); (ii) Sora **dub-** to *shut, close*, ~ **kun'dub-** to *hold in fist, (-ən) handful*.

(***cdi(i)p**, ***cdəp** see 1040 ***cɕiit** *sticky...*.)

*1262 ***[j]ɖaap** to *pass hand along*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **dap** to *dab on, sponge*, Khmer **stɨ:əp** to *touch, feel, stroke, grope for*.

Connect by metathesis 1042 ***[j]ɖat** &c. to *feel, grasp*.

(Proto-Austronesian ***adap adap**?) Ilocano **dapadap** to *touch, feel*.

1263 ***[j]ɖəp** to *shore up*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon **sɖuip** [**ska**] to *shore up, help, support*, Khmer **stùp sɖap'** to *hold up, set [prop] against*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **phtùp** to *place against, prop*.

1264 ***ɖəp**; ***ɖəap** to *touch, adjoin*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phtəp** *adjoining*; ~ **bəntəp** *next* by analogy; ~ (***bbəp** >) Literary Mon [**sarap**] **phaɖap** to *bring near, come near*, Kuy **nthəp** to *arrange next to one another*, Sre **dap** to *pass, hand to*, Biat **dap** to *lay [floor], fasten [saddle]*.

B: (Mon) Mon **dap** to *touch, adjoin*.

Cf. Chrau **də:p** to *pass, hand to*; contaminated by 1261 ***ɖəp** in sense to *receive*; or causative of it?

*1265 ***[b]aap** *father*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **ba:p**, Chrau **va:p**.

Proto-Austronesian ***bapa(S)**: Malay **bapa**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 24; less Malagasy, cf. DAHL 1973 § 20.5; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-West-Indonesian).

1266 ***[g]ɕip**; ***[g]ɕiip** *species of wildfowl*.

A: (Mon) Old Mon **ɕup** /**ɕop**/ *ruddy shelduck*, Modern Mon **bop** *ruddy shelduck*, (—**mèa**) *cotton teal*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **bi:p** *duck, teal*, Gölar Bahnar *cotton teal* (?; *sarcelle de Coromandel*).

Not obviously onomatopoeic

1266a ***yap**; ***yaap** *to die, be extinguished*.

A: (Khasi, Nicobaric) Khasi **ïap** *to die*; ~ Central Nicobarese **pɔin-ɲap** *corpse* (!; with contextually conditioned vocalism?); ~ **pomɲap-[hətə]** *to extinguish by pressure or cover*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Bahnar **ɲa:p** *deceased person*, Central Nicobarese **pəmɲa:p** *corpse*, Nancowry **paɲáp** *to die*, **pamaɲáp** *corpse*.

Cf. **B93** ***yuum** &c. *to die*; **1268** ***yup** &c. *dark*.

1267 ***yəp**; ***yəəp**; ***yaap** *to move up and down*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **ʔyúp** (!) *wagging the ears*, Vietnamese **nháp-[nhô]** *to go up and down especially on water*; ~ Palaung **rəyəp** *fan*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **yup** *to fan, beckon, shake up and down*, **yup yup** *to shake up and down*, Riang-Lang [**sim**] **yəp yəp** *wagtail*.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **yap** *to sift [rice] by tossing*.

C contaminated by **1249** ***ɲjaap** *to flutter*, or ← Tibeto-Burman, below? Connect Praok **yip** *to wave*, Lawa Umphai **yip** *fan*; & note Mon **həyɕm dayuim** (< ***ɲnj**-?) *to flourish with a wrist movement*; Tibeto-Burman ***ya'p** *to fan, winnow, paddle*, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 92.

***1268** ***yup**; ***y[uu]p**; ***yəp** *dark*.

A: (Khasi, North & Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric) Proto-Semai ***yup** *evening* (DIFFLOTH 1977), (?) Central Nicobarese **ɕup-[heŋ]** [*sun*] *set*; ~ (***bnyup** >) Khasi **bñiup** *(very) misty*...

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **hiu:p** *twilight*; → Cham **su:p**, Röglai **siup** *twilight*.

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **yùp yap'** *night*, Bahnar **yəp** *shade*; ~ → Cham **tàyəw?** *dusk*; ~ (*[**ɲyəp** >) Stieng **ɲa:p**, Chrau [**nar**] **ɲəp** *sunset*, Bahnar **ɲip** *sudden disappearance of light*.

Cf. **1225** ***ʔap** &c. *dark*...; **1328** ***[c][uə]m** *night*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d).)

Santali **əju'b** *evening, nightfall*, &c. ~ Santali **ɲubə?** *(to become) dark*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 128, 280.)

1269 *riip (& *rip?) grass.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Biat **re:p**, Praok **rip**, Lawa Bo Luang **raic**, Lawa Umphai **raip**, Mae Sariang **yaip**; ~ Khmer **trɔp** *floating mat of vegetation* (ad variant?); ~ Sre **səmprip** *tall grass* (DOURNES 1950); ~ (?) Nancowry **ʔép** *to plant*.
(SHAFFER 1965 313.)

1269a *riəp to arrange.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rìəp** *to prepare, arrange*, Kuy **rì:p** *to lay [board floor]*, Stieng **riəp** *to prepare*, Biat **re:p** *to arrange*; ~ Bru **pariəp** *align edge to edge*.

†1270 *rap to help.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi (**ia-**)**rap**.
Cf. 1390 ***rum** &c.
Sora **rab-**.

1271 *rap to count.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) (Old Mon **rap** /**rəp**/ (?) *to keep a record of*), Modern Mon **ròp** *to keep [accounts]*, Khmer **rəp** *to count, calculate*; → Cham **rap** [**ʔan**] *to estimate*; ~ (***rnap** >; properly nominal, or by metathesis < ***rnap**?) Sre **nap** *to count, check total of*, Kammu-Yuan **nəp** *to count*; → Lao **nap** *to count*.
Cf. Stieng **ruəp**, **rə:p** *to count, calculate*.

***1272 *rəp adjacent, to surround.**

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **rəp**, Praok **rop** *to surround*; → Shan **həp**; ~ Mon **krəp** *to be near, to keep close, to be nearly*; ~ (***[k]prəp** >) Mon **kəp** *vicinity, near*, Khmer **prə:p** *near*; ~ Khasi [**jing**]-**bynrop** *accompaniment*.
Cf. Sre **rip** *near*, **rəp** *about to*; Khasi **bynrap** *to place together with*.
Proto-Austronesian ***kəp**: Acehnese **krab** *close together*, Malay **kəp** *close [texture], frequent*, Javanese **kəp** *close together, frequent* (so Proto-Malayo Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham).

††1273 *rup; *ruup; *ruəp; *rəp; *rəəp to cover.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) ~ Khmer **kənrup** **kandrup** *dark gloomy place, made dark by overhanging branches &c.*, Biat **ndrup** *lid*; ~ (***[t]rr-** >; or B?) Khasi **tyllup** *to cover up completely* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).
B: (Khmer, Kuy, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Khmer **kraop** *to cover, hide; lid*; ~ Stieng **gru:p** *to cover, stop up* (or A?); ~ Kuy **tro:p** *to cover with e.g. fowl-basket*.
C: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **ru:p** *to hide, bury*; ~ West Bahnar **krə:p** *hidden, hiding* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Middle Mon **grop** /**grop**/, Modern Mon **kròp** *to cover*; ~ Old Mon **ginrop** *screen*, Modern Mon **həp** *cloth cover*.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) ~ Khmer **krùp grap'** (to) cover (TANDART 1935); ~ Khasi **trep** temporary hut; ~ **tyllep** to overwhelm, to cover up (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Khmer **srəp** [elephants] to stand in shade, Kuy **sap** to cover with blanket &c.

E: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **rəp** to be shady, [birds &c.] to cover [sky]; ~ Riang-Lang **rəp** to wrap, cover (with), spread over.

Add perhaps as derivation **1277 *gruup** to invert... . Connect (originally < D with secondary lengthening?) Old Khmer **karap** cover, Modern Khmer **krə:p** to cover; covering (& **kùmrə:p** n.), Kuy **khru:ap** (to cover with) lid; perhaps **A107b *kraap** to hide, take shelter; & cf. **1252 *təp** &c. to bury, cover; **1261 *dəp** &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT 1905 40; BLOOD 1966 165.)

(i) Sora **rub-** to cover, put lid on; ~ Santali **həru'b** to cover, &c. (PINNOW 1959 309);
(ii) Kharia **ra'b** to bury (ib).

Proto-Austronesian ***ruqub(ruqub)**: Sundanese **rurub** to cover with sheet, Javanese **lurub** shroud, &c., Samar-Leyte Bisayan **loób** to cover, Cebuano **lúub** to incubate (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 105, ***rurub**; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1274 *rup (& *ruup?) to fight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **rop**, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **rup**.
= following?

***1275 *ruup; *rəp; *rap; *rip to seize, take hold of, catch.**

A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Khasi) Bahnar **ro:p** to seize, capture, hunt, fish, confiscate, grasp, Jeh **rup** to catch, Halang **ru:p** to capture, Bru **ro:p** to grasp; → Khamti Shan **hōp** to seize [prey]; ~ Khasi **kynrup** to pounce on, seize.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **rəp** to put arms round, Stieng **ra:p** to obtain, attain, overcome, Palaung **rəp** to receive, to catch in net, Riang-Lang **rəp** to hold, to receive, Praok **rəp** to receive; ~ Bahnar **hədrəp** fowler's net, **kədrəp** trap for birds.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Old Mon **rap /rəp/**, Modern Mon **rəp** to hold, grasp, capture, Kuy with secondary lengthening **rà:p** to receive, accept, Kammu-Yuan **rəp** to catch, to receive, welcome; → Thai **ráp** to receive, accept ~ Bahnar **krap** to put arms round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or B?) Thin **grūp** to catch.

D: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **rùp** to confiscate (→ Thai **ríp** to seize, → Khmer **rəp** (TANDART 1935)); ~ Bahnar **krip** to seize; ~ Khasi **shrip** fish-trap.

Add perhaps preceding; **B85 *ruup** fishing-net; & cf. **1273 *rup** &c. to cover. (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 187.)

Proto-Austronesian ***[r]aqup** to scoop up: Malay **raup** to scoop with both hands, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 101, ***lahup**; NOTHOFFER 1975 175; add Acehnese **rahob** to wash one's face, perhaps Karo Batak **n-dahup** to bring food to mouth with fingers).

(***ruəp** see further **1389 *rum** to assemble.)

1276 *grap seed.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **krəp** *grain, seed, nut*, Stieng **grap** *seed* (BLOOD 1966); ~ Chrau **ṅgrap** *seed*.
 Conceivably by metathesis ~ *bgar = 1574 *[]gar.
 (BLOOD 1966 346.)

1277 *gruup to invert, to lie face down.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng **gru:p** *to turn upside down*, Palaung **grup**, Praok **krup** *to make obeisance*, Vietnamese **súp** *to prostrate oneself*; → Shan **khùp** *to make obeisance*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənrù:p** *to turn upside down, to lie upside down*.
 Khasi **khru:p** *on one's knees* is perhaps by metathesis < *[]rku(u)p, ad 1238
 *[p]ku(u)p *inverted, face down* ~ 1273 *ruup *to cover*?

1278 *[c]mrəp to tremble.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[chi] hərəp samrap**, Khmer **cəmprəp**.
 Initial correspondence obscure; perhaps variant-prefix forms.

1279 *triəp; *tra[i]p to be clamped, pinned.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon **kre:p** *to be interposed between two surfaces, jammed, cramped*, Khmer **triəp** *packed close together*, (~?) West Bahnar **jəre:p** *to wedge between two props* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*tnriəp >) Jeh **dre:p** *to stab and pin down* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*tmriəp >) Bahnar **kəmre:p** *to be crushed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **krəp** *to press between two surfaces, press together*; ~ Bahnar **kəmra:p** *to be crushed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

***1280 *trəp wet, waterlogged.**

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **krəp** *to wallow*, Biat **[da:k] trəp** *mud*, Bahnar **trəp** *moist and shady [lair, wallow]*; ~ (*tbrəp >) Middle Mon **taruip** *to provide with sustenance*, Modern Mon **kərp** *to lead to water*, (by metathesis, or ~ by secundary derivation) West Bahnar **pəkrəp** *to wet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **pəkrə:p** *waterlogged*; with expressive lengthening?); ~ Mon **kərp** *heavy rain*.
 Cf. Bahnar **(h)atre:p** *large and wet*, **(h)atre:p** *small and wet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 (~) Sora **'rab-[da:n]** *flood, spate*.

1281 *t₁rəp to fall down.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **hənrùp** *to (stumble and) fall over*, Palaung **təkrəp** *[branch] to break, [house] to fall down* (MILNE 1931).

1282 *srap ready, prepared.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **srap** *read*, Vietnamese **sắp** *to be arranged; to be about to*; → Thai **sèt-sàp** *finished, completed*; ~ (***sbrap** >) Old Mon **surap** /sərəp/ *to put ready at hand*, Stieng **səbrap** *to prepare* (BLOOD 1966), Sre **prap** *to arrange, to keep*, Chrau **prap** *to put away*, Biat **prap** [ɔn] *to put aside*, Vietnamese **sắp** (in senses) *to arrange, put in order*; ~ Biat **ndrap** *to make ready*. (BLOOD 1966 370.)

†1283 *srup; *sruup to suck, drink.

- A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hrup** *to drink* (MILNE 1931).
 B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **sro:p** *to absorb, suck up, swallow up, gulp in*, Palaung **hrup** (MILNE 1931), Praok **rup** *to drink*, (?; by metathesis ***rsuup** >, or Tai →) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **sup** *to sip, suck*.
 Sora **sə'rub-** *to suck, sip, drink noisily*, Kharia **su'ru'b** *to breathe, to gargle, &c.* (PINNOW 1959 354).
 Proto-Austronesian (i) ***t'urup**: Javanese **surup** *to enter; penetrated, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158); (ii) ***t'ərəp**: Malay **sərap** *to absorb, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 151). Rather than ***t'[]-Siɣup** *to drink noisily* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 152, ***t'iyup**, Proto-West-Indonesian), ~ ***siɣup** (DYEN 1965; DEMPWOLFF 1938 64, ***h-**), ultimately → Biat **rho:p** *to suck up, to swallow, to sniff*, **iro:p** *to absorb*. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 381, *sip*; 400, *suck*.

(***sruup** see also 1400 ***sruum** *to sheathe*.)

1284 *b[h]raap pigeon.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **pharāp** ?/phərap/, Modern Mon **hərap**, Khmer **prɪ:əp**, Kuy [ɕɛ:m] **phrɪ:ap**, Stieng **bra:p, pra:p**; → Thai [nók] **pʰíráap**; (?) Sanskrit **pārāvate-**, Pali **pārāpata-**.
 Onomatopoeic; initial irregularities cannot be explained by borrowing Sanskrit. (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1285 *lip; *l[ə]p to spread (v.t.).

- A: (South Bahnaric) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **lip**, Central Rölöm **lup** *to spread on, spread out*.
 B: (Palaungic) Praok **lop** *to spread*; ~ Palaung **hləp** *to spread out* (MILNE 1931). (BLOOD 1966 142.)

1286 *liip; *liəp; *d-lap to know, be used to.

- A: (Central Aslian) Semnam **li:p** *to know*.
 B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Old Mon **lep** /lep/, Modern Mon **lèp** *to be versed in, know how to*, Central Nicobarese **le:əp** *to be able to, know how to*, Nancowry **líap**.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **thl̥əp**, Kuy with secondary lengthening **thl̥a:p** *to be accustomed to*; ~ (***dnlap** >) Palaung **nəp** *to know*, Khasi **nap** *to be able to, to indulge in*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1286a *liəp *to lick*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **liəp** *to lick tentatively*, Sre **liap** (beside **lep**; loanword?) *to lick*, Khasi **liap-liap** *licking lightly, lapping, flickering*.

Cf. 1409 *[c]lim? &c.

***1287 *ləp**, (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ləbləb** >) ***bləp**; ***lup**; ***luup** (& ***luəp**?) *to immerse*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Asian; *1-) Bahnar **ləp** *to inundate*, Semang **lab** *to wash* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 22A); ~ (***cr̥ləp** >?) Bahnar **həlx̥p** *to inundate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***cnləp** >) Stieng **at̥ɲa:p**, Sre **ɲhəp** *to immerse oneself*, Biat **ɲəp** [*stars*] *to set*, (— **da:k**) *to immerse oneself*; ~ Mon **kələp taluip** *to overflow* (or B), Khmer **trələp** [*scent &c.*] *to be diffused*; ~ (***pnləp** by metathesis >, or by secondary derivation) Khasi **phyrnəp** *to dip, plunge, to duck*; (***bl-**) Old Mon **blip** /**bləp**/, Modern Mon **pl̥əp** *to immerse oneself, bathe*, Stieng **blə:p** [*kite*] *to fall to earth*; ~ Old Mon **birlup** *ritual bathing*, Biat **rla:p** [**da:k**] *inundation* (with vocalism as in **mphla:n** ad 927 ***ləp**).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer **l̥əp lup** *to wash* (& *to erase*, cf. foll); ~ Bahnar **ɲup** *to immerse oneself*, (or ***-uəp**?) Khasi [**ngam**] **jyllop** *to be immersed, drowned* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ Khasi **phyrnop** *to dip, plunge, to duck*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) ~ (***t̥luup** >) Bahnar **klu:p** *to capsize* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **hlup** *to inundate* (MILNE 1931); ~ Central Nicobarese **pomlo:p-[fire]** [*harpooned turtle*] *to sink*.

Cf. 423 ***lək** &c. ...*to be immersed*; 721 ***ləŋ** *to be immersed*; 854 ***ləc** &c. *to be flooded, to sink*; 1077 ***li[i]t** &c. *to be extinguished*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SMITH 1972 181.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ləbləb**: Javanese **lələp** (!) *forced under water*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 93-4; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8); (ii) ***k'əlub**: Malay **chələp** *to immerse*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 83; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). See BENEDICT 1975 400, *submerge*.

***1288 *lup**; ***luup**; ***luəp**; ***l[ə]p**; ***lap**; ***lip**; ***liip**; ***liəp** *to enter*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **l̥əp lup**, **lap'** *to delete, efface, erase* (?; cf. semantically Khasi, F), Kuy **l̥əp** *dark, cloudy, dim*; *to erase*, Bru **l̥əp** *to erase*; ~ Bahnar **hlup** *to go into, through [door, hole]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **l̥əp** *to enter*, Chrau **lu:p** *cloudy*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon **lop** /**lo:p**/, Literary Mon **lop** *to enter*; ~ Old Mon, Modern Mon **plop** *to bring in*.

- D:** (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **la:p** *to enter*, (probably, rather than **E**) Palaung **ləp** [*sun*] *to go in*, [*moon*] *to have fully waned*; ~ Palaung **hləp** *to put in*, (MILNE 1931) *to set*.
- E:** (by hypercorrection from dialects in which ***lə-** > **la-**?; Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **lap** *to enter*, Bahnar **lap** *to fit, be equal to*; ~ Stieng **klap** *to insert*; ~ Sre **sənap** *to force in*, mount [*dah-blade*] *in hilt*, Biat **ŋlap** *to force in, to incorporate*.
- F:** (Khmer, ?Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer **lùp** *to withdraw*, [*sun*] *to go in*, (or **G**?) Khasi **lip** *to be extinguished, to extinguish*, Besis **lep** *to enter* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 76 (b)).
- G:** (Palaungic) Palaung **lip** *to enter*, Praok **lip** [**lu**] *to enter [trance]*; ~ Praok **klip** [*sun*] *to set*.
- H:** (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh **kliap**, Halang **gliap** [*sun*] *to set*.
- Cf. Stieng **lu:m** *to go in, to go over [obstruction]*.
- Proto-Austronesian ***luub**: Acehnese **lob** *to enter through narrow opening, to set*, Pangasinan **loób** *inside, to enter*, by metathesis Proto-Ambonese ***lobo** *to enter* (STRESEMANN 1927) (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

(***kli(i)p** see 445 ***pliik** *shoulder*.)

1289 *klap; *klaap to cover, shut, enclose (sep. *lap box?).

- A:** (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic, ?Central Aslian) Jeh **klap** *to cover [pan]* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Old Mon **kinlap** /**kənləp**/ *book, volume*, Modern Mon **kənp** *sheath, scabbard, volume with covers*, Biat **ŋlap**, Bahnar **təŋlap** (!) *box*, Jeh **kalap** *lid* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bru **klap** *small box* (Kuy **tlap** ← Thai); ~ Sakai **tərlap** (!) *to shut* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 182 (a); or **B**); by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khlap** *to shut*.
- B:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar **kla:p** *to shut, stop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (or ~ by secondary derivation, cf. Palaung) Praok **klap** *to shut*; ~ Thin **kənlap** (& **cənlap**) *to shut door*; ~ Stieng **kala:p** *bamboo tube with lid*; ~ (***kplaap** >) Vietnamese **tráp** *wooden container, betel-box*.
- Cf. further Bahnar **təŋləp** *lid* (& **klə:p**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, = **klə:p**); East Bahnar **tələ:p** *lid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bahnar **aŋlə:p**, Kontum Bahnar **hnə:p** *sheath*.
Bahnar **təŋlə:p** by dissimilation, Sakai **tərl-** by assimilation?

1290 *klaap flying white ant.

- A:** (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Jeh **kla:p**, Kammu-Yuan **klá:p**; ~ (***knlaap** >) Stieng **kəla:p** *kind of flying ant*, Sre **kəna:p** *white ant*, Biat **ŋla:p**, Halang **kəla:p** *flying white ant* (→ Bahnar?).
- (SHAFFER 1965 503; SMITH 1972 196.)

(***bləp** see 1287 ***ləp** *to immerse*.)

1291 *slaap wing.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sla:p**, Kuy **sla:p**, **lha:p**; ~ Stieng **səkla:p** [kəna:], (~?) Chrau **sənla:p** *feathers of arrow*.

1292 *saap tasteless, without effect.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **sa:p** *insipid, tasteless; fresh [water]; powerless, ineffective*, Kuy **sa:p** [spell] *to wear off*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **sa:p** *tasteless*; ~ Sre **bəsa:p** *tasteless*.
(SMITH 1972 200.)

1292a *səp to suffice.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **səp** *to be just right*, Sre **səp** *enough*, Biat [bic] **chəp** [to sleep] *one's fill*; (Khmer ***səp**, cf. derivation) → Thai **sòp** *every* [Editor's note: we were unable to confirm Shorto's gloss, although we did confirm the form as a Northern Thai gloss: *to meet, come upon*], → Khmer **sùp** *sufficient, complete...* by back-borrowing; ~ Khmer **səmnəp** *satisfying, pleasing*.

***1293 *ksip to whisper.**

A: (Khmer, Khasi) Khmer **khsɿp**, Khasi [kren] **sip-sip**.
Cf. Kammu-Yuan **há:p-há:p-hiáp-hiáp**.
By metathesis Proto-Austronesian ***bit'ik**: Malay **bisek**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31; Proto-West-Indonesian).

1294 *hiip; *[h]iəp; *həp; *haip to suck in, to inhale.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **hi:p**; ~ Chrau **phə:p** *to nose-kiss*; ~ Sre **rəhip** *to sniff, inhale*, Bahnar **hri:p** *to sniff, inhale, to suck*; → Jarai **hrip** *to suck up*.
B: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **ʔiə:p** *to suck (blood of), to pump up*, Bru **yiip** *to suck*; ~ **hrēp** = **hri:p** *to sniff, inhale, to suck* → Acehnese **sriəb**, **r(h)iəb** *to suck up, to snuff up*.
C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **həp** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [hō]-**háp** *to inhale*.
D: (Khmer) Khmer **haep** *to come up for air*.
Add Lanoh Yir **hup** *to breathe?* Cf. 1296 ***thəəp** *to sniff*; 1104 ***hiit** &c. *to sniff...*; 1299 ***ihim** *to breathe...*

1295 *haap; *hup; *huup; *ʔuup to eat.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Bahnaric) Old Mon **hāp** /**hap**/, Modern Mon **hap** *to eat [rice]*, Palaung **hap** *food, to eat*; ~ West Bahnar **həna:p** *mess, eaters at one dish* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (?; East Bahnar **səna:p**!).
B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **hup** *to lift [food -bag] to mouth*; ~ Khasi **kahup** *to gulp, gobble*.
C: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ho:p** *to eat*, Vietnamese **húp** *to slurp [rice-gruel]*.
D: (Palaungic) Lawa **ʔaup** *cooked rice*.

Cf. Khasi **kahap** to *snap at*, perhaps contaminated by 1231 ***kap** to *bite* or connected Tibeto-Burman ***hap** to *snap, bite* (BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 89); but note Kenaboi **lihap** to *bite*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 227 (b).
(SHAFFER 1965 270.)

(***khaip** see 1226 ***kʔip** centipede.)

1296 *thəp to sniff.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **thaep** to *sniff, to nose-kiss*, Chrau, Biat **thəp** to *smell, sniff*.

Connect 1294 ***hiip** &c. ...to *inhale*?

1297 *ʔam not.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu dials. **əm**, Thin **ʔəm**, Khasi **em, ym**.

Connect (i) Riag-Lang **_nam** (& Nyah Kur dials. **nam, nəm** not [yet]); (ii) Praok **aŋ**.

1298 *ʔ[ɔ]m water.

(Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **əm**, Palaung **om**, Riag-Lang **ʔom**, Khasi **um**; ~ Praok **rəm**, Lawa Bo Luang **laʔaum**, Lawa Umphai **raʔaum**, Mae Sariang **yaʔaum, laʔaum**.

(SHAFFER 1965 397.)

(*ʔum see 1426 ***huum** to *bathe*.)

†1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***iʔim** > ***yəm** by dissimilation, Pre-Palaungic &c. ***ʔiim**; ***ih[i]m** > ***yhə(ə)m**, secondarily > ***yhu(ə)m** to *breathe, live*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Mon **yəm** to *breathe*, Riag-Lang **im**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **ʔaim**, Palaung, Praok, Khasi **im** to *live, be alive*, Central Nicobarese **eyə:m** *breath*, **eyə:m-[ləŋ]** to *breathe*, Nancowry **ʔiyúam** to *breathe; life*; → Cham **yum** in *good health*; ~ Old Mon **yumyūm** /**yəmyəm**/, Modern Mon **pəyəm** *life*; by secondary derivation ~ (*-**yəm** >) Kammu-Yuan **həpɲəm** *breath, heart*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) ~ (***inh[i]m** >) Sre **nhəm**, Chrau **nəm**, Biat **nhəm**, Bahnar **jəhŋəm** *breathe* (& Rongao, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **jəhe:m**, perhaps < simplex), Temiar **hənum** to *breathe*, by phrasal contraction (cf. e.g. Sre **taʔ nhəm** to *breathe*) Khmer **dəŋhaəm** *breath*; ~ (***inh[i]m** >) Kuy **phha:m** *heart, mind*, Palaung **phəm** *breathe*, Riag-Lang **ʔphəm** *breath, life, to breathe*, Praok **bəm** *air, breath*, Khasi **msiem** *soul, breath*, Mendriq **nəphəp**, Semelai **ʔamhəm** to *breathe*; by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaphaum**, Lawa Umphai **raphaum**, Mae Sariang **yaphaum, laphaum** *spirit, mind*.

Cf. 1428 ***khuum** to *blow*.

(BLOOD 1966 125; SMITH 1972 14; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 389 (a).)

Sora [toŋ]-'je:m- *to breathe, to sigh*, -'je:m- *to blow* (PINNOW 1959 K 313).

Mon-Khmer → Proto-Austronesian *k'i(S)um *to nose-kiss* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, *k'ijum; Proto-West-Indonesian; Malay → Javanese in view of Acehnese com, &c.)?

1300 *[k]ʔim; *[k]ʔiəm *onion*.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; ~ *[k][l]ʔim >) Khmer khtùm (→ Biat kdum), Bahnar kədim.

B: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre iam (→ Röglai jam); ~ Kuy (kh)thì:m *onion, garlic* (→ Thai krat^hiam *garlic*), West Bahnar kəde:m (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh kadium, Halang gədiam *onion*.

(SMITH 1972 35.)

1301 *c[n]ʔaam *span*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cəmʔa:m (by assimilation, or ~?), Sre na:m, Chrau səndə:m, Biat nʔa:m.

1301a *cʔəəm *nauseated*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer chʔəəm; ~ Biat mʔu:m.

951 *cʔən *sated, cloyed contaminated* by 1304 *t₂um[] &c. *rotten*?

1302 *jʔiəm *smoke*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Semnam jiʔa:m; ~ (*jnʔiəm >) Khmer chɲiəm *smelling of burning*, Stieng ɲiəm, (?) Sakai nyäm [os] *smoke* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 298).

(SHAFFER 1965 151.)

1303 *[t₁]ʔaam (*molar*) *tooth*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Nyah Kur n̩ək kəʔáam *molar*, Bahnar taa:m *molar* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Shom Pě Nicobaric t̩aa:m *tooth*; ~ Khasi t̩yng-am *jawbone*.

Cf. 1318 *d̩gam &c. *molar tooth, jaw*.

1304 *t₂ʔum[]; *t₂ʔuum[]; *t₂ʔam[]; *t₂huums; *t₂ham[] *rotten*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ (*t₂nʔum[] >) Mon həim *to stink*; ~ (*t₂pʔum[] >) Chrau pəʔum *stale*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre ɔum, Chrau ɔ:m *rotten*, Biat ɔ:m *stinking, to rot*, Bahnar ɔ:m *rotten, stinking*; ~ (*t₂pʔuum[] >) Khmer phʔɔ:m *musty, sour-smelling*, Sre poʔoum *to stink*, Praok siʔum *to decay*, Lawa Bo Luang saʔum *to rot*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung əm *rotten*; ~ Lawa Umphai saʔeum *to rot*.

D: (Viet-Muong) Vietnamese thũm *to smell bad*.

E: (Palaungic; ~ *t₂pham[] >) Riang-Lang ʔkhəm *to be rotten*.

(BLOOD 1966 11.)

‡1305 *[m]ʔəəm *cloud*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang ʔpəʔəəm *cloud, to be cloudy*, Praok [pay] ɔm *cloud*, Lawa Bo Luang [mbia]ʔaəm *mist*.

Proto-Austronesian *[ʔəm[ʔəm) Rukai, Saisiat *əməm (BENEDICT 1975 254, which compare).

Cf. Proto-Miao-Yao *ɔm (BENEDICT 1975).

1306 *[sʔ]iəm *younger sibling*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy se:m *younger sibling*, Bru ʔɛ:m *younger sibling*, Stieng iəm *elder sibling*, Kammu-Yuan hé:m! *younger sibling of same sex as speaker*, Vietnamese em *younger sibling*.

Kuy, Kammu-Yuan < secondary *sy-?

‡1307 *[s]ʔəm; *[s]ʔəəm; *[s]ʔuum; *[s]ʔuəm; *[ʔhəm *warm*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer sʔəm *warm, to warm, heat*, Vietnamese ám *to be warm*, (~?) Kuy sʔam *warm*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi pyr-em *spring season*.

B: (Palaungic; ~?) Riang-Lang ʔsəʔəm *to be warm*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar ɔm *happy*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi byr-um *tepid*.

D: (Khasi, ?Palaungic) Palaung ɔm, Riang-Lang ʔwɔm *to be pungent in taste (?)*, Khasi [s'aid] om-om *slightly [warm]*; → Acehnese sōʔuəm, tōʔuəm *warm, hot, to grill, to apply heat medicinally*.

E: (Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese hām *to warm up*; ~ Khasi rhem *hot*.

Tone of Vietnamese ám suggests *cʔ-; Bahnar vocalism compatible with either construction (cf. 335a *đuuk; 527 *cuuŋ). Back vocalism secondary?

(Proto-Austronesian *[ʔəm[ʔəm) Ilocano anem-em *heating up, to heat [water]*. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 365, *to ripen fruit...* (V).

†1308 *kam *arrow*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon kaṃ /kɔm/ *arrow, projectile*, Modern Mon kɔm *bullet, cartridge*, Khmer kam *projectile*, Kuy, Sre, Chrau, Biat kam, Kammu-Yuan kám, Mnar ha:m *arrow*; ~ Khasi khnam *arrow*. (BLOOD 1966 354.)

Sora aʔa:m-ən, compounding form a:m-ən, Kharia kɔm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 265).

(*kaams see 1420 *ksaam *(to catch) cold*.)

1309 *[ʔkə[ə]m *roof-ridge*.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar kɔ:m *thatch at ridge of roof* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre (with secondary shortening?) rəkəm *roof-ridge*.

†1310 ***kom**; ***koom** to associate, assemble.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Muong, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *kuṃ* /*kəm*/ also, Mon *kəm* also, usually auxiliary verb, to accompany (A), Old Mon *kom* /*kom*/ to associate, Modern Mon *kom* to assemble; assembly (B), Bahnar *kum* (& *kum*) also (A), *kɔ:m* to collect together (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Riang-Lang *ṭkəm* together with, Semang *kom* much (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 46); ~ (**krk*- > ; B) Middle Mon *grakwom* /*gəkom*/, Modern Mon *həkom* company, assembly, (A?) Biat *rkəm* bunch, cluster; ~ Bahnar *akəm*, *akum*, Gölar Bahnar *həkum* to assemble (v.i), to gather (v.t.) (A), Vietnamese *gom* to gather [money] together; ~ Khmer *cəŋkaom* bunch.

Connect Sre *khom* to collect up; & 1320 ***bgum** &c. to collect together.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFFER 1965 54.)

Sora *kum*- to flock, swarm, (**kum-kum*- >) *kuk'kum*- to gather.

Proto-Austronesian ***raNkum**: Malay *rangkum* to gather together, &c. (BLUST 1973 no. 259; Proto-Western-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 299-300.

†1311 ***kuəm**; ***kəm** to grasp, hold.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *ṭkuam* to grasp, seize, Praok *kəm* to embrace, Temiar *kəwəp* to hold, Central Nicobarese *kwəm*- handle [of paddle].

B: (North & South Aslian) Mendriq, Semaq Beri *kəm* to hold.

Connect following.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 48 (a).)

Proto-Austronesian ***kəmkəm**: Tagalog *kimkim* handful, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 78; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 316, hold... (V).

†1312 ***ckiəm**; ***ckəm**(& ***ckam**); ***ckaim** to grasp, hold.

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Old Mon *ckem* /*ckem*/ to grasp, pick up; handful, Modern Mon *kem* to grasp, Vietnamese *kém* pincers, tweezers (contaminated by 1236 ***ckiəp** to pinch..., which compare?); ~ (by back-formation, contaminated by ***ckiəp**?) Central Nicobarese *ni:əmə* tongs.

B: (Khasi, Katuic, ?North Aslian) Khasi *skhem* firmly, securely, [*shi*]*khem* handful (& (*shi*) *kham* ; cf?), Bru *sakam* to grasp, (or Malay, below, →?) Kensiu *cəkam* to hold.

C: (Katuic; ~ ***cnkaim** >) Kuy *ŋkɛ:m* to hold in teeth or beak.

Connect preceding (so front vocalism environmental?); perhaps 1366 ***k[]n,am?** handful. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note also Vietnamese *kìm* pincers, pliers, ↔ Thai *kʰiim*.

Proto-Austronesian ***k'a(N)kəm** (?): Malay *chəŋgkam* (!) to grasp, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 77, Proto-Hesperonesian; Malay by vowel metathesis, or trisyllabic reconstruction required?).

1312a *rnkam *Zalacca wallichiana*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **təkəm lakəm** *Zalacca wallichiana* (→ Burmese **yañkam:**), Nyah Kur **rəkám** (→ Thai **rakam**), Khasi [**soh**]-**ryngkham** *kind of small fruit*.

†1313 *skaam? *chaff, husks of paddy*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Bru **sakaam**, Mon, Thin **kam**, Palaung **kham**, Riang-Lang **ṭkham**, Vietnamese **cám**; → (probably, rather than :) Malay **sěkam**, Acehnese **sököəm**; ~ Khmer **ʔəŋka:m** (!), Kammu-Yuan **həŋká:m**.

Add Khasi **skam** *powder?* Khasi **skap** *husk* is < **1237 *ckap**. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) Sora **'kūna:m-ən**, **kina:m-ən**, compounding form **'kum-ən** &c. (to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 366).

1314 *gam (& ***gəm?**) *more*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **gañ** /**gəm**/ *more, further, other, besides*, Sre **gam** *still, more*, (variant >, or weak form?) Chrau **gəm** [**va:**] *and*.

1315 *gaam *to step*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **kəm gām** *pace, to step*, Khasi **kam** *to step* (& **kab** *step*).

1316 *gom *hot-air balloon, paper lantern*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **kəm** *hot-air balloon*, Khmer **kò:m** *lantern, balloon* (→ Thai **k^hoom**), Kuy **khò:m** [**lò:i**] *hot-air balloon*, (Khmer →?) Biat [**uɲ**] **go:m** *lantern*.

†1317 *gum; *guum; *g[əə]m *to winnow*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau, Biat **gum**; ~ Sre **ngum**.

B: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **kùm**, Kammu-Yuan **kù:m** *to winnow*, Palaung **gum** *to clean [rice] by tossing*.

C: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***gɣɣm** *to winnow vertically* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Add Khmer **ʔom**, Kuy **ɔm**, Bru **ʔo:m**, Bahnar **u:m**, Jeh **ùm**, Halang **ù:m** (&c., see SMITH 1972 16)? Stieng **khu:m** *to blow, to winnow* is < **1428 *khuum** *to blow*. Sora **gum-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 159).

†1318 *dgam; *dgaam; *dgəm *molar tooth, jaw*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **gam** *molar*, Vietnamese **cằm chin**; ~ Chrau [**se:c**] **dəgam** *molar*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, ?South Aslian) Khmer **thkì:əm** *molar*, (TANDART 1935) *jaw*, Stieng **ga:m** *jaw bone*; ~ Bahnar **təŋa:m**, (or A) Besis **[lěmoñ]** **tenggam** *molar* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 170).

C: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **gɔ:m** *molar*; ~ Sre [**si:**] **tərgəm** *molar* (→ Röglai [**təgei**] **tərgəm**).

Cf. Semang (i.e. Kintaq Bong) **těmgim** *lower jaw bone*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 121; & **1303** *[t₁]ʔaam (*molar*) *tooth*; **1233** *kaap *chin*; **497** *kaaŋʔ *chin, jaw*. (SHAFFER 1965 582.)

Proto-Austronesian *gaq[ae]m: Acehnese ghööm, Cham khùm, &c., Malay g/ěr/(a)ham, Javanese g/r/aham, Iban [ngeli] gam /gaam/ *molar* (Proto-West-Indonesian; *yahəm, DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, falls; Javanese bam : Siraya vaam). Cf. Tibeto-Burman *gəm, BENEDICT 1972 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese g'əm 頔, ib. 183 n. 482 (→ Vietnamese hăm).

†1319 *prgəm *imperial pigeon*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon həkəm, Proto-Nyah Kur *pərkum (DIFFLOTH 1984 N29; implies *-um), Bahnar pəgəm.
Malay pərgam, probably → Besis pəgāp (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 92). Mon-Khmer → Indonesian?

†1320 *bgum (?); *bguum; *bgəm *to collect together*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar gum *to help* (?).
B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Stieng prəgu:m, Biat rgu:m *to collect together*.
C: (Khmer) Khmer phkùm phgañ, (by back-formation?) kùm gañ *collect together*.
Connect **1310** *ko(o)m *to associate, assemble*; perhaps **A117** *[g]n[ə]m *granary*. (Cf. SMITH 1972 7.)
(~) Proto-Austronesian *ragum: Javanese ragum *to be one with*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 347; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1321 *.ŋəm; *[]ŋam *to immerse, soak*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Stieng ŋə:m *waterlogged [tree]*, Biat ŋəm *to immerse*, Palaung ŋəm *to immerse, soak, ferment* (MILNE 1931; or B), Mường ngâm *to soak* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese ngâm *to steep, soak*.
B: (Khasi) Khasi ngam *to dive into*.

†1322 *lŋaam *sweet*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (ŋ)ŋi:am *sweet*, Sre ləŋam *to be very sweet*, Palaung ŋam, Riang-Lang ŋam *sweet substance, to be sweet*; ~ Bahnar, Jeh, Halang ʔŋa:m *sweet*.
Connection uncertain Khasi shngiam *very tasty*, with which cf. Bahnar pa:m *delicious*; Praok ɲəm *to taste pleasant*.
(SHAFFER 1965 150; SMITH 1972 39.)
Sora 'le:ŋəm- *deliciou [taste]*.

1323 *sɲəm silent.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *sɲam*, *sɲom* to be silent, thoughtful, anxious, Khmer **sɲəm**-[sɲiəm] to keep silent; ~ Mon *kəhom* to feel regret, remorse, Khmer *səmɲəm* to stay still and quiet.

Hence probably by arbitrary variant Khmer **sɲiəm** silent; **crəɲùm** quiet, silent, deserted; **sɲəp** unmoving, silent. Cf. 1427 ***khəəm** silent... .

***1324 *cim; *ciim; *ciəm; *caim; *cum bird.**

A: (Bahnaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Bunör **sim**, Central Rölöm **sum**, Biat **chium** (!), Jeh, Halang, (or B, ?C) Semnam, Semelai **cim**; → Cham **cim**, North Röglai **cip**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **si:m**, Kammu-Yuan **sí:m**, Riang-Lang **sim**, Lawa Bo Luang **saiɲ**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saim**, Palaung, Praok, Khasi **sim**, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chim**; → Jarai **ci:m**, Röglai **sim**; ~ → Acehnese **cicem**.

C: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **sɛ:m**, Temiar **cɛp**; ~ (***kuən ciəm** by contraction >) Old Mon **kiñcem** /**kəncem**/, Modern Mon **həcem**.

D: (Kuy) Kuy **cɛ:m**.

E: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **cu:m**, Chrau **sum**; ~ Central Nicobarese **ceco:n** (→ Moken **chichom**).

D secondary to C; E probably to A, cf. Biat ib. With Nicobaric cf. Acehnese ad B. (SCHMIDT 1905 16; SHAFER 1965 237; BLOOD 1966 144; SMITH 1972 10; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 216.)

Sora compounding form **i:m-ən** (& **si:m-ən** by levelling; ~ **kən'si:m-ən**, cf. Mon), Santali **sim fowl**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 314).

Connect Proto-Austronesian ***qaiam** bird, fowl... (under the entry 1382a ***[h]yam**)?

1325 *cam; *caam to wait, watch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer, Middle Khmer **cam** to await, keep watch (→ Biat **cam** [**yɛ:m**] to keep watch), Kuy **cam** to wait.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **ca:m** to wait; ~ (***[c]ncaam** >) Kammu-Yuan **ɲà:m** to guard, watch (→ Lao **ɲaam**, → Kammu-Yuan **yà:m**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

1326 *cum; *cuum; *cuəm; *cəm matched, complete.

A: (Palaungic, Khmuic, ?Mon) Literary Mon [**ci**] **cuim** to be complete (or D), Kammu-Yuan **cùm** (!; contaminated by flock, herd < 1338 ***bjum**), Palaung **sum** pair (MILNE 1931).

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **cum** pair, set; to be even in number, complete, Palaung **sum** pair (MILNE 1931).

C: (Mon) Old Mon **com** /**com**/ entirely.

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cəm** exact(ly), directly; ~ Stieng **tacə:m** to put together again.

*1327 *cuum; *cuəm; *cəm; (*cim cim >) *ncim; *ciəm (& *nciəm?); *caim to eat, to feed.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **sum** to eat (MILNE 1931, honorific).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṣuam**, Praok **səm**, Lawa Bo Luang **saum**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **som** to eat.

C: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **səm** to treat medically, administer [medicine] to; ~ Central Sakai **bösö'p** to feed [child].

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **'cim** /ⁿ**cəm**/, Khmer **ជ្រុម** (& **ចៀរុម**), Stieng **ci:m** to feed.

E: (Bahnaric) Sre **siam** to feed, Chrau **siəm** to feed [child], Biat **chiam**, **ciam** to taste, Bahnar **hiəm** to feed (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 also Bahnar dialect **se:m** to feed; West Bahnar **je:m** to treat), Jeh **ciam** to feed, Halang **ciam** to raise; → Cham **ciem** to feed, North Röglai **ciap** to feed [pigs].

F: (Kuy) Kuy **ce:m** to feed [child], Bru **ʔace:m**.

F secondary; A-B may be if Munda, below, not cognate. Palaung **səm** food offered to monks is ← Shan **shōm** ← Burmese **chwam**; **pəm** cooked rice is < 1345 *t₁/p/uəm. Cf. further Beduanda **kêchem**, **ngêchem** to eat (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 E 28).

(SCHMIDT 1905 20.)

(?) Sora **jəm**-, Santali **jəm** food, to eat, &c. (PINNOW 1959 385).

1328 *[c][wə]m night.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **sum**, Riang-Lang **ṣəm**, Praok **səm** (!), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **saum** night, Mae Sariang **saum** dark; ~ Mae Sariang **lasaum**, **ɣasaum** night; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəsúam** night.

Or (i) *-um (Palaung, Riang-Lang), *-uum (Lawa), *-uəm; (ii) *t₂-; connected then 1352 *btəm? Cf. 1268 *yup &c dark.

1329 *dcaam to make a hole.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **cam** to dibble, Khasi **sam** to bore, pierce; ~ Old Mon **[kīr] ducām** /**dəcam**/ **[kil]** to make holes with an earth-auger.

Connect Mon **həcəm** dibber; perhaps Semai I **cə:p**, Mah Meri **kacup** to dig (= SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 108 (a)).

(*ncim see 1327 *cuum ...to feed.)

*1330 *jiim; *jəm, (*jəm jəm >) *njəm; *juum; *juəm moist, swampy.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?North Bahnaric) Mon **cim** to be swampy (→ Burmese **cim** marsh, to be swampy), Vietnamese **chìm** to sink, be submerged; (?) ~ Jölong **(h)je:m** to moisten; moist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **cəm** marsh, swamp, (*nj- >) Khmer **cəəm** sodden.

C: (Khasi, ?North Bahnaric) Khasi **jum-jum** *full of juice*; ~ Bahnar **hɔ:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar also **hɔ:m** *to moisten; moist* (?), (~?) Khasi **bañium** *bog; wet*.

D: → Acehnese **juəm** *damp, spongy, soft*.

Connect 1393 ***jrəm** *mud, swamp?* Cf. further Thin **jǔp** *to soak, wet*; & 1419 ***səm** [] &c. *damp*.

Sora **'laɟim-** *wet, damp*.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 270-1, *to dip...*

1331 ***jaam** *dish, bowl*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **cɛ:m** *dish, tray*, Stieng **ja:m** *large copper dish*, Sre **jam** (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **ja:m** *large bowl* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **jiam** *washing bowl* (beside **sa:m** ← Thai); → Cham **cà:m** *dish*; Thai **c^haam** (→ Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **chuam**?).

(BLOOD 1966 297.)

1332 ***jəm; *jəəm** *manner*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (***.njəm** >) Praok **jəm** *manner, action, condition*; ~ Khasi **syriem** *to resemble*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bahnar **yi:m** *like, thus, so* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **cəm** *in order to*; ~ (***jməəm** >) Biat **mə:m** *manner*.

Bahnar fronting post-palatal.

(***jəm** see also 1338 ***bjum** *bunch...*.)

1333 ***jum; *juum** *(to go) round*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **cùm jum** *(a turn) round*, Stieng **ju:m** *circuit, (area) around* (or B?), Biat **jum** *around*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **ju:m** *to go round*.

Cf. Khmer **caom** *to encircle, surround*, ~ Biat **nco:m** *to encircle, surround*.

(BLOOD 1966 158.)

(***ju(u)m, *juəm** see 1338 ***bjum** *bunch...*.)

1334 ***juəm** []; ***jəm?** *slow*.

A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **ɲɔ:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **chậm** *to be slow, late*.

1335 ***[k]jəm; *[k]jəəm; *[k]juum** *soft*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **jəm** *to be tender, flexible, soft*, Khasi **jem** *soft*.

B, C: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **cum**, Lawa Umphai **chum** *soft* (C); ~

(B) Riang-Lang **kəcəm** *to be tender, flexible, soft*.

Lawa suggests ***ɽj-**.

1336 *tjum; *tjuum *tinder*.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *tbjum >) Chrau **pəjum** *to make fire*.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **ju:m**, Biat **jo:m** *tinder*; ~ Bahnar dialects **təso:m** &c. *tinder* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*njəm see 1330 *jiim *moist...*.)

1337 *njum; *njuum; *njuəm; *njəm *dark in colour*.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khasi) Khasi **jngum** *dark blue, violet* by metathesis (or B); ~ Sre **gənom** *black, dark- coloured*; ~ Semang **lemyom** *evening* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 16 (d)).

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *pnjuum >?; contaminated by 1330 *juum *moist...*) Bahnar **ɲu:m** *to soak, dye*.

C: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **yòm yom** *to be dark in colour*, Mường **yòm** *black* (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209); ~ (*pnjuəm >?) Biat **ɲo:m** *to colour, dye, blacken*, Palaung **ɲom** *to dye*, (MILNE 1931) *stain*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ɲom**, Vietnamese **nhuộm** *to dye*; ~ Mon **həyòm** *to be dark, no longer light*.

D: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cəəm** *discoloured, stained, bruised, dark in colour*, Kuy **chəm** *bruised*, Palaung **yəm** *to be black, swarthy*, Mường **yəm** *black* (CUISINIER 1951), by metathesis Khasi **jngem** *bruised*; → Thai **chám** *black*; Cham **jañ**; ~ Khmer **cùəncəəm** *dark [sky &c.]*.

Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

1338 *bjum; *bjuum; *bjuəm; *bjəm *bunch, to gather together*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **cùm juñ**, (by back-formation from?) **phcùm phjuñ** (& **phjam**, cf. D) *to gather together*, Kuy **chùm** *to gather together; group*, Kammu-Yuan **cùm** *flock, herd*; → Lao **jhum** *flock, herd*; ~ Sre **pərjum** *collection, assembly*, Jeh **pajòm** *together* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **hiu:m** *to gather together, gather in arms, to embrace*, Jeh **yum** *to pick up in a bunch*, Halang **yu:m** *to gather together*, Vietnamese **chùm** (!) *bunch*, **chum** *to assemble, join, gather*.

C: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Stieng dialect **jo:m[ja:l]** *to meet (together)*; Kammu-Yuan **cə:m** *to follow, accompany*, Vietnamese **chòm** (!) *tuft, clump, bunch, group*.

D: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **phcùm** *to gather together* (merging A; **phjam**), Thin **jəm** *all*. In view of Vietnamese tonal variant perhaps orig. *j- n., *b-j- v. (SMITH 1972 17.)

1339 *kɲum; *kɲuum; *kɲuəm *young*.

A, B: (Mon, Khmuic, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) Old Mon *kñum* (*child?*) of *tender years*, Proto-Nyah Kur **khəɲɔom* *young child* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N171), Kammu-Yuan (A) *núm*, *núm*, Besis *nyom* *young* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 42; or C?); ~ (B) Central Nicobarese *kenyu:m* *child*, Nancowry *kipóm*.

C: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy *ɲù:am* (!) *young*; ~ (**kɲuəm* >) Palaung *kəɲəm* *young boy*, Praok *ɲəm* *young child*.

Connect Riag-Lang *kəɲuk* *to be soft, young, tender?*

†1340 *t₁iim; *t₁iəm; *t₁əm; *t₁am; *t₁a[i]m; *t₁[u]m *to hit repeatedly*.

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar *te:m* *to beat, hammer, forge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *teəm* *to hammer*, Lawa Bo Luang *team*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian, Praok *təm* *to hammer, beat out*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer *dəm* *to beat, hammer, forge*, Kuy *tam* *to hit, beat* (probably, rather than D), Pakoh *tum* *to thump with bottom of fist*, Stieng *təm*, Biat *təm*, Bahnar *təm* *to horn, gore*, Khasi *tem!* *to beat [drum &c.]*, Mường *tâm* (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *đâm* *to pound*; → Thai *tam* *to pound*; ~ (**pt₁əm* >?) Vietnamese *đấm* *to hit with fist*.

D: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon *tam* /*təm*/ [*śno'*], Modern Mon *təm* [*hao?*] *husked and pounded rice*, Kammu-Yuan *tam* *to beat [drum]*.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *tá:m* *to hammer, forge*.

F: (Palaungic) Palaung *tum* *to hit with fist*; ~ (*[*t₁*nt₁[u]m >) Praok *dum* *to strike*.

Connect obscure Central Nicobarese *dəm* *to hammer*, Nancowry *rəm*.

Kharia *thəm* *to smash*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 264; Proto-Munda **təm*).

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[*qS*]a*Ntəm*: Acehese *antam* *to hit hard*, Malay *hantam* *to pound* (→ Besis —i.e. Mah Meri— '*ntöm*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 203), Javanese *di-antəm* *to be hit* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese); (ii, by metathesis?) *[*qS*]ə*Ntam*: Karo Batak *ng-entam* *to lunge and butt*, Acehese *öntam*, Malay *měng-hěntam-kan* *to hit hard*, Iban *ng-entam* *to attack* (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1341 *t₁iim *to know*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *tīm* /*tīm*/, Modern Mon *təm* *to know*, Lawa Bo Luang *taɲ*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian *taim* *to remember, understand*.

Cf. 896b **tɪɲ* &c. Connection dubious Khasi *tip*.

1342 *t₁am *locative (?) particle*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *tam* *in, at*, Jeh *tam* *with, from*, Halang *tam* *from*.

†1343 *t₂əm; *t₂əəm; *t₂am *plant, to grow; to begin.*

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese *đâm* to grow, sprout; ~ (*pt₂əm >) Stieng *tam* to plant, sow, Palaung *səm* (or C?) to plant; ~ Stieng t(h)əna:m, Kammu-Yuan sərnu:m medicine.
- B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & South Aslian) Khmer *daəm*, Biat *tə:m*, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar *tə:m* (foot or trunk of) tree, beginning, Mintil *toum* tree; ~ Khmer *phdaəm* to begin, Palaung *sum*, Besis *pětōm* to plant (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 132); ~ Bahnar *pətə:m*, Hre *basəm*, Sedang *pasiam* to begin, Riang-Lang *ṭəksəm* to plant, lay out [garden &c.]; ~ Chrau, Biat *nə:m* quantifier for trees; ~ Bahnar *tənə:m* = *tə:m*.
- C: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon *tañ* /təm/ plant, tree, base, foot, beginning, Modern Mon *təm* base, foot, beginning; ~ Old Mon *ptañ* to transplant, Modern Mon *pətəm* also to begin, Khmer *dam*, Sre, Chrau, Biat *tam*, Praok *sum*, Lawa Bo Luang *səum* to plant; → Thai *dam* to transplant; ~ Bahnar *pətam* to plant, (or A?) Lawa Umphai *ndeum*, Mae Sariang *ndəm* to begin; ~ Middle Mon *tnam*, Modern Mon *nəm* plant, tree, Khmer *thnam* medicine, Praok *num* plant; ~ Chrau *tənam* wet ricefield, Palaung *sənəm*, Riang-Lang *ṭənəm* herb, medicine. (SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 85; BLOOD 1966 375, 420; SMITH 1972 13; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 151, T 203.)
- Sora *nʔe:b-*, *jʔe:b-* [tree] to grow, ə'n(?)e:b-ən, compounding form 'ne:b-ən transplant, plant.
- Proto-Austronesian *taləm: Malay *tanam* to plant, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *-n-; DAHL 1973 § 15.8). See BENEDICT 1975 355.

†1344 *t₁um; *t₁uum; *t₁uəm *collection, accumulation.*

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon [suñ] /təm/ all, Literary Mon *tuin* to be numerous, Khmer *dom* group, lump, wad, block (→ Cham *ḍaum* group), Riang-Lang *ṭəm* bundle, Praok *tom* [nɛ] many, much; ~ Khmer *domdom* in a crowd, in a heap, Sre *ntum* work-gang, group; ~ Khmer *kdom* gathered together, Sre *tom* to meet, Chrau *cum* to wrap up, Riang-Lang *ṭəm* to make a bundle.
- B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Bahnar *to:m* all, entirely, Jeh *tum* enough, all, Halang *tu:m* enough, Central Nicobarese *to:m* bunch (quantifier); ~ (*ktuum >) Kuy *to:m* to wrap up, Palaung *tum* to gather together (MILNE 1931), Praok *tum* to gather; → Shan *túm* to gather; ~ (*[s]tuum >) Central Nicobarese *həto:m*-[hətə] to assemble, Nancowry *ʔumtum* all, build; ~ Bahnar (h)atu:m collection; together (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Central Nicobarese *həmto:m* mound (& ʔmto:m every).
- C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau *vətə:m* to assemble.
- Connect Mường *tum* bunch, BARKER 1966 25; perhaps A114 *tam reciprocal preverb. (SMITH 1972 45.)
- Sora *tum-* to accumulate, gather.

1345 ***t₁um**; ***t₁uəm**; ***t₁am**; ***t₁aam**; ***t₁əəm** to boil, distil.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **tóm** to boil, cook (→ Lao **tom**), Semang **to^bm** to boil (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 331); ~ Sre **tərnəm** rice-beer.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tom̐** /**tom**/ to cook, Modern Mon **tom** to cook, distil; ~ (***t₁puəm** >) Palaung **pəm** cooked rice.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **tām̐**, Modern Khmer **dam** to boil, cook by boiling; ~ Khasi **thnam** /**thnam**/, Semai **nam** to boil (v.i.) (TAUERN 1914); ~ (***t₁rnam** >) Mon **kənəm** to boil (v.i.).

D, E: (South Bahnaric; ~ ***trn-** >) Bunör **rəna:m** (D), Central Rölöm **nə:m** (E) rice-beer.

Connection dubious Kharia **ɖəbək-** to boil, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 396.
(SCHMIDT 1905 34; BLOOD 1966 422.)

†**1346** ***[ʔ]t₁aam** according to.

A: (Mon &/or Khmer) Literary Mon **tām̐**, Khmer **ta:m**; → (& in part ←?) Thai **taam**.

***t₁** in view of Sora. If not ***ʔ-**, Mon → Thai → Khmer.

Sora **tam-**, **ə'tam**.

1347 ***k[]t₁am** heavy.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **kətám** heavy, Palaung **[it] kətəm** [to sleep] one's fill.

1348 ***kt₁aam** crab.

(Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer **kda:m**, Kuy (k)**ta:m**, Stieng, Sre **ta:m**, Chrau **ca:m**, Lawa **tam**, (by back-formation, assuming ****k-** = small-animal prefix!) Khasi **tham**; → Acehnese **götöəm**, Malay **kětam**, Iban **ketam**; ~ (***kntaam** >) Mon **hətam gatām̐**, Bahnar, Halang **kəta:m**, Jeh **kata:m**, Kammu-Yuan **kətá:m**, Semang **kəntem** (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 258 (c)); probably by secondary derivation (**k-** small-animal prefix!) ~ Riang-Lang **kətəm**.

Connection dubious Santali **kaŋkəm**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 214. Blust's construction of Proto-Austronesian ***kətəm** (BLUST 1970 no. 210, *-**T-**) falls.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFER 1965 278, 376; SMITH 1972 41.)

1348a ***kt₁əm** egg.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **ˈtam**, Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **təm**, Lawa Bo Luang **tam** egg, Central Nicobarese **kətəm-[ka:ə]** soft roe; ~ Palaung **kətəm** egg.

Cf. **1253** ***[k]t₁ap**.

(SHAFER 1965 145.)

†1349 *[k]t₁uum; *[k]t₁uəm to fall down.

A, B: (Mon) ~ Literary Mon *gatum*, *datum* (A), Mon *hətom* (B) to fall (down); ~ Literary Mon *phatum* &c., Mon *hətom* to knock down.

Sora, which compare. for *t₁, favours construction of *k[r]t₁- ~ *kbt₁- causative. Cf.

A106 *tup to fall; Mon *tòm dom* to fall down.

Sora ə'tum-.

1350 *krt₂uum kind of varan.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *bərtum* small kind of varan of aquatic habit (DOURNES 1950; contaminated by *bəya* kind of varan < 156 *brya?), Chrau [kə:n] *kətu:m*, Biat *rtu:m*, Bahnar *kəto:m* kind of varan (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh ← *kasuam*, Halang *kəsùam* lizard.

(SMITH 1972 20.)

†1351 *[c]t₁iim nine.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung *tim*, Riang-Lang *tim*; (~) Lawa Bo Luang *sataip*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *sataim*; ~ (*[c]nt₁iim >) Praok *sidim*.

Connect perhaps 1144 *dciin[?] &c., which compare.

(SHAFER 1965 312.)

Sora 'tim-[ji-], &c. (PINNOW 1959 372.)

1352 *btəm night.

A: (Mon, Aslian, Nicobaric) Che' Wong *bətom*, Central Sakai *töp*, Semelai *pətom*; ~ Old Mon *birtam* /*bərtəm*/, Modern Mon *hətom*, Proto-Nyah Kur **pətam* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N234; implies *-am) ; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Central Nicobarese *hatəm*.

Connect 1328 *[c][uə]m? But connection dubious Mường *têm* (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *đêm*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 17 (a-b).)

†1353 *st₁am; *st₁uum right-hand.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian, ?Khmuic) Khmer *sdam* (→ Thai *sàdam*), Kuy *tam*, Palaung [i]təm (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]təm, Lawa Umphai təm, Mường tām (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 205), Kensiutem, Temiar təp, Semelai satam; ~ (*snt₁am >) Praok dəm, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ndəm; (?) ~ Kammu-Yuan tərham right-handed by metathesis (& by back-formation hām right-hand).

B: (Mon) Old Mon *stūm* /*stum*/.

Back vocalism secondary? cf. here Mintil təum.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 128.)

Santali etəm, &c. (PINNOW 1959 220).

1354 ***[d]im**; ***[d]i[ə]m** to yoke.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **tùm**, Stieng **di:m**; ~ (***[d]nim** >) Khmer **nùm** yoke (& **thnùm** tie-beam, a neologism), Stieng **ni:m** to yoke, Biat **num** (to) yoke.

B: (or *-iim?: Katuic) ~ Kuy **thni:m** yoke.

For Khmer **n-** < ***dn-** cf. 1750 ***dnaal**. Biat **-im** is wanting; note **num** : Stieng **ni:m** ad 1381 ***yaam**; **chium** < 1324 ***cim**.

1355 ***dam** young male.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **[klèa] tòt dam** steer, Sre **dam** male [animal], Bahnar **dam** two- to three-year-old male [cattle], Jeh **dam** young (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (***[d]ndam** >) Stieng **ndam** young male [bullock], Biat **[be:ŋ] ndam** [man] having attained puberty; ~ (***drdam** >) Bahnar **tədam** young man, youth.

†1355a ***dəm**[] to be soaked.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đấm**, **đằm**-[**đĩa**]; ~ Riang-Lang **tam** (!), Khasi **pdem** to soak, steep, ferment.

Proto-Austronesian ***rəNdəm**: Malay **rəndam** to soak (v.i), wallow, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 103, ***[l]**-; Proto-West-Indonesian).

†1356 ***dəm**; ***duum** to incubate.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) ~ (***dnəm** >) Kuy **nəm**, Bahnar **ʔnəm**; ~ West Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **kənyəm**, Kammu-Yuan **kəmnùm**; ~ Khasi **pdem**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **tum**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **[kəmnùm] kəmnò:m**. = following?

Sora **dum-**.

(Proto-Austronesian ***dəmdəm**) Tagalog **limlim**, Cebuano Bisayan **lumlum** (compared at DEMPWOLFF 1938 43 with Malay &c. words meaning to long, long for revenge; so Cebuano to store up feelings; DAHL 1973's Malagasy & Formosa comparisons, § 14.6, belong elsewhere).

†1357 ***dəm** (& ***dəəm**?); ***[d]uum** to lodge for the night, to roost.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **dum** /**dəm**/, Modern Mon **təm** to lodge for the night, Khmer **tùm dam** to perch, to sit, Jeh **dəm**, Halang **dəm** to sleep away from home, Khmu' **duum** to stay overnight, Palaung **dəm** to lodge, Praok **tum** to lodge, alight, Khasi **dem** (!) to alight, to stoop, to lie down, (***dəəm** >?) Central Nicobarese **da:m**, **ra:m** (!) night (quantifier), **[om]da:m** to sleep away from home, Nancowry **rám** (or rather 1360?); → Cham **dam** (!) to perch, alight; ~ Khmer **trənùm** perch, roost, by metathesis Kuy **nthrəm** to perch on, Biat **drəm** to perch.

B: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **[om]du:m-[həre]** (!) to squat on heels.

= preceding? There is contamination with 1158 ***d[uu]n** to perch; whence Khasi, Nicobaric, Cham **d-**.

Sora **dum-** *to crouch down*, Santali **du'b** *to sit down*, &c., ~ Mundari **duṛum** *to lie down and sleep* (PINNOW 1959 111).

†1358 ***dəm**; ***dəəm** *to thunder, rumble*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (***dndəm** >) Biat [tər] **ndəm** [*thunder*] *to rumble*; ~ (***dnəm** >) Lawa Bo Luang **nəum** [mbreʔ], Lawa Umphai **neum...**, Mae Sariang **nəm** *thunder*; ~ (***drnəm** >) Palaung **kənəm**, (MILNE 1931; !) **sənəm** *thunder*, Riang-Lang **tərnəm**, (!) **sərnəm**, Praok **sinum** [pray] *thunderbolt*.

B: (North Bahnaric; by expressive lengthening?) Bahnar **ḍr̥m** *to rumble, buzz* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ **dən̄r̥m** *rumbling of thunder &c.*

Cf. 1392 ***grəm**[ʔ] &c. Hence Li ***Nəm** *thunder* (BENEDICT 1975 366, *to roar*)? (SHAFFER 1965 155.)

Sora **dum'dum-**['tir-ən], **dadum-**['tir-ən] *thunder*, **da'dum-da'dum-** *to thunder*.

1359 ***gdəəm** *hut, room*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Obsolescent Mon **hətəm** *room*, Old Khmer **kadañ**, Modern Khmer **khṭəm** (& **khṭum** **khdan̄**) *hut, shelter*; → Cham **kadauñ** *hut, shelter*; Thai **kraṭəm** *hut*.

†1360 ***dīm**; ***dīim**; ***dəm**; ***dəəm**; ***du**[]**m** *dark*.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Mon **dəm** *to be blue, violet* (or C &c.), Khmer [tù:] **tùm** *cloudy, overcast*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Middle Mon [**niy**] **tḍim** *to be hard to descry*, Chrau [**səndo:c**] **khli:m** *very [black]*.

C: (Nicobaric, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Nancowry **ram** *night, dark*; ~ (***[d]ndəm** >) Biat **nhəm** *dark [sky &c.]*; ~ Khmer **srəṭum** **sradan̄** *dark [sky &c.]*, perhaps by metathesis (***drəm** >) Vietnamese **sâm** *to become dark*.

D: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **dən̄r̥m** *dark [sky &c.]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

E: (Khasi) Khasi **dum** *dark*.

Kharia **nu'dum** *early before dawn*, &c.; Santali **hadam** **hudum** *dusk, dawn* (PINNOW 1959 115).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d₂əd₂əm**: Cebuano Bisayan **dulum** *dark*, Saaroa (Formosa) **səəsəma** *darkness*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***dədəm**; separate Tagalog *shadow*); (ii) ***d₂əmd₂əm** Paiwan **dzəmdzəm** *night before new moon* (cf. DAHL 1973 § 14.6); (iii) ***tiḍ₂əm**: Javanese **tiḍəm** *dark*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 137; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iv) Proto-Formosan ***qud₂[uə]m** *black*, DAHL 1973 § 14.6. Cf. BENEDICT 1975 264-5.

1361 ***[d]am**; ***dəm** *to tend, raise*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer [thae]-**ṭəm** *to look after*; ~ Sre **pəndam** *to feed* (v.t.) (DOURNES 1950).

B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṭdam** [*animals*] *to feed, to feed [animals]*.

1361a *ḍaam *to hit the mark.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **ḍam** *to hit the mark, to be true*, Bahnar **ḍa:m** *to hit the mark repeatedly*; ~ (***prḍaam** >) Mon **həḍam**, Bahnar **pəḍa:m** *to aim*.

1362 *ḍum; *ḍuum *ripe, ripe-coloured.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **ḍum**, Modern Khmer **tùm**, Chrau **ḍum** *ripe*, Sre **ḍum** *ripe*, (— **rəmi:t**) *yellow*, Biat **ḍum** *ripe, red*, (~?) Literary Mon **pḍuim** *to be pale red*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central & South Aslian) Bahnar **ḍu:m**, Jeh **ḍum**, Halang **ḍu:m** *ripe, red*, Praok **tum**, Lawa Bo Luang **tum**, Lawa Umphai **thum** *to be ripe*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntù:m** *to be ripe*, Palaung **kəndum** *bud*, Proto-Semai ***nɣɰ^bm** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besis **'ndum** *ripe* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 137).

Cf. Malay **ku(n)tum** *bud* (→ Semang **kūtum**, ib. B 449); Thai **tùm** *bump, swelling* (→ Kuy **tum**), Shan **tũm** *(to) bud, (to form a) boil*.

(SHAFFER 1965 126; BLOOD 1966 156; SMITH 1972 15.)

***1362a *[]ndəm** *under, underpart.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ḍəm** *underneath*, Biat **nəm** (— **pro:m**) *space under house*, (**to:m** — **da:k**) *bottom of river*; (probably ~) Kontum Bahnar **kə?nəm** *under, underpart, lower down*, Sedang **kadam** *under*.

(SMITH 1972 4.)

Proto-Austronesian ***da[d_{2/3}]**əm *under*: Cebuano Bisayan **dálum**, &c. (Proto-Philippine ***dalem**, CHARLES), Proto-Polynesian ***lalo** (BIGGS ET AL. 1970; at DEMPWOLFF 1938 42 referred to ***ḍaləm** ...*deep*).

1363 *p[d]am *five.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Old Khmer **pram**, Modern Khmer, Sre, Chrau, Biat **pram**, Muong **ḍām** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **năm**; ~ Bahnar **pəḍam**, Jeh **padam**, Halang **bəḍam**.

With consonantism cf. **588 *p[d]aŋ**; but South Bahnaric **pr-** perhaps counting deformation on *six* < **1851 *tpraw**.

(SHAFFER 1965 378; BLOOD 1966 369; SMITH 1972 23.)

***1364 *sḍəm** *to be afflicted by spirits.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (***sndəm** >) Mon **hənəm** *to fall ill through supernatural agency*; ~ (***sbdəm** > ***smdəm** by assimilation >) Khmer **səndəm** *to put to sleep by sorcery*.

Connect Bahnar **lɣ:m** *sacrilege* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?

Sora **so:'num-** *to be afflicted by evil spirits*.

†1365 ***n₁uum**, (***diʔaak n₁uum** by sandhi >) ***kn₁uum** *urine, to urinate*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **nò:m** *urine, to urinate*, Stieng **nu:m**, Chrau **no:m** *to urinate*, Kammu-Yuan **nù:m**, Rieng-Lang **_num**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **naum**, Proto-Semai ***ṇəum** *urine, to urinate* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **nəm** *urine* (vulgar; so erroneously **ṇam**, **knam**), Kuy **klə:m** *urine, to urinate*, Sre **dəum** *urine*, Bahnar **ʔno:m**, Palaung **hnum** *to urinate* (MILNE 1931).

Connect Palaung **hɲum** *urine* (MILNE 1931); note here the Biat sandhi-form [**prə:c**] **ɲo:m** *bladder*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 171; SMITH 1972 34; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 U 27.)

Sora **ə'num-** *to urinate* (children's word); & **ap(ɲ)um-** *to urinate*, &c., cf. Palaung **hɲum** (PINNOW 1959 K 303).

1366 ***k[]n₁amʔ** *handful*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Rieng-Lang **kənəm** *fist, handful; to clench, clutch*, Vietnamese **nắm** *handful*.

Originally quantifier formation? Cf. Khasi **kham**, under the entry 1312 ***ckəm** *to grasp, hold*; which, with 1311 ***k(u)əm** *to grasp, hold*, perhaps connected.

1367 ***[k]n₂am** (*kind of*) *spirit*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **khlam** *female spirit causing cholera*; ~ (***[k]nn₂am** >) Jeh **kanam** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), by metathesis Palaung **kərnəm** *spirit*.

(***kn₁uum** see 1365 ***n₁uum** *urine, to urinate*.)

1367a ***g[n]nəəm** *to rely on*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **nə:m** *hope, to hope, rely on* (or < simplex ***gnəəm?**), Bahnar **gənə:m** *to depend on, trust*, Jeh **kanò:m**, Halang **kənò:m** *to rely on*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **səŋkhùm** *to hope, to count on*.

†1368 ***cn₁am**; ***cn₁aam** *year*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **chnām**, Modern Khmer **chnam**, Sre, Biat **nam**, Jeh **hnam**, Kammu-Yuan **nùm** (obsolescent), Praok **num**, Lawa Bo Luang **nəum**, Lawa Umphai **neum**, Mae Sariang **nəm**, Khasi **snem**, **'nem**, Mường (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **năm**; (probably) ~ Stieng **səna:m** (or B? BLOOD 1966 **sənam**), Sre, Bahnar **sənam**, Halang **hənam**, Palaung **sənəm**.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **cnām** /**cnam**/, Modern Mon **hnam**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38; SHAFER 1965 156; BLOOD 1966 361; SMITH 1972 24.)

Sora **'num-ən** compounding form (~ **minnum-ən**, originally *one year*).

1369 *bn₂uum; *bn₂əm (& *bn₂əəm?) hill.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **plaum**, Khasi **lum**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, South Aslian) Old Khmer **vnam**, Modern Khmer **phnùm**, Stieng **bənnəm**, Sre **bənəm**, (*-əəm > ?) Semelai **bənəm**; ~ (*bnn₂əm >) Kammu-Yuan **pnùm** *anthill*, Palaung **pənnəm** *hillock* (MILNE 1931).

(SHAFFER 1965 173; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 91.)

Sora **bə'num-ən**, Mundari **bunum** *anthill*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 122).

1370 *cn₁aam skin.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **hnam** *skin*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***chnaam** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N135), Palaung **hnam** *skin, complexion*.

Connect Khasi **snep** *skin, rind, bark?*

1371 *paam to set fish-traps.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Mon **pam** *to catch in net or trap*, Kammu-Yuan **pá:m** *to set trap*, Thin **pam** *to set [fish-traps]*; (probably ~ *p^apaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat, Biat, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pa:m** *fish-trap*.

(SHAFFER 1965 94; SMITH 1972 42; cf. SCHMIDT 1905, 18.)

1372 *puum to hold in arms, embrace.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **pum**, Central Nicobarese **fu:m-[hətə]**.

1373 *baam to chew.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **bam** *to chew, munch* (MILNE 1931), Khasi **bam** /**baam**/ *to eat*.

Connect 1376 ***gbam** *to have in one's mouth?*

1374 *buum tuber.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Biat **bu:m** *sweet potato*, Chrau **vu:m**, Bahnar **bu:m** *tuber*, Jeh, Halang **bùam** *quantifier for tubers*.

Connection dubious Khmer **m̃x̃:m** *tuber, edible root*.

(SHAFFER 1965 381; SMITH 1972 19.)

1374a *[]buəm; *[]b[ə]m cheek.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **[tə:m]** **bə:m**, Kammu-Yuan **pə:m** (→ Thin **pəm?**).

B: (Katuic) Kuy **bam**.

Connect following?

1375 *kɕiim; *kɕiəm; *kɕəm; *kɕum; *kɕuum; *kɕuəm to have in one's mouth.

- A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **bɿm** to suck at breast, Vietnamese **mím** to tighten [lips].
- B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer **biəm** to hold in mouth, suck, Kuy **bi:m** to have mouth full, Pakoh **kabéam** hold in beak or mouth, Chrau **vɛ:m** to suck in mouth, Vietnamese **[móm]-mém** to mumble, chew, Central Nicobarese **pem-[hətə]** to drink.
- C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Kuy **bəm** to hold in mouth; → Malay **kěbam** [lips] sucked in [in rage]; ~ (***kmbəm** >) Bahnar **?məm** to close mouth on (!; & **kəmɿm**, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, to fill mouth with water); (or **B?**; **t-** adverbial) by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **tbem** as if biting something in the mouth.
- D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **vum** mouthful [of rice wine].
- E: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Bru **kubo:m** to hold in mouth, Kammu-Yuan **pù:m** to chew [betel], Riang-Lang **bum** to hold in mouth, (or **D?**) Khasi **kbum** to close one's lips.
- F: (Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Vietnamese **móm-[mém]** to mumble chew; (or *-am? then rather ad following, which connect) by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **?ambam**, Lawa Umphai **rambom**, Mae Sariang **yambom**, **lambom** mouth.
- Cf. besides preceding. **1378 *mim[ʔ]** &c. to suck, with mutual contamination; & note Kammu-Yuan **um** to hold in mouth, suck, ~ **rəm?um** quid.

1376 *gɕam to have in one's mouth.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **pəəm** to carry in mouth or beak; ~ (***gnɕam** >) Kuy **mphəm** bridle; ~ Mon **həbəm** to place, have, hold, in one's mouth, Khasi **kyrbam** to bite one's lip, press lips together.
- Cf. Khmer **pə:m** to put, push, food into one's mouth.
- Connect preceding; perhaps **1373 *ɕaam** to chew.

1377 *gɕum (?); *gɕuum; *gɕuəm; *gɕəm bud.

- A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəpəm** **krabum** bud, (to be) in bud (or if misspelt D).
- B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **[láʔ]** **kəlpə:m** leaf- bud.
- C: (Palaungic, ?Mon) Palaung **bəm** (—**kiŋ kir**, —**jɿŋ**) calf, (—**kətoh**) buttocks (for semantics cf. **82 *kɔʔ** plantain bud); ~ (***gnɕ-** >) Mon **həmom** bud (probably, rather than B; **khamom** &c.).
- D: (Viet-Mường, ?Kuy) Kuy **phəm** (!; or **C?**) to be in bud, (~?) Vietnamese **mâm** bud.
- Connect Central Nicobarese **kenmo:ənə-** (**-koai**) forearm, (**-la:h**) calf; perhaps Sre **bom** bud.
- Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***mu'm**, BENEDICT 1972 78 no. 364 & n. 239 (Burmese, Lushei, Kachin).

1378 *mim[ʔ]; *miəm[]; *məm[]; *məəmʔ; *mum to suck.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mɿm**, Kuy (baby talk) **mem** to suck at the breast (< ***mʔim** by metathesis?), Stieng **me:m**, Sre **mim** to close [mouth].

- B:** (Central Aslian) Semai **mɛ:m** *breast*; → Jarai **mɛm** *to suck at the breast*.
C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **məm**, Bahnar **məm**, Kontum Bahnar **məm** *to suck at the breast*; → Malay, Cham, Moken **mam**, North Rōglai **mām**.
D: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar **mɔ̃m**, West Bahnar **mām** *to chew* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Mường **məm** *to feed with premasticated food* (BARKER & BARKER 1976); ~ Vietnamese **móm** *to feed with premasticated food*, (**bú** —) *to be breast-fed*.
E: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **mum** *to have in one's mouth, suck*, Mường (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **mồm** *mouth*; → Acehnese **mom** *breast* Cham **mum**, Rōglai **mom** *to suck at the breast*.
 Cf. 1375 ***kɛim** &c. *to have in one's mouth*, with mutual contamination; & Tai *(**h**)**ma(a)m** *to chew soft foods*, &c., BENEDICT 1975 249.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 385 (c).)

1379 *mum; *muum *corner, angle*.

- A:** (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mum** (→ Thai **mum**), Sre **mum**, (probably) Stieng **mu:m**.
B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mu:m**.
 (SHAFFER 1965 176.)

1380 *[k]mum *bear*.

- A:** (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **kmim** /**kməm**/, Modern Mon **mɛm**, Khmer [**khla:**] **khmum** *ghmum*.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

***1381 *yaam** *to weep*.

- (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon **yām** /**yam**/, Modern Mon **yəm**, Khmer **yum!** *yam*, Kammu-Yuan **yà:m**, Palaung **yam**, Riang-Lang **yam**, Praok **yem**, Lawa **yuum**, Khasi **iam**, Proto-Semai ***jaa^bm** (DIFFLOTH 1977), Central Nicobarese **ci:m-[pire]**, Nancowry **cim**; ~ (***yaamyaam**; except Aslian > ***myaam**, >) Kuy **ɲɲi:am**, Stieng, Chrau **ɲi:m**, Sre **ɲim**, Biat **ɲum**, Gölar Bahnar **ɲəm**, Kontum **ɲəm**, **ɲim**, Jeh **ɲa:m** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Semai **dinja:p** *to weep* (TANDART 1935), Temiar **yaya:p** *to cry suddenly* (BENJAMIN 1976B 134).
 with Khmer vocalism cf. 1782 ***kyaal**; South Bahnaric fronting perhaps general following nasal; on Biat cf. 1354 ***[d]im**.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFFER 1965 383, 383a; BLOOD 1966 223; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 285.)
 Kharia **i'jam**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 42).

(***yəm** see 1299 ***i?im** *to breathe, live*.)

1382 *syaam (*kind of*) *ant*.

- A: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **sa:m**, Biat **chia:m ant**, Semang [les] **siān kind of ant** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 104), Sakai **hieb ant** (i.e. Temiar; ib. A 103).

*1382a *[h]yam *game, meat*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Biat **iam meat**, Bahnar **se:m animal, game**, Kontum Bahnar **meat** (contaminated by 1327 *ciəm to eat...?; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has also East Bahnar &c. **hi:em meat, game**), Rongao **jam wild boar, meat** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **?nem meat**.

Proto-Austronesian *qaiam: Malay **ayam fowl**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 13, ***ajam tame**; DYEN 1953 § 117; DAHL 1973 § 8.3; Formosa **bird**; Saisiat also **animal**, Kanakanabu **meat**, see BENEDICT 1975 293).

Cf. White Tai ***hnam**, Northern Li ***xaam meat**, BENEDICT 1975.

1383 *rim; *riim; *riəm; *rəm *edge, rim*.

- A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùm**; → Thai **rim**.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **ri:m rim, lips** (TANDART 1935), Riang-Lang **_rim edge, vicinity**; → Shan **him edge**.

C: (Nicobaric; ~ *[g]riəm >) Central Nicobarese **ke:əm brim, rim**, Nancowry **kiām edge**.

D: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Stieng **rə:m edge (e.g. of forest) (?)**; ~ (*[g]rəm >) Mon **krəm to bind edge of [basket]**; ~ **hərəm rim, edge** (& Nyah Kur **nrām [pa:ŋ] lip**); ~ Khmer **prəm bram limit, frontier, boundary**.

Cf. 656 *riŋ &c. *edge, border*.

*1384 *ram; *raam *to be in, under, water*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) ~ Sre **kram to sink, submerge**, Bahnar **kram to be submerged, go to the bottom**, Jeh, Halang **kram to sink**; ~ Khmer, Katuic, Sre, Biat, Chrau **tram to soak, wet**, Bahnar, Jeh **tram to soak**, Halang **tram to lie in water**; ~ Old Mon **bram /brəm/**, Modern Mon **prəm to founder**.

B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ya:m-[hətə] to overload [canoe]**; ~ Stieng **tra:m to soak, wet**; ~ Bahnar **hra:m to soak, wet**.

(SHAFFER 1965 60, 570; SMITH 1972 25, 29.)

Proto-Austronesian *ta[ry]əm: Cham **tram to steep**, Röglai **trap**, Pangasinan **talém to soak** (so Proto-Hesperonesian; putatively *-r-). Neither all Mon-Khmer nor all Austronesian forms can be explained by borrowing! Sre &c. **kram** perhaps ← Proto-Austronesian *kayəm (under the entry 1403 *lə(ə)m).

1385 *ram; *raam *new clearing*

- A, B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Chrau **ram (A)**, Bahnar **[mir] rām newly cleared swidden** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; B), Khasi **ram jungle cleared for cultivation**, Nancowry **yóm garden, orchid**, Nancowry **yom garden**.

1386 *ram; *raam to decay, age, perish.

A: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ram** lost, destroyed by natural disaster, Central Nicobarese **yəm-[ŋə]** to disappear, vanish.

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Sre **ra:m** old, gone hard, Palaung **ra:m** to decay (MILNE 1931); ~ Praok **[si?um]** **ram** to decay; (probably ~; or A) Khasi **[iəp]** **tram** to wither; ~ (***.nraam** >) Biat **ndra:m** large [intestine] (opposed young, green = small intestine).

Add as derivative **1397 *[d]raam** abandoned, deserted?

1387 *rəm appropriate, worthy.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **ròm ram** to respect, Khmer **[səm]-rùm ramya** right and proper, Stieng **ro:m [cə:i]** worthy, fit to.

Khmer spelling equates with **rùm** pleasant ← Sanskrit **ramya-**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40.)

1388 *rɔm to agree.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **rom** to agree to join (DOURNES 1950) (by attraction following, which compare), Biat **rɔ:m** to agree; ~ Khmer **prɔ:m**, Kuy **phrɔ:am**, Rieng-Lang **_prɔm** to agree (→ Palaung, Mon, **prɔm**?).

1389 *rum; *ruum; *ruəm; *ruəp to assemble.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **rùm rum** **[pì: mùk]** to surround, crowd round, Kuy **rùm** to crowd round, swarm round, Praok **rom** to be associated; ~ Praok **prom** to assemble (v.t.); ~ Mon **hərəm da(m)ruim** to assemble (v.i.).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rò:m** to cluster round, settle on, (**caom-** —) surround, Kuy **rò:m** to gather, assemble (v.i.t.), Palaung **rum** (to be) together, Praok **[ræk]** **rum [grum phruac]** to assemble (v.i.); ~ (***t₂ruum** >?) Khasi **shrum** many together, Vietnamese **sum** **[həp &c.]** to gather, be united; ~ (***[t₂]mruum** >) Thin **brom**, **prom** together.

C: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Literary Mon **rom** company, companion; (— **cha**) to accord, pair, Khmer **rù:əm** to join together, unite (v.i.t.), West Bahnar **rɔ:m** [horns] to coverge (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **ruam** to gather together, **rùəm** to live together, be joined together, Shan **hòm** to be together; ~ Mon **kərom** in company with; ~ Gölar Bahnar **hədrɔ:m** to pile up; ~ Khasi **lyngrom** (or A?) in a small group; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **kərprom** to gather (v.i.) (MILNE 1931); ~ Praok **khrom** to gather, collect (v.i.t.).

D: (Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **rù:əp** to assemble, join (v.i.t.) (→ Thai **rûap** to gather together), Rieng-Lang **_ruap** pair, Proto-Semai ***roop** to accompany; companion (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Cf. with D Sora **rab-** [persons] to unite. Add following?

1390 *rum; *ruum; *ram to help, to lend.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon *rim* /rəm/ [*bāñ*], Modern Mon *rəm* to help (→ Burmese *ruin*: [*pañ*:]), Riang-Lang *rəm* to lend, borrow [money].

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *giùm* (for ***rùm*) to help.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *rəm* to borrow [money], Lawa Bo Luang *ram* to borrow, Khasi *ram* debt, loan.

= preceding? Cf. 1270 *rap to help.

1391 *ruum (& *rum?); *ruəm underneath.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Sre *roum*, Bahnar *ro:m* area under house (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi *rum* lower part, south; ~ Old Khmer *karom*, Modern Khmer *kraom* under, Stieng *kru:m*, Chrau *kro:m* area under house, Jeh *krum* underneath, Halang *kru:m* underside, Palaung *krum* under, Khasi *khrum* space under floor, Temiar *kəro:p* place beneath (BENJAMIN 1976B 157), Proto-Semai **krɔ̀b̥m* under (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (**knr*- >) Kuy [*kdu:ap*] *nthròm*, Bahnar *kəro:m* underneath, Kammu-Yuan *kəntru:m*, Praok *grum*, (*-*um* >?) Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgraum*, Lawa Umphai [*ka*] *ŋgrum*, Mae Sariang *ŋgum* under.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon *kīnrom* /*kənrom*/ (space) under.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; SHAFER 1965 485; SMITH 1972 49; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 165 (a).)

1392 *grəm[?]; *gram[] to thunder, rumble.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar *grəm* distant thunder; → Jarai *grəm*, Rōglai, North Rōglai *grəm* thunder; (?) Burmese *khrim*: to thunder; ~ (**gprəm*[?] >?) Mường *khám* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *sám* thunder.

B: (Mon, ?Khmer) Khmer *krðəm* sound of thunder &c. (or A?); ~ Literary Mon *gamrañ* to rumble.

679 *grəŋ to thunder contaminated by 1358 *də(ə)m?
(SHAFER 1965 142.)

1393 *jrəm mud, swamp.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer *jrām*, Modern Khmer *crðəm* muddy water, muck, Besis *haröp* swamp (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 115); ~ Mon *hərəm* *damruim* marsh, marshy banks.

Originally by metathesis **r*-(*n*)*jəm*, ~ 1330 moist, swampy? Connection uncertain
Mon *hərəm* mud.

1394 *t₁rim; *[t₁]rəm; *t₁rəəm level, equal.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *trəm* equal to, up to the same point as.

B: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *trúm* level; ~ (*[t₁]nrəm >) Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgrəum*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgreum* level; ~ Khmer *tùmrðəm* (!) from now until.

C: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ndrə:m** *similar, equal*.

A contaminated by 655 ***ri(i)ŋ**, which compare?

1395 *t₁riim**; ***t₁riəm** old.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **trim**, Khasi **rim** (originally compounding form?); ~ Literary Mon **trīm** *to be old* (or < simplex, but cf. B), Khasi **thynrim** *slightly old*; ~ (***t₁priim** >) Kammu-Yuan **pri:m**, Palaung, Praok **prim**, Lawa Bo Luang **phraiŋ**, Lawa Umphai **praim**, Mae Sariang **phyaim** (*to be*) *old*.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **tinrem** /**tənrem**/, Modern Mon **kərem** **t(a)rem**.

1396 *t₁ruum**; ***t₁ruəm** hole.**

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **tro:m** *hole, den, lair*, Stieng, Sre **tru:m**, Bahnar **tro:m** *hole*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **tro:m**, Halang **troam** *hole*.

(SHAFFER 1965 571; BLOOD 1966 20; SMITH 1972 33.)

1397 *[d]raam** abandoned, deserted.**

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **[sɔŋ] krəm drām, grām** *to be desolate, deserted*, Riang-Lang **_ram** [*field*] *to be abandoned*; → Shan **hām** *to be abandoned*; ~ (***[d]nraam** >) Praok **gram** *to leave behind*.

1386 *raam** to decay...?**

1398 *(drəm)** drəm; ***drəəm** to stamp foot &c.**

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Mon **həkrəm** [*cat*] *to pounce on* (< ***drə(ə)m** **drə(ə)m**); ~ (***dnrəm** >) Khmer **tùəntṛəəm** (& **təntṛəm**; or as Mon?), Chrau **ntṛəm** *to paw the ground, stamp feet*, Biat **ntṛəm** *to paw the ground, stamp feet*, (by back-formation?) **trəm** *to stamp*, Vietnamese **giām** *to stamp* (for ****rām**; beside **giām** *to crush, tread, trample*); by secondary derivation ~ (***mrr-** > ; or B?) Sre **mbləm** *to trample* (DOURNES 1950).

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (***dnrəəm** >) Bahnar **trə:m** *to stamp, to trample*. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***drəəm** **drəəm** or ***dmrəəm** > ***mrəəm** >) Palaung **[khun] bruum** *to trample on, stamp (on)* (MILNE 1931).

1399 *smram**; ***smraam**; ***s[m]ruum** sweepings.**

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **[bru:ih] mram, bram** *dirt, sweepings* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həram** *dust, powder*, Khmer **səmra:m** *rubbish, bits*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi **synrum** *rubbish, debris*.

C secondary.

1400 *sruum**; ***sruup** to sheathe.**

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sraom** *to envelop; envelope*, Sre **sru:m** *to sheathe, to put [ring] on finger*; ~ (***s[m]ruum** >) Sre **səmprum** *sheath*, Chrau **səndro:m** *boots*, Biat **ndro:m** *sheathe*, (— **jəŋ**) *sock*.

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy **sə:p** *sheathe, sock, bag*, Jeh **so:p**, **sro:p** *to sheathe* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Sre **səmpɾuŋ** *sheathe* is ultimately connected (Cham **saruŋ** <) Proto-Austronesian ***t'aruŋ**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 148.

1401 *liəm good.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **liəm**, Jeh, Halang **liam**; ~ (***lnliəm** >?) Sre **niam** *good, well*. (SMITH 1972 36.)

***1402 *laam to extend.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric) Mon **lēm lām** *to grow by putting out tendrils*, Khmer **li:əm** *to lengthen [rope &c.]*, Bahnar **la:m** *[water] to spread in flood* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **laam** *to advance, extend along the surface, spread*; ~ (***jlaam** >) Mon **klēm** *to feel*, Khmer **jhlām** *to stretch [foot] out* (GUESDON 1930), West Bahnar **hlām**, **klām**, East Bahnar **halām** *to spread widely (v.i.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). (SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

Sora **lʔa:m-** *to crawl, creep*, **la:m-** *to creep, extend* (to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 K 482).

***1403 *ləm; *ləəm to sink.**

A: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Mon) Kuy **lòm** *to inundate*; ~ (***[g]ləm(-s)** >) Vietnamese **trām** *to sink*, **trām** [**mình**] *to drown oneself*; (or **B**) ~ Old Mon **tinlum** /**tənləm**/, Modern Mon **kənem** *to sink*; ~ Old Mon **tulum** *to drown oneself*, Modern Mon **kələm** *to immerse oneself, bathe*.

B: (Palaungic; ~ ***t₂əəm?** >) Palaung **hlum** *to dive*.

Proto-Austronesian ***kayəm**: Cham **karam** *to sink*, &c., Malay **karam** *to be wrecked at sea*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 73, ***ka[ɭ]əm**; separate Javanese **kěrem**; BLUST 1972 C? no. 1; Proto-Hesperonesian; perhaps → Sre &c. **kram**, under the entry **1384 *ram**). See BENEDICT 1975 381. Perhaps ← Mon-Khmer are Javanese **kələm**, **kələm** *to sink* (**kələm** referred to ***kələm** *dark* at DEMPWOLFF 1938 77); Malay **tenggəlam** *to sink*.

1404 *luum; *ləm to be mistaken, deceived.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **lò:m** *to cajole, persuade* (with sense by false analysis of derivation?), Kuy **lò:m** *to console, soothe, appease*, Biat **lo:m** *to console, to seduce, entice*; ~ Khmer **prələom** *to apply persuasion to, to seduce*, Sre **pərloum** *to deceive*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *luim* (in sense) *to be invalid* (?), Biat *lɔm* *to deceive [spouse], be adulterous*, Vietnamese *lầm* (& *nhầm*) *to be mistaken, make a mistake*; ~ Khmer *crəlɔm* *to be mistaken, confused*; ~ (**pnlɔm* >) *bənlɔm* *to mislead*; ~ (**prlɔm* >) Middle Mon *paluim* (in sense) *to corrupt, subvert, divert*, Modern Mon *pəlɔm* *to seduce* (& Literary Mon *paluim [cuit]* *to disappoint, let down*; merging *to destroy*, ad 1414 **rlɔm*), Stieng *prəlɔm* *to deceive, to make a mistake*, Biat *rlam* *to deceive, to misappropriate*, Bahnar *pəlɔm* *to deceive*. Or two roots, with mutual contamination?

1405 **klam* hundred.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *klam* /*klɔm*/, Modern Mon *klɔm*, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese *trăm*; ~ Bru *kalam*, Pakoh *kulam*. (SHAFFER 1965 230.)

1406 **klam*; **kləm* to carry on shoulder.

A: (Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Thin *klām*, Seriting *klam* (i.e Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 36), Temiar *golap* (BENJAMIN 1976B 138; or ← Acehnese, below?).
B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin *klām*, Riang-Lang *ṭklam*, Praok, (or A?) Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *klɔm*, Lawa Bo Luang *klam*.
 Proto-Aceh-Cham has **gul[aə]m*: Acehnese *gulam*, Cham *kàlam*, Jarai *glam*, North Röglai *gulap*.

1407 **kləm* to wrap.

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Stieng *klam* *to shut up in*, Central Rölöm *tlam* *to wrap up, to be wrapped up*; ~ (**knləm* >) Sre *kənəm* *packet* (DOURNES 1950), Biat *ṇkləm* *packet; to wrap up*; ~ Semang *makəlab* *to wrap up* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 144). (BLOOD 1966 120.)

1408 **kl[u]m* dense, thick.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon *klɔm* *to be dense*, Palaung *klum* *to be thick* (MILNE 1931). Or *-əəm.

1409 **[c]lim?*; **[c]liəm?*; **[c]laim* [] to lick.

A: (Viet-Mường; ~ **[c]nlim?* >) Vietnamese *nhếm* *to taste* (v.t.).
B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) *le:m* *to lick one's fingers*; ~ (**[c]rliəm?* >) Mon *kəlem* *to taste* (v.t.), Vietnamese *liếm* *to lick*.
C: (Khmer, Khasi) ~ (**[c]rlaim* [] >) Khasi *jylliem* [dog] *to lick lips*; ~ (**[c]plaim* [] >) Khmer *plaem-plaem* *repeatedly lick ing the lips* (& *phlè:m* *licking*).

C secondary. Cf. Tibeto-Burman **(s-)lyam tongue; flame*, BENEDICT 1972 48 (& n. 158), &c.; Karen **hle[m]* to lick, ib. 141 n. 379; Ancient Chinese **liam*, ib. 172 n. 458; & 1286a **liəp*; 1075 **lit* &c.; Cham *lyah*, Jarai *li:ah*, Rōglai *liah*, Acehnese *liəh*.

***1410** **t₁ləm; *t₁ləəm; *t₁lam land leech.*

A: (Aslian; ~ **t₁pləm* >) Proto-Semai **plə^bm* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Bunōr *klə:m land leech*, Khasi *thliem small leech*; ~ Stieng, Sre *plə:m small species of leech*, Chrau *plə:m land leech*, Biat *plə:m*, Bahnar *plə:m forest leech*, Jeh, Halang *plè:m leech*, Kammu-Yuan *plúam* (!), Palaung *plum* (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *plaum land leech*; → Cham *plə:m*, Jarai *plu:m, plo:m*, Rōglai *plum*, North Rōglai *plu:p*.

C: (Mon, ?Nicobaric) Mon *kləm land leech*, (or A?) Central Nicobarese *heləm leech*. Cf. 1858 **gləw* (kind of) leech; but connection dubious Khmer *chl̥v̊:ŋ*, Kuy *thl̥v̊:ŋ water leech*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42; SHAFER 1965 231, 380; BLOOD 1966 416; SMITH 1972 11; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 43.)

Sora *'ni:le:m-ən, 'ni:le:b-ən, 'ni:lo:m-ən leech*. For *ɲ-* here (< **n-*?) cf. 32 **tɲa?*; 1343 **t₂əm* &c.

1411 **t₁ləəm; *t₁luəm liver.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *thlaəm*, Chrau *khlə:m*, Sre, Biat, Bahnar *klə:m*, Jeh, Halang *klè:m*; → Rōglai *kləp*.

B: (Katuic, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ Kuy *lù:am* (!), Kammu-Yuan *tələ:m*, Mường *lom* (CUISINIER 1951).

Connect B89 **kt₁uəm*, which compare? Note Ilocano *dalem*, perhaps < Proto-Austronesian **daləm inside* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, **d-*).

(SHAFER 1965 69; BLOOD 1966 395; SMITH 1972 12.)

1411a **[p]lim; *pliim; *pliəm; *pləm dim, to glimmer.*

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Khmer *phlùm* (— —) *dim*, (— *-phl̥è:t*) *twinkling dimly*; (or D) ~ Mon *[həkət] pələm to be pale [red], pink*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar *[mat] pli:m night-blindness*.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *ṽpliəm ṽpliəm to flicker, twinkle*.

D: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *pləm [mat] dim-sighted*, Biat with secondary lengthening *plə:m [mat] short-sighted*.

1412 **pləəm to move stealthily.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *pləm to stalk*, Khmer *phlə:m to slip in, sneak in*; (?) → Thai *pləəm to imitate, disguise*.

Connection dubious Riang-Lang *ṽluam to pursue, hunt*.

1413 **[r]lam*; **[r]laim* sharp, pointed.

- A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rə̀lə̀m** *very sharp, pointed*, Palaung **lə̀m** (MILNE 1931), Praok, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **lə̀m**, Lawa Bo Luang **lə̀m** *sharp*.
 B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **rə̀lə̀:m** *acutely pointed*; ~ (**srlaim* > ?) Kuy **sle:m**, **lhe:m** *pointed*

1414 **rləm*; **rləəm* to collapse, subside.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Mon) Old Mon **rlim** /**rləm**/ [**rlāk**] *to be in ruins*, Modern Mon **ləm** *to be damaged, destroyed* (or **B**), Old Khmer **rlam̐**, Middle Khmer **rə̀lùm** **ralam̐** (!; GUESDON 1930 **ralām̐**—& **ralom**) *to fall (down), crumble away*, Sre **rə̀lə̀m** *to fall in, form gullies*, Biat **rləm** *to crumble away*; ~ (**krləm* >) Khasi **khylləm** [*house, wall*] *to collapse*.
 B: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **rə̀lɣ:m**, East Bahnar **hə̀lɣ:m** *to crumble away, fall down* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 (SCHMIDT 1905 72.)

(**sləm* see 1422 **lsiim* *finger-nail*.)

1415 **slam?* in quantity.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) West Bahnar **hlam** *much, severely* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **lắm** *much*; ~ (earlier ***hləm** **hləm** > ***mləm** > ?) Palaung **bləm** *to be plentiful*; ~ (***snlam?** > ?) Lawa Bo Luang **nəum**, Lawa Umphai **neum** *more*.
 Connection uncertain Mah Meri **hnəm** *many*, = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 45.

***1416 **sləm?* discoloured.**

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hləm** [*colour*] *to be faded*, Mường **lăm** (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese **lắm** *to be soiled, smeared*; ~ (***smləm?** > ?) Biat **bləm** *tarnished, dull*.
 Connection uncertain Khmer **lùm** **luəm** *faded* [*flowers &c.*], *withered*, **slaom** *to wither*; or Praok **khrom** **hu** [*flower*] *to fade*.
 Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ləmləm**; Toba Batak **lomlom** *dark*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 95; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***t'ələm**; Balinese **selem** *dark*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 399, Proto-Hesperonesian); & note *(**q**)iS[ə]ləm *dark colour*, BLUST 1973 no. 255. See BENEDICT 1975 265, *dark*... .

1417 **sam?*; **sum* [] to bathe.

- A: (Viet-Mường) Mường **thắm** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **tắm**.
 B: (Khasi, Palaungic) Khasi **sum** /**sum**/ *to bathe, wash*, Danaw **Ṭon** [**u:n**] *to bathe*.
 Connect 1426 ***huum** &c.?

1418 *səm all, totality.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon *sum* /səm/ [təm], Modern Mon *səm* all; ~ Praok *khəm* all; ~ Old Khmer *psam*, Modern Khmer *phsəm* to unite.

1419 *səm[](-s); *səəm? damp.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer *saəm* damp, moist (B; → Cham *sam*), Vietnamese *tắm* to soak, marinate (< *səm[]-s), Che' Wong *səm* rain; ~ (*s)ns- >) Mon *kəsəm lasuim* (< *ns-?), *dasuim* (< *sns-?), *kasuim* rainy season, Khmer *sənsaəm*, *ʔənsaəm* (B) dew, damp, (*ns- >) Bateg Nong *ləsəm*, Proto-Semai **lsa^bm* rain (DIFFLOTH 1977; !) (→ Dusun *rasam*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 6?); ~ (*srsəəm? >) Vietnamese *ró'm* to ooze, be wet [with blood, tears]; ~ (*sl- ?) Bru *laham* damp.

Earlier perhaps **ʔəms ʔəms*, cf. Mường (BARKER 1966 18), Vietnamese *ẩm* to be humid; so too Kuy *hə:m* damp, moist, wet? Connection thus uncertain Javanese *chēnchēm* to soak (**k'əmk'əm*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 87, with dubious Tagalog comparison) Cf. also 1330 **jiim* &c. moist, swampy.

1419a *sum; *suum shrimp, prawn.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *tôm*.

B: (Katuic) Kuy [ka:] *su:m*, Bru *ʔasuəm*.

Note Semang *klo' kəsub* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 107.

1420 *ksaam; by metathesis *kaams (to catch) cold.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon [*yay jwī*] *kṣām* epidemic, Modern Mon *cham* head cold.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *cảm* to catch cold.

1421 (*rnsuum &c. by assimilation >) *rmsuum; *rnsuun; *rnsuən; *rnsən nest.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau *məso:m*, Praok *mum*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔahmaum*, Lawa Umphai *rahmaum*.

B, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *rəso:n* (B), (C) Central Rölöm *soan*, (→?) Bunör *rəswan*.

D: (South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat *rchən*, (?) with secondary lengthening Riang-Lang *ʔhan*.

(BLOOD 1966 70.)

1422 *lsiim; (*lsiəm by metathesis >) *sliəm finger-nail.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ (**lsiim* >) Palaung *rəhnim*, (by assimilation **lmsiim* >) Riang-Lang *rəmhim*, Lawa Bo Luang *hmaip*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sarian *hmaim*; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *tyrsim* nail, hoof, claw.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Danaw *kă lèʔŋ*; ~ Old Mon *sinlem* /*sənlem*/, Modern Mon *hənem*.

1423 *[]**[h]**[ə]**m** *bed-bug*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **hũm**, Lawa Bo Luang **həum**.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **huŋ**, Bru **nsəŋ**.

(***[]həm** see 1307 ***[s]ʔəm** *warm*.)

1424 ***həəm** *sated*.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer **haəm** *swollen* (?), Sre, Chrau, Biat **hə:m** *sated*.

Cf. 473 ***hə(ə)k**.

(BLOOD 1966 394.)

1425 ***hom** *to speak*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Middle Mon **huim**, Modern Mon **həm**, Palaung (Mon, songs) **hom** *to speak, say, speak of, tell*; ~ Thin **prʔom** *to speak, talk*.

Cf. Riang-Lang **tərʔup** *to converse*.

†**1426** ***huum** (& ***hum**?); ***ʔum** *to bathe*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?Palaungic) Mon **hum**, Bahnar **hu:m** (Kontum **hum**; < ***hum**?), Jeh **hũm**, Halang **hũ:m**, Palaung **hum**, Praok **hum**, Lawa **haum** (or Palaungic < ***suum**[] ad 1417 ***sum**[] ; which connect?), Semelai **hu:m**; ~ Old Mon **p-hũm** /**phum**/, Modern Mon **phum**, (~?) Bahnar **pəhu:m** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **pahũm** *to bathe [someone]* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by assimilation, or ~) Bahnar **muhu:m** *to bathe [someone]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **mu:m** *to wash oneself*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau **um**, Biat **om** *to bathe*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24; BLOOD 1966 150; SMITH 1972 6; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 82.)

Kharia **oaʔ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 542; Proto-Munda ***uma**?).

(Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ih[i]m** see 1299 ***iʔim** *to breathe, live*.)

1427 ***khəəm** (& ***khuum**?) *silent, to sit (quietly)*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Stieng **khə:m** *quiet, to be silent, inactive*, Biat **[guʔ] khə:m** *to be silent, ...khuu:m to squat*, (variant >?) Semelai **kho:m** *to sit* (Mah Meri/Besisi also *quiet*, cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 223); ~ (***knhəəm** >) Praok **ŋəm**, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋaum**, Mae Sarian **ŋaum** *to sit*.

Cf. 1323 ***sŋəm** *silent*.

1428 ***khuum** *to blow*.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **khuu:m** *to blow, to winnow* (contaminated by 1317 ***gu(u)m**?), Sre **khoum**, Biat **kho:m** *to blow*; ~ (***klhuum** >) Chrau **khlo:m** *to blow*, Bahnar **hlo:m** *to blow on, into*, Jeh **klum**, Halang **hluu:m** *to blow wind instrument*.

Connect ultimately 1299 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ih[i]m** *to breathe...*?

(BLOOD 1966 6; SMITH 1972 46.)

1429 *ghim to growl.

A: (Mon, Khmer) ~ (*gnhim >) Mon **kəhìim** [e.g. *tiger*] to give a short open growl; ~ Khmer **krəhùum** [*tiger*] to growl (& to clear throat, by attraction **krəhè:m**, **krəhaem**).

†1430 *jhaam; *jhiim blood.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **chì:m**, Mnar **chim** blood, (?) Central Nicobarese **cya:m sap**; ~ (*jnhaam >) Kuy **ṅha:m**, Chrau **ṇha:m**, Palaung **ḥnam**, Riang-Lang **ṇam**, Praok **nam**, Lawa **nham**, Khasi **snam**, **'nam** blood, (~ or by assimilation *jmhaam >) Stieng **m'ha:m**, Sre, Biat **mha:m**, Bahnar, Jeh **pha:m**, Halang **məha:m**, Kammu-Yuan **mà:m**, Kensiu **məhəm**, Semai (or B?) **bəhi:p**, Semelai **maham** blood, Central Nicobarese **maha:m** menses, Car Nicobarese **ma:m** blood.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **chīm** /**chim**/, Modern Mon **chim** blood.

With Mnar vocalism cf. e.g. **thi:m** < 1348 *kt₁aam. B secondary.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 154, 379, 559; BLOOD 1966 307; SMITH 1972 37; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 249.)

Sora **'mipa'm-ən**, Kharia **i'jam**, Santali **mājām**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 303).

See BENEDICT 1975 235.

1430a *[t]heem to add to.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **thaem**, Biat **thè:m**, Bahnar **thi:m**; → Thai **t^hěem**, → Kuy **thè:m**.

Or *dh-, > Kuy; Khmer ← Thai?

(*t₂ham[] see 1304 *t₂um[] rotten.)

†1431 *t₁haam eight.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*t₁nhaam >) Bahnar **təhṇa:m** (& **hṇa:m**); ~ (*t₁phaam >) Sre, Chrau, Biat **pha:m**, West Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Halang **təha:m**, Jeh **taha:m**.

Hence perhaps, by counting deformation on **dincit** nine < 1144 *d/n/ciit, Old Mon **diñcām** /**dəncam**/, Modern Mon **həcam**. But connection dubious (i) Mường **thám** (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **tám** (< *saam?); (ii) B5 *t₁aa?; or Waic forms there cited.

(SHAFER 1965 275, 377; BLOOD 1966 317; SMITH 1972 38.)

Kharia **tham**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 8).

(*t₂huums see 1304 *t₂um[] rotten; *dheem 1430a *[t]heem to add to.)

1432 **dhum*; **dhuum* fragrant, to scent.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Literary Mon *thuiṃ* to emit fragrance (→ Burmese *thuiṃ* to perfume), Khmer *thùṃ dhuṃ* to emit fragrance, to smell [scent], Riang-Lang *ṭhəm* (→ Shan *hóm*) to be fragrant; ~ Old Khmer *danhum* perfume, Chrau *nhum* incense.

B: (Katuic; ~ **dphuum* >) Kuy *pho:m* to be fragrant.

Connect obscure Mường (BARKER 1966 12) *hóm*, Vietnamese *thóm* fragrant. Probably not ← Sanskrit *dhūma-* smoke, vapour, mist, given preferred vocalism; but note Thai *dom* to smell, inhale.

1433 **phoom* to break wind.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North Aslian) Khmer *phaom*, Biat, Bahnar *pho:m*, Jeh *phum*, Halang *phu:m*, Kammu-Yuan *pú:m*, Semang *pāhom* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 378).

(SMITH 1972 48.)

(**yhə(ə)m*, **yhu(ə)m* see 1299 **i?im* to breathe, live.)

†1434 **ʔaayh* to give.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Kuy *ʔe:* to take, bring (?), Sre *a:y* to give, Riang-Lang *ṭe id.*, to cause to, allow to; let...!; so that, Praok *e* adhortative particle, Khasi *ai* to give; ~ (*[*ʔrʔaayh* >) Palaung *deh* to give.

Cf. Old Khmer *oy*, Modern Khmer *ʔaoy* (with vocalism as in e.g. *sraoc* ad 837 **ra(a)c*; so conceivably **ʔauyh*). But separate Pangan *ya-öi?*, &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 30 (Kensiu *ʔek*).

Kharia *ṣe*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 394; Proto-Munda **ɔjəm?*).

1435 **[ʔ]aay* other.

A: (North Bahnaric, Katuic, Palaungic) Bahnar *a:i* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**ʔanʔ ʔaay* by contraction >, cf. 1115 **[ʔ]anʔ* &c. 3rd person singular pron.?) Bahnar *(a)na:y*; ~ Bru *raʔa:y* each other; ~ Palaung *lay* each, other, to be different, Praok *lay* reciprocating particle.

Connect 1511 **l[ʔa(a)y[ʔ]* again, < **[ʔlas ʔaay* another time by contraction? But if Bahnar *a:i* is separate, perhaps **laay* ~ **[ʔnlaay*.

1435a **[əy]ʔ*; **[əy]h*; **h[əy]ʔ* deictic.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Biat *i:* locative pronominal head (?), Bahnar *ey*, Vietnamese *ấy* that near at hand; ~ Khmer *(s)ʔry*, *ʔvry* what?

B: (Palaungic, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang *ṭe* that, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔəih*, Lawa Umphai *ʔeh*, Mae Sariang *ʔəih* this [year], Kintaq Bong *ʔəh* this, *ʔəh* here, Central Nicobarese *ēh* near, close, this, Nancowry *ʔéh* near; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *ʔaʔəih*, Lawa Umphai *ʔuʔeh* what?

C: (Bahnaric, North & South Aslian) Chrau **hɛ:ʔ** *here, this*, Bahnar **hɛy** *just now, that just mentioned*, Mintil **hãʔ** *here, this*, Mah Meri **hɔʔ** *here*; ~ Mah Meri **nahɔʔ** *this*.
For Chrau final see 65 *t₁iʔ &c. Cf. 6 *ʔ[ʉə]ʔ *this*.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 85; cf. PINNOW 1959 78.)

1436 *ʔəy[h]; *ʔaay[] you (feminine singular).

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ɛ:i**, Sre **ay** *feminine singular*, Chrau **ʔay** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **ʔɛ:**, Biat **ai** *feminine*, Bahnar **ɛ:**, **ih**, Halang **ih** *singular*.
B: (South Bahnaric; originally calling deformation?) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **ʔa:y**, Chrau **a:y** *feminine*.
Cf. Khmu' **yɛʔ** *masculine singular familiar*; Semai **hɛ:ʔ**, Temiar **hã:ʔ** *singular*, Mah Meri &c. **hiʔ** *singular /plural* = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 34.
(SHAFER 1965 564; BLOOD 1966 182; SMITH 1972 332.)

1437 *[]ʔuy to be rocked, swung.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **ui p'uy** [*cradle*] *to swing*, Central Nicobarese **hvi-[hətə]** (!) *to swing (v.i.)*; ~ Khasi **kyn-oi** *to cradle, dandle, lull*.

1437a *ʔuy; *ʔuuy; *ʔuəy; *ʔ[ə]y three.

A: (Palaungic; ~ *lʔuy >) Praok **loy**.
B: (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **lo:ɛ**, **lu:ɛ**.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung **uəy**, Riang-Lang **ˀway**, **ˀwəy** (& **ˀwe**); ~ Lawa Bo Luang **laʔoi**, Lawa Umphai **laʔua**, Mae Sariang **laʔuai**.
D: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **lai**.
Connect 98 *piʔ, as Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *[]u(/p/)i[]ʔ

1438 *ʔuuy to tend, care for.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon **'uy** *to tend, see to*, Praok **uy** *to raise, bring up*.

1439 *jʔaay we two.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) Palaung **ay**, Riang-Lang **ay**, Central Nicobarese **cəai**.
Connect 4 *[]ʔaʔ *we two* or 1435 *ʔ[ʔ]aay *other?*

(*jʔuuy see 887 *jʔuuj *to smell, sniff*; *pʔuuy see 1550 *phuuy *blanket*; *rʔu(ə)y see 798 *rʔuc *finished*.)

***1440 *lʔəy; *lʔəy destitute, orphan.**

A: (North Bahnaric) West Bahnar **hrəi** *poor, wretched* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
B: (Bahnaric; ~?) Stieng **[ko:n] lə:y**, Chrau **ləʔə:y** *orphan*, Sre **ləʔo:y** *poor, wretched* (→ Rōglai **ləʔo:y** *poor, wretched, orphan*); ~ (*lnʔəy >) Sre **do:y**, Biat **[kɔ:n] də:i**, Jeh, Halang **tò:y** *orphan*.
(Proto-Austronesian *luqəy?) Cebuano Bisayan **lúuy** *pitiful*.

(***[s]**?əy see 158 ***[s]**yəə? to see.)

1441 *sʔuy rotten, to stink.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **ui sʔuy** to be rotten, putrid, Old Khmer **s-uy**, Modern Khmer **sʔoy** stinking, putrid, to stink, Riang-Lang **˜vi**, **˜wi** to smell (v.i.t.), Praok **siʔoy [baə]** to be fragrant, Lawa Bo Luang **saʔau**, Lawa Umphai **saʔɔi** stinking, Vietnamese **ôì** [meat] to be spoiled, rotten; ~ (***slʔuy** >) Kuy **sloi**, **lhoi** rotten, falling to pieces, to stink.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **pəyrù** stinkingly; & cf. Vietnamese **thối** to stink, to be rotten.

But Central Nicobarese **vi** smell is rather < **1563 ***[s]**ʔər**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22.)

1442 *kaay to scratch.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi, North Aslian) Khmer **ka:y** to scratch, scratch hole, gnaw, pick [teeth], Bru **ka:y** to scratch, scrape, Sre **ka:y** to peck after scratching ground, Khasi **khai** to pluck with nail (or < **1541 *khaay?**), Kintaq Bong **kay** to scratch (or < **802 *kaac?** so, apparently by back-borrowing, Bahnar **kai?** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)).

Note Proto-Miao ***k[ai]** to scrape, scratch, BENEDICT 1975 372, (IX). Cf. besides ***kaac** **A138 *kwaay**; **867 *kwaac** &c.; **1880 *kais** &c; **1881 *kuus** &c. (Cf. **POU** & **JENNER** 1975 no. 63.)

1443 *kuy; *kuuy head.

A: (Central Aslian, ?North Aslian) Kensiu (or **B**), Temiar, Semai II **kuy**.

B: (Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semai I **ko:y**, Semelai **kho:y**, Central Nicobarese **ko:i**, Nancowry **kuy** head, top.

= following?

1444 *kuuy? (& *kuəy??) to bend, nod, drowse.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **kui** to rock [child], Sre **kuy** to sleep (with secondary shortening?), Bahnar dialects **kui** to go to bed, to sleep (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **˜kuy** to bow down, stoop, Vietnamese **cúi** to bend, nod; ~ Mon **həkui** to be drowsy, to nod off, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cəŋkuy** feel sleepy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V263; implies ***-uy**), Bahnar **kəkəy** (< variant?), Kammu-Yuan **kənkú:y** to nod off.

Connect Chrau **[viʔ] gu:y** half asleep, to nod, Biat **[bic] gu:i** to be sleepy; & perhaps add preceding.

(SHAFFER 1965 48; SMITH 1972 456.)

(~) Kharia **[kabaiʔ] kubuiʔ** accidental crookedness of back, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 483).

†1445 *t₁kəy? tick.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **ke:i**; ~ Khmer **dəŋkae**, Bahnar **taŋ kəy**; ~ Sre **dərkay**, Chrau **rəkay**, Biat **rkai**.
 Sora 'taŋke:-n. —So *t₁-.

1446 *[d]kuuy; *[d]kuəy *Calotes lizard*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung [ə]koy (with post-dental vocalism!) *large kind of lizard with spines on back*; ~ (*[d]nkuuy >) Mon **həkui dakuy** &c. *bloodsucker lizard, Calotes versicolor*; → Jakun **dangkui** *black and orange lizard* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 73 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəŋkù:y** *Calotes* (TANDART 1935).
 B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Biat **kwai [toŋ]** *kind of large lizard or monitor*, (or A?) Jeh **ku:y** *small lizard*, Halang **kuay** *lizard*; ~ Chrau **ŋkwəy** *chameleon, gecko*, Biat **ŋkwai** *chameleon*; ~ (*[d]pkuəy >?) Kuy (?a:)kəi *chameleon*; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəŋkuəy** *Calotes* (TANDART 1935 **bəŋkù:əy**), Bahnar **məkuey** *large kind of lizard*.
 Stieng **pekei** *grey lizard living in houses* perhaps reflects a variant *[d]/p/kəy, but may be an onomatopoeic allied to Mon **kap kai** *Gecko guttatus*. (SCHMIDT 1905 32.)

1446a *rkəy; *rkəəy *behind*.

- A: (Katuic) Kuy **rkxi** *before, in the past*.
 B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng, Central Rölöm **kə:y** *behind*, Biat **kə:i** *behind*, (**ndu:r** —) *back*; ~ Sre **nko:y** *back*, Chrau **ŋkə:y** *behind*, Biat [**ruc**] **ŋkə:i** [*going*] *backwards*, Khasi **ryngkhi** *back of blade; [to follow] closely*; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **dəkə:y** *back*.
 Connect by metathesis 1505 *k-ru(u)y.
 (BLOOD 1966 402.)

†1447 *skuəy *Setaria italica* (?) *millet*.

- A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **skuəy** *Job's tears*, Riang-Lang [**kay**] **khuay** *Panicum millet*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həŋkə:y** *millet*.
 Sora [**bur**]-əy, Mundari **oe** *Setaria italica*, &c. (ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1303, 1310; Proto-Munda *(h)oXy).
 (Proto-Austronesian *t'Vku[]ai) Malay **səkoï** *Panicum italicum*, Cham **hako:y** *millet*, Jarai dialects **həku:ai** &c. *Setaria italica*; probably → Bahnar dialects **akəi** *kind of millet* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1447a *guuy *shadow of living creature*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **gu:i** *reflection, shadow*, Chrau **gu:y** *shadow, soul*, Biat **gu:i** *shadow of living creature*; ~ Bahnar **ŋo:y** *shadow of living creature*.
 Add as derivative B99 *[]p[oo]y? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. *spirit, soul*.

1448 ***nguy** (& ***nguuy**?) *to sit down*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer រៀងក្នុង, Sre **nguy**, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **ngồi**, Semai **gəy** (< variant?), Central Nicobarese **koi**.

Connect Palaung **guəy** *to remain, be, dwell*?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 222 (a).)

1449 ***cgəy** *dog*.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Khmer **chkae**, Vietnamese **cầy**. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 80 (a).)

1450 ***bguy**; (?) ***bguuy** *to emit smoke*.

A, B: (Mon, Central Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **həkùì** **bguy** &c. *to smoulder, smoke*, Temiar **bəguy** [*smoke*] *to waft* (BENJAMIN 1976B 178; A); ~ (***bbg-** > ***bpg-** >) Mon **həkùì** *to burn [incense]*, (B, by metathesis; ?) Chrau **pu:y** *to fumigate*.

1451 *[**rgəy** *thin, lean*.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Stieng **rəge:i**, Sre, Chrau **rəgay**, Central Rölöm **ge:**, Biat **rgai**, Rōngao **rəgi:** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (~?) Vietnamese **gầy**, Nancowry **?ikēy**.

Connect perhaps by metathesis Jölong **gre:** **puny** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (then *-əəy >) Mon **krùì** *to be emaciated*. Cf. also Khasi **syngkoi** *to get thin* (< *-guəy?);

Jakun **riukai** *dry, shallow, ripe, thin, lean* (taboo language), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 182.

(SHAFFER 1965 521; BLOOD 1966 186.)

1452 ***rgəy**; ***rgəəy** *skilful*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **həgəy**, Bahnar dialects **rəgəy**.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəgəy** (→ Rōglai; with secondary shortening!), Jeh **lagày**, Halang **rəgə:y**.

Connect Khmer **lkì:əy** *elegant, graceful*? If ***r-** prefix then also (A) Riang-Lang **_kay** *to be accustomed to*, but Kuy **khə:y** < Lao ?

(SMITH 1972 453.)

1453 *[**ŋaay** *eye*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Bahnar [**kɔ:n**] **ŋa:y** [*pupil of*] *eye*,

Palaung, Praok **ŋay**, Riang-Lang **_ŋay** *eye, face*; (probably ~) Lawa Bo Luang

?ŋea, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **?ŋai** *eye*; ~ (***kuən** [**ŋaay** by contraction >

***k(ə)ŋaay** > ?) Vietnamese **ngươi** *pupil of eye*.

(SHAFFER 1965 145.)

†1454 *[c]ɲayʔ; *[c]ɲaay[] *distant*.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **hòà!**, Vietnamese **ngáy**; ~ Old Mon **jirney** /jəɲɲəy/(!), Modern Mon **kəhòà** *distance*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, South Aslian) Khmer **chɲay**, Kuy **ɲhəi**, Sre, Chrau **ɲa:y**, Biat **ɲa:i**, Jeh **iɲɲa:y**, Halang **həʔɲa:y**, Khasi **jɲgai!**, Semaq Beri **ɲay** *distant*; ~ (*[c]ɲaay >) Palaung **səɲay**, Praok **siɲay**, Lawa Bo Luang **saɲia**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saɲai**, Danaw **s'ɔŋ-ɲai** *distant*.
Mon, Khasi ***j-** obscure.

(SCHMIDT 1905 44; SHAFER 1965 147; SMITH 1972 477.)

Sora **'saɲa:ɲ-**, **'saɲai-**, Santali **səɲgi-**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 40).

1455 *[m]ɲaay *person, human being*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **bəɲa:y** *human being*, Jeh **maɲa:y**, Halang **ɲa:y** *people*, Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **người** *person, people*.

Or ***bɲ-**?

(SMITH 1972 469.)

†1456 *[l]ɲuy *to swim*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ɲuy**.

Cf. Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **ɲə:i** [*fish*] *to come to the surface, float*, not obviously ← Indonesian; Khasi **jɲgi** *to swim*; & 1516 ***luyʔ** &c. *to wade, swim*.

Proto-Austronesian ***laɲu[]i**: Toba Batak **lange**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 92; DAHL 1973 § 15.7, 8; Acehnese **laɲuə**, Toba suggest ***-uəi**). See BENEDICT 1975 404.

1457 *[s]ɲəy *to speak*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **səɲə:y**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ɲə:y** *to speak*, Biat **ɲə:i** *to speak, say*, (or separate?) Palaung **ɲɛ** *speech, to speak*, Central Nicobarese **ɲe:** *voice, language; to call, name, say*, Nancowry **ɲé**; ~ Gölar Bahnar **həɲə:y** *to talk in one's sleep*.

(BLOOD 1966 413.)

1457a ***cuuy**; ***cuəy** *to sow, plant*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chu:i** *to sew, broadcast*.

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Chrau **swəy** *to dibble*, Jeh **co:y**, Halang **coay** *to plant rice*, Rōngao **cəi** *to sew, broadcast* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (or →?) West Bahnar **cə:i** *to dibble* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bru **cucə:y** *to plant*.

Add Sre **[mi:w]** **suy** *drizzle?* Cf. 1460 ***kcaay** *to be scattered*.

(SMITH 1972 486.)

1458 ***.caay** *resin*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ca:y** *pine resin* (→ Rōglai), Biat **ca:i**, Bahnar **ca:y** *resin*.

Cf. Malay **damar kijai** *resin from kědongdong tree*.

(SHAFER 1965 70.)

1459 *[ʔ]caay to spend.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **ca:y**, Biat **cai**, Palaung, Praok **cay**, Lawa Bo Luang **cea**, Lawa Umphai **cai**.

1460 *kcaay to be scattered.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **chai khyāy**, **chāy** to be separated, scattered, to spread out, Khmer **khca:y** to scatter, *spead* (v.i.t.); ~ (*kbcaay >) Mon **həcai**, Khmer **kəmca:y** to disperse, scatter (v.t.).

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1544 *chaay to tip out, which compare; as 1457a *cuuy &c. to sow... . Bahnar **sayʔ** to scatter (~ **kəsayʔ** to empty, pour out) is ← Cham ← 872 *saac: but West Bahnar **cai** to scatter, sow broadcast (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) may belong here.

1461 *k[əy]ʔ poison, venomous.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **cìʔ gyi** poison, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəciʔ** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N83), Praok **cay** to be venomous.

Cf. Riang-Lang **kəcʔ** poison, venom, perhaps < ***k.jəwʔ**; then *-yʔ by assimilation? But conceivably ***gyiʔ** (Mon), ***gyiiʔ**, to be connected 28 ***b[ng][e]ʔ** vegetable poison.

(***njuəy** see 811 ***njuəc** to shake.)

1462 *[l]juuy; *[l]jəy late.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) ~ Mon **kəcùì**; by secondary derivation ~ West Bahnar **h^(a)no:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Gölar Bahnar **h^amo:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **chầy**.

1463 *t₁uy; *t₁uuy; *t₁uəy to follow, accompany.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang **təy** to follow, accompany; following, along, after, Nancowry **tóy** next; → Shan **tóe** [animals] to flock together; ~ Palaung **kərtuy** to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **tərtəy** together, Praok **sitoy** to be joined together, make a whole.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, ?Mon) Old Mon **tūy** /**tuy**/ adverbial of sequential action, having..., Modern Mon **təe** also then... (or A), Old Khmer **toy**, Modern Khmer **daoy** to follow, (— **-sa:**) accompany; by reason of, by means of, -ly; → Cham **tu:y**, Röglai **tuy** to follow; Thai **dooy** to follow, pursue, attend; according to...; ~ Palaung **kərtuy** to join [wood, cloth] together (MILNE 1931).

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **həmɔ:i**, East Bahnar **səmɔ:i** in the same direction as, parallel to... (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Jeh **kato:y** to accompany (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

Distinguish Old Mon *tūy* *adverbial of completed action*, Middle Mon *tuŋ* *to have finished*, Modern Mon *təe* *to be finished...*. Add perhaps as der. 1498 **t₁mu* [*ly* &c. *guest, visitor*.

1464 **t₁uuy* *to carry on shoulder*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *tuŋ* (with vocalism levelled on derivation), Biat *tu:i*, Bahnar *to:i* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *tu:ŋ* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Sre *tərnuy* *bundle [of firewood]*, *truss*, Jeh *tanu:ŋ* *shoulder-load* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

1465 **t₁uuy* *fat, plump*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *tu:ŋ*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *tui*. Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Thai *tùŋ* *protuberant, distended...*.

1466 **t₁uuy*; **t₁uəy*; **t₁aay* *that (yonder)*.

A: (Palaungic, Central Asian) Riang-Lang *tuŋ* *that yonder*, Temiar *tu:ŋ* *elsewhere* (BENJAMIN 1976b 132).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *tuəy* *that* (MILNE 1931), Praok *tuay* *further side*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung *tay* *that*, Khasi *-tai* *that yonder*; ~ Bahnar *həta:ŋ* *then, when*.

Cf. 65 **t₁i?* &c. *that yonder*, 66a **tə?* *that, there*; 1435a **ʔ[əy]ʔ* &c. *deictic*; so originally compound?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 54 (a).)

1467 **[k]rt₂ay*; **[k]rt₂aŋ* *to twist (together)*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon *hətoa* *to twist fibres into single-strand rope*, Khasi *kyrthai* *to drive in [auger]*, (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) *to twist round*.

B: (Bahnaric; contaminated by 910 **təaŋ?*) Sre *rətaŋ* *to twist [rope &c.] before knotting* (→ Röglai), Sedang *kaséŋ* *twisted rope* (→ Bahnar *kəseŋ*), (?) by metathesis Biat *traŋ* *to twist, be twisted*.

Connect Khmer *kəndaŋ* *curly*?

(SMITH 1972 87.)

1468 **bt₁aay*; by metathesis **dpaay* *hare*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ (**bpt₁aay* > ?) Old Mon *batāy* /*bətaŋ*/, Modern Mon *hətai*; ~ Riang-Lang *pəltay*; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy *ktai:i* (*k-* animal prefix?; → Thai *kratàay*); & connection Palaung *pəŋtay*, (MILNE 1931) *paŋtay*, Shan *páŋ tǎy*.

B: (Bahnaric) Central Rölöm *pa:y*; → literary Malay [*kuching*] *tapai* *rabbit*; ~ Sre *dərpə:y* (→ Röglai), Chrau *səpa:y*, Biat *rpai:i*, Bahnar *təpa:y* *hare*.

Taboo deformation likely; note further Stieng *səra:y*.

(BLOOD 1966 326.)

1469 *daay *calyx, flower.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **tay**, Lawa Bo Luang **tia**, Lawa Umphai **thia**, Mae Sariang **tuai** *flower*, Vietnamese **đài** *calyx*.

1470 *daay; *daan *prop, to lean on.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **đài** *prop*; ~ Old Mon **dindāy** /**dənday**/ *to recline against*, Modern Mon **həlài** *to recline*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy **thi:an** *to push oneself off with feet*; ~ Khmer **cəm̥t̪i:ən** *leaning*. Cf. 84 ***pda[a]ʔ** *to lean on*.

1471 *snduy *lips.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **səndu:i** (&**səntu:i**) *lower lip of pig, elephant*, Sre **sənduy**, Lawa Bo Luang **tau**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **ndoi** *lips*.

Cf. 1629 ***sdur**; & Biat **tayɔ:i**, Proto-Mnong ***yɔ:y** (BLOOD 1966 68).

1472 *d̥əy; (weak form?) ***d̥əy** (&c.) *to have, to be obliged to, be in a position to, be about to.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Central Rölöm **d̥ə:y** *to be able to*, Biat **d̥ə:i** *to be* [un]a. to, Riang-Lang **_d̥əy** *future prefix*.

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau **di:-** (!) *(in order) to*, Bahnar **d̥əy** *to have, possess; perfect auxiliary*, Palaung **_di** (!) *future prefix*, Praok **ti** *(in order) to*, Khasi **dei** *must*.

(BLOOD 1966 391.)

†1473 *đuuy; *đuəy *to swing, dangle.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon **[d̥ɔŋ]** **dui** *to hang down and swing; pendulum*, West Bahnar **du:i** *long and dangling* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **dui-dui** *[swinging] to and fro*.

B: (Khasi, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi **doi-doi** *[swinging] to and fro*, Nancowry **ruáy** *morning, forward & backwards*; ~ Semai **ndoi** *to rock in one's arms* (TANDART 1935).

Connect Praok **try** *to hang, depend*; Shan **t̪ɛ** *to hang, depend*, → Riang-Lang **[̚toŋ]** *toe*.

Sora **doi-**, **doj-** *to h.* (v.i.t.).

Proto-Austronesian ***duian** (< ***dui-an**): Tagalog **duyan** *sling cradle*, &c.

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, ***-j-**).

(***[]đuəy** see 1830 ***[]điiv** *to point (out)*.)

1474 *g̥d̥əy *sexually abnormal male.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **kht̪y** (→ Thai **krat̪h̥əy**) *hermaphrodite*, Kuy **khth̪y:i** *homosexual*; ~ (***g̥md̥əy** >) Literary Mon **kamnuy** *eunuch*.

1475 *n₁aay *deictic*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **nì:əy** *on the far side, over there*, Kammu-Yuan **nà:y** *that*, Vietnamese **nằy** (beside **nằy**) *this*.

Cf. **91 *ni?** &c. *this*; original compound, as perhaps **1466 *t₁aay** *that...* of **65 *t₁i?** &c.? But conceivably ← Tai, cf. BENEDICT 1975 408.

***1476 *pn₂[uu]y** *dove*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung [ə]p̚loy (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang ʔplo̯e.

Proto-Austronesian ***pun₁ai**: Malay **punai** *pigeon, dove*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 122; DAHL 1973 § 15.2). See BENEDICT 1975 273.

(*rnəy* see **1508a *nrəy?** *pestle*.)

1477 *snaay *peg &c. used in cart construction*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **hnai** *linchpin*, Khmer **snay** *peg locking spoke in rim of wheel*.

1478 *p[a]y *to simmer, cook*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **pay** *to make into soup*, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **pa:y** *to cook*.

Or ***.paay**; so connected **1480 *paay** *cooked rice...*? But connection dubious Cham **(ha)pà:y** *to cook soup*, North Rōglai **subai** *to stew*, &c.
(SHAFFER 1965 92; SMITH 1972 472.)

1479 *paay *cloud, mist*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Praok **pay** [ɔm] *cloud*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **mbia**[ʔaum] *mist*, Central Nicobarese **mifaĩyə** *cloud*, Nancowry **mifāya**.

1480 *paay *cooked rice, food*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ba:y** *cooked rice*, Stieng **pa:i** *meat, wild animal*, Chrau **pa:y** *vegetables, soup*; ~ Stieng **prənai**, Sre **pərna:y** *rice-paddle*.
Cf. **1478 *p[a]y** ... *to cook*.

***1481 *[t]puuy** *kind of small mammal*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **puy** *mole*; → Burmese **pwe:**, Lushei **bui** *bamboo rat*; ~ Riang-Lang **kəpuy** *mole, bamboo rat*; ~ Nyah Kur **mpúy** *mole, bamboo rat*.
(Proto-Austronesian ***tupai**) Malay **tupai** (→ Ngaju Dayak), Acehnese **tupe** *squirrel* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 143).

BENEDICT 1972 46 no. 173 constructs Tibeto-Burman ***bwiy** from Burmese &c., Tibetan **byi-ba** *rat, mouse* (cf. **byi** *marmot*).

(*dpaay see **1468 *bt₁aay** *hare*.)

1482 *bay *kind of basket.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **pèy** *small shallow basket*, Sre **bay**, Bahnar **ba:y** *basket*; ↔ Cham **pà:y** (& **hapà:y**) *bag*, Jarai **bai**, Rōglai **bay** *basket*, North Rōglai **bai** [**yok**] *market basket*.

(SHAFFER 1965 131.)

1483 *b[oo]y *direction, towards.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **boy** /**boy**/ *direction, location, manner*, Modern Mon **pòa** *adverbial phrase head*, (?) Bunōr **bə:y**, Central Rōlōm **pə:y** *at the point of*, Biat **bə:i** *nearly*; ~ Old Mon **biboy** *towards, in accordance with*, Vietnamese **về** *towards*.

With South Bahnaric vocalism cf. **1484 *k[b]ooy**.

(BLOOD 1966 381.)

1483a *buuy?; ***buəy[]**; ***bəy[]** *dust.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Katuic) Khasi **pui-pui** *airborne dust*, Vietnamese **bụi** (→ Bahnar **bu:y**) *dust*; ~ Stieng **kəmbu:i**, by metathesis Biat [**neh**] **mo:i** *dust*; ~ (?) Bru **samu:y** *dust, fine particles*.

B: (Khasi) Khasi **poi-poi** *dust, fine particles*.

C: (Khasi, Central Aslian) ~ Khasi **sympei** *heap of spoil in front of mouse-hole*, Sakai **səmbei** *sand, dust* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 26).

Cf. **359 * []bu(u)k**; **2034 *buh** &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

(***buuy** see **110 *bu[u]?** *individual*.)

1484 *k[b]ooy *to wave hand.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **baoy**, Central Rōlōm **pə:y**, Mnong Gar **bə:y**.

Cf. Malay **buai** *to rock, swing*.

(BLOOD 1966 382.)

1485 *c]buuy *Careya arborea tree.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) → Shan **phūi**; Burmese [**ban.**] **bwe:**; ~ (***c]rbuuy** >) Mon **həpui**; by chiming expansion ~ Riang-Lang [**khe?**] **səy puy**.

Or ***t**₂-.

***1486 *jbaay** *to hang over one's shoulder.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **sp̄i:əy**, Kuy **ph̄i:ai** *to carry slung over shoulder*; → Thai **tàp^haay**, **sap^haay**; ~ (***jnbaay** >) Mon **kəmai** *to carry by a sling from the shoulder*; ~ Middle Mon **cambāy** *sling carrier*, Khmer **səmp̄i:əy** *bag, bundle, carried slung from shoulder* (with **s-** by levelling?); → Thai **sàbay** *sash*.

Cf. following.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***d'aNbai**: Toba Batak **jambe** to hang down, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 44; Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) by metathesis (*(q)a(N)bi[d']ai >) Cebuano Bisayan **abilay**, **s-ambilay** to carry over shoulder, Ilocano **abiday** to wrap over shoulder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149; der. Proto-Hesperonesian, cf. BLUST 1971 no. 390); & note ***yi(N)bai** to hang down, DEMPWOLFF 1938 58 (Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14.)

1487 *mbaay to dangle; negligent.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Old Mon **ḥāy** /^m**bay**/ to be negligent, Old Khmer **bāy** to dangle, hang down, be limp, Modern Khmer **p̄i:əy-[ŋi:əy]** to be careless, negligent, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **mbia**, Mae Sariang **mbuai** to forget, leave behind. Cf. preceding; & for semantics Old Mon **rlāy**, under the entry **1512 *laay**. Connect perhaps Toba Batak **ambe** to swing arms about (*^c**a(m)baj**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, compared at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 14, but a doubtful construction; for Javanese **awé** see **1529 *wa(a)y(-h)**). See BENEDICT 1975 341-2, move back and forth.

1488 *rnbuəy spout, proboscis.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **cəmpù:əy!** spout, tap, Biat **mbiə:i!** [təh] nipple (contaminated by **2041a *j/n/buəh** beak?), Stieng **rəmuəi** trunk, Vietnamese **vòi** trunk, antennae, spout. Connect obscure Khmer **prəmaoy** trunk; ultimately < ***rnbuuy** by metathesis? Note also Bru **rawù:y** trunk of elephant < Vietnamese?

1489 *ḥay; *ḥaay bean, small weight or coin.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Mon **boa** bean, pea, 1/16 tical, Khmer **pèy** obsolete small coin; → Cham **iběi** small coin, 1/16 **sleñ**; Thai **p^hay** 1/32 tical; (or B) Burmese **pai** bean, pea, 1/16 tical; ~ Sre **rəbay** pea (or B; → Röglai). B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Late Old Mon **ḥāy /ḥay/** 1/32? tical, Riang-Lang **_bay** bean; ~ Khmer **prəp̄i:əy** large kind of bean, (→ Cham **prabai**), Bru **rap̄iay**, Palaung **rəbay**, Riang-Lang **rəbay** bean; ~ Khasi **rymbai** bean; ~ Thin **spai** bean. BENEDICT 1972 59 no. 253 refers Burmese with Lushei, Dimasa forms to Tibeto-Burman ***be**. Note Amoy/Hokkien **pè** ~ **pòe** 貝 cowry, shell money, coin, from which POU & JENNER 1973 derive Khmer **pèy**; & cf. **1492 *[s]nfa[a]y** seed.

***1490 *kḥooy** dipper, ladle.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **baoy** dipper, ladle (& by back-formation **kaoy** to dip, scoop?), Kuy (k)**bo:i** coconut shell, Palaung **boy**, Riang-Lang **ḥoe**, Vietnamese **môi** dipper, ladle; → Thai **krabuay**, Shan **móe**, **wóe**. (Proto-Austronesian ***[]bui []bui**) Ilocano **buyuboy** coconut shell dipper.

1490a ***[j]ɬuy**; ***[j]ɬuuy** *fat*.A: (Khmer) Khmer **spùy** *awkwardly big or fat*.B: (Palaungic; ~ ***[j]pɬuuy** >?) Riang-Lang **ṽkəbuy** *to be fat*.**1491** ***tɬ[uə]y** *to throng, swarm*.A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon **[tɬan]** **tɬoy** *to be thronged*, Modern Mon **[bən]** **boa** *to mill around, be present in large numbers*, Khasi **boi** *to swarm, be plentiful*.†**1492** ***[s]nɬa[a]y** *seed*.A: (Khasi) Khasi **symbai**.Connect **1489** ***ɬa(a)y** *bean...*?Sora **ə'baɟ-ən**, compounding form **ba'j-ən** *seed (of fruit)*, **bʔa:i-** *to form seed*.**1493** ***sɬəəy**; ***sɬuəy** *to recover from illness*.A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **sbaəy** [*illness inter alia*] *to abate*, Sre **bə:y** *cured, recovered*.B: (Palaungic; ~ ***snɬuəy** >) Praok **muay** *to get better, be cured*.

B secondary.

1494 ***məy**; ***məəy** *mother's sister*.A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_may** *elder sibling*.B: (South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Sre **mə:y** *mother's sister, stepmother*; ~ Temiar **mənə:y** *sister-in-law* (BENJAMIN 1976B 134).Riang-Lang exchanges senses of ***məy**, **1531a** ***waay**. Cf. Kammu-Yuan **pə:y** *senior sister-in-law*; Bahnar **mih** *parent's elder brother* (&c., cf. SMITH 1972 334; < ***mə(ə)yh?**).†**1495** ***muuy**; ***muəy**; ***muuɲ** *one*.A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, South Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:y**, Kuy **mù:i**, Jeh **mù:ay** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979; or B?), Kammu-Yuan **mō:y**, Semelai **mu:y**.B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **mōy** /**moy**/, Modern Mon **mòa**, Old Khmer **mōy**, Modern Khmer **mù:əy**, Stieng **muəi**, Chrau **muəy**, Biat **muəi**.C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **mō:ɲ** (& **mɨɲ**).C as Bahnar **pe:ɲ** *three* ad **98** ***pi?**? Cf. (i) Bunör **ɲway**; (ii) Mường **mộch** (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese **một** (< ***muc**, sandhi-form in ***mu[]y đii?**, cf. **86?**; perhaps cognate Santali &c., below).

(SCHMIDT 1905 60; SHAFER 1965 572; BLOOD 1966 90; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 29; cf. SMITH 1972 490.)

(i) Sora **ə'boi**, **ə'boɟ**, Sora dialect **ə'məi** (or **iii?**), Kharia **məi**, &c.; (ii, cf. C) Kharia **məiɲ**, **məiɲ**, &c.; (iii; cf. Viet-Mường) Santali **mɨ'd**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 338).

1496 *muuys (& *muys?); *muə[y]s mosquito, gnat.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Literary Mon *gmuh* (!) *kind of stinging insect*, Khmer *mù:h mūs*, (TANDART 1935) *mùh mus*, Stieng *mʔɛ: mosquito*, Sre *muy gnat* (→ Röglai; with secondary shortening, or < *muys?), by metathesis Central Nicobarese *miho:yə mosquito*, Nancowry *mihúya*, refer *?imihúya to fly up & down*; ~ Biat *rmoi gnat*; ~ Sakai *kâmos mosquito* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Mon 180 (a)); → Malay *kěmus kind of gnat*.
- B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy *mùah*, Bru *mùayh*, Chrau *mə:ih mosquito*, Bahnar *məih kind of large mosquito*, Vietnamese *muỗi mosquito*.
- Cf. 873 *s/m/uc &c. *stinging insect*.
(SCHMIDT 1905 60.)

1497 *[g]m[uu]y; *[g]muəy sibling's child.

- A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *_moe daughter-in-law*.
- B: (Khmer) Khmer *kmə:y nephew, niece* (TANDART 1935 also *kmù:əy*); → Cham *kamuəc*.
- Bahnar *[mʔ] məy*, Jeh *məy daughter-in-law* are perhaps < *kuən waay by contraction, cf. 1127, 1531a; so conceivably these, with vowel metathesis; Khmer then perhaps < *km-, Riang-Lang < *(n)m-. Cf. 1187 *kmun &c.

***1498 *t₁mu[]y; *t₁muəy guest, visitor.**

- A: (Mon) Mon *məe tmuy* &c.
- B: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy (k)*ma:i, tma:i stranger, visitor*; ~ (*t₁nmuəy > ?) Chrau *təmuəy*, Bahnar *təmə:y guest, visitor*, Kammu-Yuan *təmə:y guest; tribal group*.
- Bahnar *mə:y*, Thin *moi to summon, invite* are probably ← Mường (BARKER 1966 21) &/or Vietnamese *mời*. ~ 1463 *t₁uy &c. *to follow, accompany*? Note also Central Nicobarese (m)*itu:ə to go on visit*.
(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 484.)
- Proto-Austronesian *t/am/u(S)ai: Toba Batak *tamue*, Old Javanese *tamuy*, Modern Mon *tami*, Madurese *tamòy*, Iban *temuai guest*, Ngaju Dayak *tamuei stranger* (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 130, *tamu^c; NOTHOFFER 1975 86 & n. 54; simplex > Cham *to:y*, North Röglai (!) *thuāi guest, visitor*).

1499 *[d₂]muy axe.

- A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon *mùì muy*, Kammu-Yuan *muy*, Palaung *muy*, Praok *moy*, Lawa Bo Luang *?mau*, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang *?mɔi*.
- Connection uncertain Khmer *mù:h mūs*, Stieng *mueh wedge for splitting wood*.

(*yaay see 151 *ya? grandmother.)

†1500 *ray; *raay to cut.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Khmer [kən]-tray, Kuy [n]trai, Stieng [kə]tre:i, Biat [ŋkap] trai, Rieng-Lang [kim] ʔray scissors; → Rōglai jətreɪ (→ Sre); Shan kīm hāi.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer rì:əy *separate(d)*, (GUESDON 1930) *to cut up*, Khasi *rai to decide judicially*; ~ Khasi *khrai to sever*; ~ Mon [kət] krai scissors (→ Burmese *katkre:*, → Mon *krəp kre*), Khmer tra:y *to lop, clear a path*, Sre tra:y *to shave*, Stieng [kə]tra:i, Palaung [gim] hray scissors; ~ Middle Mon [mra] tarāy, Modern Mon [pəɾɛʔ] kərai dah.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

Sora rai-[ʔkuŋ-] *to cut off* (: *r- or *t₂-r-).

1501 *raay to be scattered.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, ?Viet-Mường) Khmer rì:əy *scattered, to scatter* (→ Thai raay), Sre ra:y *to cure, to console*, Praok [pruŋ prəŋ] ray [ruat hu] *to be scattered*; ~ Palaung kray (MILNE 1931; !), Rieng-Lang kray *to move away*, Khasi krai *to spread*; ~ Khmer pra:y = rì:əy; → Thai praay *to scatter, sow broadcast*; Cham pra:y *to scatter, sow broadcast*, Malay *běr-pěrai-pěrai* *scattering [of crowd], crumbling*, Sundanese pīray *to disintegrate, corrode*; ~ Khmer prì:əy *to scatter, to be scattered, to gush out*; → Thai pʰraay *scattered bubbles rising*; Cham prà:y *untied, dissolved, shattered*; ~ Mon sai *to be separate, apart* (in part, cf. 1538 *r(-)saay; *srāy, crāy*), Khmer sra:y *to untie, release*, Biat cra:i *scattered*, Palaung hray *to disappear, be lost, to cure*, Khasi rai-[dieng &c.] *to abstain, avoid*, (?) Vietnamese *rười to sprinkle [soup on rice]*; ~ (*nraay >) Praok gray, Lawa Bo Luang khrea, Lawa Umphai ŋgrai *to be lost*.

Hence by metathesis 1660 *syaar *outstretched?* Cf. further 837 *ra(a)c *to sprinkle, scatter*; 1504 *ruy &c. *to fall, be shed*; & Khmer rayāy *to be, become, detached* (GUESDON 1930). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

†1502 *rəy; *rəəy to rise, stand up.

A: (South Bahnaric; ~ *prəy >) Stieng prəle:i, Chrau prə: *to wake*, Sre pərlay *to shake awake*, Biat rlai *to wake, shake awake*.

B: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang rəy *to rise, stand up, rise from sleep*.

Santali deʔ *to mount, ascend, climb, &c.*

(PINNOW 1959 333).

1503 *r[ɔɔ]y to grow, increase.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi roi *to increase*; ~ Old Mon prey /prəy/ *more than*; ~ Khasi pynroi *to increase, augment*.

1504 *ruy; *ruuy; *ruəy; *rəy; *rəəy to fall, be shed (& to scatter, contaminated by 1501 *raay).

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **proy(proy)**, Kuy **prui prui** *drizzling*, Palaung **phruy** [*leaves*] *to fly about, be driven by the wind* (MILNE 1931).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon, Central Aslian) Khmer **rò:y** [*petals*] *to fall, drop off; to sprinkle, sow, spray, winnow by letting fall from a height*, Kuy **rò:i** *to sprinkle [e.g. salt] on*, Chrau **ro:y** *to scatter, spread*, Palaung **ruy ruy** *to drizzle*, (or A) Sakai **rúi** *to strew* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 493); ~ Mon **kræ truy** *to sprinkle, scatter* (or A, E); ~ Bahnar **pro:y** *to sprinkle, scatter*.

C: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Khmer **rù:əy** *to go limp; to sprinkle*, Praok **ruay** *to scatter*; ~ Bahnar **pro:y** *to sow broadcast*, West Bahnar *to scatter*, Khasi **phroi** *to powder and sprinkle* (probably, rather than A); → Cham **pro:y** *to sprinkle, scatter*, Acehnese **pruə** *to bestrew, besprinkle*; ~ (***sruey** >) Kuy **sai** [*leaves, fruit*] *to fall*; ~ (***snruəy** >) Mon **həroa** (*-**uəy** confirmed by dialects) *to pour out gradually, to sprinkle*, Praok **gruay** *to pour*.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **rəy** *to sow broadcast*; ~ Khasi **krei** *to scatter*.

E: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) ~ West Bahnar **prə:i** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **prə:y**, [**prát**] **pré:y** *to scatter, sprinkle*; ~ (***srəy** >) Vietnamese **rôi** *to fall, drop; to shed [tears]*.

Connect 843 ***ruc** &c. *to fall, drip*; & cf. 2051 ***ruh** &c. But connection dubious Kharia **rɔ** *to be scattered*, &c., PINNOW 1959 400. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 64.)

1505 *ruy; *ruuy behind.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mường (BARKER 1966 21), Vietnamese **rôi** *afterwards*; ~ Palaung **kruy** (*time*) *before*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer **kraoy** *behind, after*, Kuy **krɔ:i** *afterwards, later*.

The same temporal semantics in Mon **həta?** *next [morning]; previous [incarnation]*...

Connect 1446a ***rkə(ə)y** by metathesis; perhaps 842 ***ruc** &c. *to retreat*... (note Sre **cəm ruc** *to throw over one's shoulder, behind one*). But connection dubious Bahnar **kədre:i**, Jölong **kədrɔ:i** *to go ahead of* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), forms at SMITH 1972 487, & Bru **trɪay** (< ***draay**?) *rear*.

1506 *ruy; *ruəy track, mark.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **troy** *to mark one's path*; → Thai **krui** *marker stake*; Cham **truy**.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **rɔy**, Praok **ruay** [**khay**] *imprint*.

(***ru(u)y**, ***ruəy** see also 1534 ***ru[wa]y fly**.)

1507 *jraay thin, lean, lacking body.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Old Mon **jrāy** /**jray**/, Modern Mon **sài** *to be lean, undernourished*, Khmer **crɪ:əy** *thin in consistency, limp, soft*, Khasi **rai-[khoh]** *lean* (compounding form!).

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

1508 *draay kind of deer.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Mon *drāy* /*dray*/, Modern Mon *krài Axis porcinus* (→ Burmese *daray*), Old Khmer *drāy*, Modern Khmer *trì:əy stag*, Stieng *drai kind of deer*, Biat *drai swamp deer*.

(SHAFFER 1965 469.)

†1508a *nrəyʔ; *nrəy[]; by metathesis *rnəyʔ pestle.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon *rìʔ*, Khmer *ʔəŋrè:*, Kuy *nthrè:*, Bru *nthrè:*, Jeh *adray*, Thin *dreʔ*, Palaung *gre*, Riang-Lang *reʔ*, Praok *gri*, Lawa Bo Luang *ŋgrəiʔ*, Lawa Umphai *ŋgreʔ*, Mae Sariang *ŋgrəiʔ*; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəntreʔ*; ~ Halang *hədray* (or < simplex?), Khasi *synrei*.

or *-iʔ subject to post-dental lowering?

B: (North Bahnaric; ~?) Bahnar *hədrə:y*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau *rənay*, Biat *rna:i*.

(SMITH 1972 458.)

Sora *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, *on(d)'rij-ən*, in compounds *rij-ən*, *rij-ən*.

1508b *pray to make a profit.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *proa*; ~ Mon *pəroa*, (~?) Khmer *kəmray* (→ Thai *kamray*), Kuy *(m)mrai profit*.

Khmer dissimilation probably regular in absence of levelling.

1509 *(bruy?) bruy; *(bruuy) bruuy untidy, long-haired, frayed.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon, Palaungic) Mon [*həprək*] *həprui* to have unkempt hair (< **bru(u)y* *bru(u)y*), Khmer *pruy* unusually long-haired, [peacock's] feathers, (**bruy bruy* >; ?) Praok *sibroy* [*sibrok*] refuse.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric; **bruuy bruuy* >) Khmer *babrūy* [*mat*] to get ragged at the edges (GUESDON 1930), Bahnar *bro:i bro:i* all having big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (**c.[m]* *bruuy* by contraction > **cmruuy* > ?) Bahnar *cəbro:i* having a big moustaches (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1510 *[m]raay cotton thread.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy *phrì:ai* spool &c. of thread, Sre [*che*] *bra:y*, Chrau *vra:y*, Biat *bra:i*, Bahnar *bra:y* sewing-thread, Jeh *bra:y* cotton, Halang *bra:y* thread; → Cham *mra:y*, Jarai *mraiʔ*, Röglai [*təley*] *mra:y*, North Röglai *mrai* thread.

If Indonesian, Jarai *-a:i* would be expected. Vietnamese *sợi* is probably rather connected Chrau *rəwəy* quantifier for string, hair.

(BLOOD 1966 282; SMITH 1972 471.)

1511 *l[]ay[?]; *l[]aay[?] *again*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **l̥əy** *more, longer, else*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **lay** *mark of continuous or habitual action*, Mường **lê** (BARKER 1966 25; !), Vietnamese **lại** *again*; → Shan **lāi** *again*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **paʔdia**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **paʔlia** *now*.

Perhaps by contraction < *l[]las ʔaay *another time*, cf. 1942, 1935, Vietnamese then < *laayʔ by metathesis.

†**1512** *laay *to dissolve, melt, become loose; idle*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) East Bahnar **la:i** [gɔa:i] [*hair*] *floating free* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **lay** [*words*] *to be vain* (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **lay** *to melt*, Vietnamese **lười** *to be lazy*; ~ Khmer **thli:əy** *to break open, burst, split, crack*, Kuy **thli:ai** *to burst under pressure of water*; ~ Chrau **pla:y** *to unwind*; ~ Biat **rkla:i** *to disentangle* by secondary derivation; ~ Old Mon **rlāy** /**rlay**/ *to have loose, have unbound, to be idle*, Modern Mon **lài** *to dissolve, to come loose*, Khmer **rəl̥i:əy** *to dissolve, melt (v.i.)*; → Thai **lalaay** *to dissolve (v.i.t.)*, → Khmer **ləl̥i:əy** = **rəl̥i:əy**; Malay **rəl̥ai** *to crumble*, Acehnese **röl̥e** *to collapse, subside*; ~ (***rnlaay** >) Khmer **rùml̥i:əy** *to melt* by dissimilation, Lawa Umphai **nai** *to melt, dissolve*, Praok **nay** *to be wasted*.

Old Mon **tulāy** *to hang down*, Modern Mon **kəl̥ai** *to come loose, hang loose*, apparently < ***tplaay** (formally causative!) may be cognate with Chrau; & may be connected Khmer **thli:əy**, &c. *Idle* by attraction 1861 ***rliw**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 68.)

Santali **le** *to dissolve, melt*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 150a; Proto-Munda ***liG**?).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***ruyai**: Javanese **rowé-rowé** *hanging loose*, Pampangan **lugay, luge** [*hair*] *hanging loose*, Tagalog **lugáy** *loose, unfastened* (so Proto-Hesperonesian); probably by metathesis ***yurai** = ***u[l]aj** *to hang loose*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 162 (Proto-West-Indonesian, adding Toba Batak **ure-ure** *fruit cluster of sugar palm*, Karo **m-uré-uré** *to hang down on stalk*; Malay, Batak initial by dissimilation, or ← Javanese, Gayo?); perhaps merging (ii) ***lailai**: Iban **lelai** *to bend, droop*, Cebuano Bisayan **laylay** *to droop...*, Ilocano **laylay** *to wilt* (so Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 310, *hang*.

(***laay** see also 1435 ***[ʔ]aay** *other*.)

1513 *ləyh *to wander*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **lay** [**way**], Palaung **leh** [**laŋ**] (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang-Lang [**laŋ**] **le**, Praok **lay** [**liŋ**]; ~ Vietnamese **trải** *to travel, go*.

Cf. 715 ***laŋ** &c.

†1514 *lǽy; *luəy to leave, leave alone, leave off.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng lǽy to cease, interrupt, Sre lǽy (→ Röglai), Biat [jaŋ &c.] lǽi to leave, Jeh lǽy to set aside, Halang lǽy to stop; ~ Middle Mon *laluy*, Modern Mon *kəlúi* to leave; ~ (*[l]mlǽy >) Praok [bluay] blǽy to stop, leave off.

B: (Palaungic) ~ Praok bluay to overlook, leave alone.

B secondary. Cf. 190 *leʔ to leave, depart; 2062 *leh ...to go out.

(BLOOD 1966 405; SMITH 1972 463.)

(~) Kharía me'lae, melai to leave off (PINNOW 1959 K 346).

1515 *l[oo]y easy, easy-going.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon lǽa loy to be easy, to be in easy circumstances, well-off (→ Burmese *lway* to be easy), Sre lǽy easy, easy to get (at) (DOURNES 1950; correct to lǽy?), Khasi loi-loi, lui-lui soft-hearted; ~ Khmer thlǽy to be careless, negligent, easy-going.

1516 *luyʔ; *luuy[]; *luəy[]; *lǽy[] to wade, to swim.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer lùʔ to wade, paddle, Praok loy [rɔm], Vietnamese lǽi to swim.

B: (Mon, Katuic) Mon lúi to wade (through), Proto-Nyah Kur *luuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 V275; implies *-uuy), Bru lǽy to swim; ~ Old Mon *lwuy* /lwuy/ station in water.

C: (Katuic, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Kuy lǽi to swim, Palaung loy, Temiar loy to wade (BENJAMIN 1976B); → Cham loy [ʔya:], North Röglai luai, (or D?) Jarai lǽi?, (or A?) Röglai loy to swim; ~ (*sluəy[] >) Kuy lhǽi, slǽi & Bru salǽy to float (→ Thai lǽy); ~ Sakai linoi to swim (i.e. Semai, Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 544).

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Bahnar glǽy, Jeh talǽy, Halang jǽlǽy to swim; → Cham chaluǽi; ~ (*srlǽy[] >) Kammu-Yuan róy to float.

Cf. Thai luy to wade, Shan lúi to swim, &c., BENEDICT 1975 404; & 1456 *[l]ɲuy to swim.

1517 *luuy wax.

A: (Mon, Central & South Aslian) ~ Mon plǽe pluy, Proto-Nyah Kur *phluuy (DIFFLOTH 1984 N217), Sakai pǽloi (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 49); ~ Central Sakai klǽ^{wi}.

†1518 *klay[?]; *klaay[?] to change.

A: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **krəlay**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường) Mon **klai** to translate, Khmer **kla:y** to change, dissolve (v.i.) (contaminated by 1512 *laay), Kuy **klai** to change shape or state, Kammu-Yuan **klè:y** to exchange ceremonially, Palaung **hlay** (!) (MILNE 1931), Lawa Bo Luang **klea**, Lawa Umphai **klai** to turn over, (?) Mường (BARKER 1966 17), Vietnamese **trái** to be contrary to; → Thai **klaay** to transform, to change, be changed; transformation.

Connect Sre **glay** to make amends for (↔ Rōglai); Mon **hlai** to change, exchange.

Sora 'o:la:j- to exchange.

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 282.

1519 *kləy? (daughter's) husband.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat **klai** son-in-law; ~ (***knləy?** >) Kammu-Yuan **klè?** husband; ~ (***pən kləy?** by contraction >, cf. 1163?) Palaung **pənle** wife.

Connection dubious Khmer **pdry** husband, allegedly ← Sanskrit/Pali **pati**.

1520 *k(-)ləy? penis.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **klai**, Kammu-Yuan **tlé?** (!), Riang-Lang **kle?**, Lawa Bo Luang **klai?**; apparently → Cham **kla:y**, Jarai **klæ** penis, North Rōglai **[boh]** **pi-tlai** testicles.

Danaw has **tlé**; by back-formation, or ***k-** part-of-body prefix? Connect 855 *lɔc &c.

1521 *slaay fields.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Central Aslian) Mon **klai** clearing after first year, Nyah Kur **chəak-khlay** abandoned dry fields, Khmer **slay** [land] under cultivation, Temiar **səlay** (dry) field (BENJAMIN 1976B 160).

Cf. Late Old Mon **dinlāy** /**dənlāy**/ parcel [of cultivated land], Kammu-Yuan **lè:y** wet field (quantifier). Prefer ***s-** as Mon obscure.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 94.)

1522 *jləy prisoner of war.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **jlūy** /**jluy**/, Modern Mon **klui**, Khmer **chl̥y**; → Thai **c^haləy**; Cham **jalry**.

Connect B23 ***[j]** **[l]** **aa?** slave...?

1523 *t₁luuy[]; *t₁luəy? banana.

A: (North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Sakai **telui** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 42), South Nicobarese **təlu:i**.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, ?Central Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **təl̥y**, Palaung **kluəy**, Vietnamese **chuối** (for ****truối**), (?) Proto-Semai ***tləy** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

Connect Proto-Tai ***kluai.2**, EGEROD 1961 p85.

1523a *d₂løy to swell, bulge.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer [lìən] **thlè: dhlər!** *to bulge*, Sre **lay** *gorged leech or tick* (DOURNES 1950), Biat **lai** *stout, fat, (~?)* Riang-Lang **cəray** *to swell up*.

1524 *pləy? fruit.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Khmer **phlae**, Kuy **plai**, Biat **plai** [**chi:**], Sre, Chrau, Jeh **play** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Bahnar **pley** *fruit*, Halang **play** *quantifier for fruit*, Kammu-Yuan **plé?**, Palaung **ple**, Riang-Lang **plə?**, Praok **pli**, Lawa Bo Luang **pləi?**, Lawa Umphai **ple?**, Mae Sarian **plei?**, Vietnamese **trái**, Che' Wong **pəlo?**, Semai I **pələ:?**, Semelai **pələ:h** *fruit*. (SCHMIDT 1905 62; SHAFER 1965 105, 505; BLOOD 1966 185; SMITH 1972 457; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 282.)

1525 *pluuy kind of cucurbitaceous plant.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **plə:y** [*kind of*] *pumpkin or water-melon*, Bahnar **plū:y** *gourd*. (SMITH 1972 461.)

1526 *blaay young man.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **blāy** /**blay**/, Modern Mon **plài**, Lawa Bo Luang [**pi**]-**plia**, Lawa Umphai [**kuan**] **mblia**, Mae Sarian [**kuan**] **mblia**, **mbluai**; ~ (***bplaay** >) Vietnamese **trai** *boy* (& by secondary derivation **giai** *boy*).

***1527 *[b]l[ə]y to trade.**

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung **løy** *to trade* (MILNE 1931), Praok **lay** *trade*; ~ Thin **kăklai** *trade*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***bəli(S)**: Malay **běli** *to buy*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27), Röglai **bley**; → Sre **bley**; Sakai **běli** (Semai, Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 485; (ii) ***bili(S)**: Cebuano Bisayan **bili** *price*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 30; Tagalog rather < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 282, *exchange*.

1527a *sl[əy]?, *[s]ləy[?] edible moss.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **slae** *moss*; ~ (***spl-** >?) Riang-Lang **kle?** *edible moss*.

B: (Khmuic) ~ (***snl-** >?) Kammu-Yuan **klè:y** *edible moss*; → Lao **ghay**.

Connection uncertain Mon **hloik**.

1528 *sluy; *[s]luəy to descend, decline.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **sloy** [*clothing*] *to trail*.

B: (Palaungic, South Aslian) Palaung **hluəy** *to be past noon*, Besis **chəlui** *to descend* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 95).

*1529 ***way(-h); *waay(-h)** to turn, to wave.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Kuy **wìh** to turn (away, towards), Bahnar **wìh** to return; → Thai **wǎy** to shake, quiver..., Shan **wái** to stir, wave; ~ Vietnamese **quay** to turn (v.i.t.) (& **quậy** to stir), Central Nicobarese **kewai-[re]** to swing arms, Nancowry **kiwáyri**; → Thai **kway** to swing, sway; ~ Sre **krəway** dizzy; ~ Mon **həwoa saway** to turn round axis, to wave.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Kuy **wè:h** to avoid, step aside, Stieng **[ui:ŋ] uai** giddiness, Bahnar **wai** to roll up, to turn round (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); curved, Palaung **vay** to wave hand, beckon, **veh** to avoid, shun, Riang-Lang **vay** to turn [face], Vietnamese **[oăn]-oai** to squirm, writhe (with phrasally conditioned tone?); → Röglai **uy** to turn (v.i.t.); Shan **wǎi** to turn; ~ Sre **ŋoa:y**, Chrau **pwa:y [vo:ʔ]** dizzy, Vietnamese **ngoái** to turn [head] round (with unexplained tone); ~ (*[k]lwaay >) Khasi **kyllai[dohdit]** wagtail; ~ Khmer **chva:y** to coil, braid, roll into a ball; ~ (*[r]nwaay >) Mon **kəmài** to stir, (?) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaʔmea**, Lawa Umphai **raʔmai**, Mae Sarian **yaʔmai** to mix.

Add 1531 ***wa(a)y** to transfer ownership? Cf. also 234 ***wi(i)?** to turn; 235 ***weeʔ**, ***weh** crooked, to twist; 1950a ***was** &c. to wave, beckon.

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; SMITH 1972 335.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *[]y- []auai: Acehnese **rawe** to grope for in water &c., Javanese **awé** to beckon, Cebuano Bisayan **gaway** tentacles of jellyfish (&c.; so Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *k- []auai: Cebuano **kaway** tentacles of jellyfish, Tagalog **kawáy** to beckon, Proto-Oceanic ***kawe** tentacles.

Note Tibeto-Burman ***wa:y** to whirl, brandish, wave, BENEDICT 1972 32 no. 90; ***koy** to bend, BENEDICT 1972 67 no. 307 & n. 210; & see BENEDICT 1975 241-2, move back and forth I-II.

1530 ***way** quick.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vèy** quick, prompt (→ Thai **way**), Kuy **wà:y** quick, quickly, Stieng **uei**, Sre **way** quickly (DOURNES 1950).

1531 ***way; *waay** to transfer ownership.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) → Shan **wài [nìim]** to sell on credit; ~ Sre **təway** to redeem; → Röglai **təway**, Malay **tawi**; ~ (*sway >?) Vietnamese **vay** to borrow.
- B: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **vay** to borrow, Riang-Lang **_vay**, **_way** to hire, lend, borrow [goods], Lawa Bo Luang **wia**, Mae Sarian **wuai** to borrow, lend, Praok **vay** lease, to lease, Khasi **wai** to lend, let; ~ Old Mon **twāy /tway/**, Modern Mon **kwai**, Old Khmer **thvāy**, Modern Khmer **thva:y** to present; ~ Biat **cuai**, (~? cf. Vietnamese) Bahnar **hua:y** to redeem.

= 1529 ***wa(a)y** to turn...? Cf. here 768a ***wa[i]ŋ** &c. to borrow.

(SHAFFER 1965 198.)

1531a ***waay** *elder sibling*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **vay** *kinship class including elder sibling*, Riang-Lang **_vay**, **_way** *parent's or wife's e. sister, elder sibling-in-law*, (?) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ʔɔi** *elder sister*; ~ (***mwaay** >) Alakong Bahnar **ma:i** *elder sister* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **məma:y** *elder sister*.

Riang-Lang exchanges senses of ***waay**, **1494** ***məy**. Connect perhaps **1497**

*[g]m[uu]y &c. *sibling's child*, which compare; as **117** ***mbiiʔ**.

(SMITH 1972 470.)

†1532 ***kwaay** *yam*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Aslian) Mon **kwai yam**, Thin **kwai** *sweet potato*, Vietnamese **khôai** (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **khəai** [ti:m]), Sakai **kuói yam** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Y 4); by secondary derivation ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamea**, Lawa Umphai **rəmai** *kind of taro* (via ***knwaayʔ**); Proto-Semai ***bkooy** *Dioscorea alata* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(?) Sora **-gai-ən**, **-ga'j-ən** *tuber* (compounding form ~ **gə'naj-ən**, usually referred to **gai-** *to dig*; for which see **1541** ***khaay** &c.).

Cf. Tibeto-Burman ***kywi**y, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 238.

1533 ***kw[əə]y** *top, on top, above*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **kwə:y** *above*; ~ Palaung **kərvuay** *above, beyond, upper part of house, loft*, Lawa Bo Luang (**haw**k) **ʔawui**, Lawa Umphai [**haw**k] **rawui** (*hair above* =) *eyebrow*, (?) Praok **sivoy** *in front, before*; by secondary derivation ~ Kammu-Yuan **pərwə:y** *upper part, top*.

Waic vocalism contextual?

†1534 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ru[wa]y** > ***ruy**; ***ruuy**; ***ruəy**; Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ruhay** *fly*.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rù**y.

B: (Mon, Nicobaric) Mon **rùi**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***rūuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N75), Central Nicobarese **yu:e**.

C: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy (**ʔa:**)**rù:ai**, Stieng **ruəi**, Chrau **rəwəy**, Bahnar **rə:y**, Jeh **ro:y**, Halang **roay**, Kammu-Yuan **rə:y**, Palaung [**ə**]ruəy, Riang-Lang **_ruay**, Lawa Bo Luang **roi**, Lawa Umphai **rua**, Mae Sariang **yuai**, Vietnamese **ruôi**, Semai **roi** (TANDART 1935), Nancowry **yúay**; → Cham **ro:y**, Jarai **ruaiʔ** (&c.), Röglai **rəway**, North Röglai **ruai**.

D: (South Bahnaric) Sre **rəha:y**, Bunör **rəhwa:y**, Central Rölöm **huəy**, Biat **rhuai**. (SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 207; BLOOD 1966 91; SMITH 1972 480; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 199.)

Sora **əroj-ən**, compounding form **roj-ən**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 356; Proto-Munda ***rɔj**).

1535 ***rwaay** *tiger, large felid.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan [ró:y] **rəwà:y** *tiger [spirit]*, Thin **rwai**, Palaung **rəvay**, Riang-Lang **rəway**, Praok **sivay**, Lawa Bo Luang **?awia**, Lawa Umphai **rawia**, Mae Sariang **ɣawia**, **ɣawuai** *tiger...*, Bru **rawiay** *sprit*.
(SHAFFER 1965 221.)

1536 *[l]wəəy *to become tired.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [kwaŋ] **kwui**! *to feel weary*, Khmer **lv̄:y** *weak, flagging, indolent*; ~ (*[l]rwəəy >) Khmer **rəv̄:y** *weak, flagging, indolent*.
Mon initial & head register by phrasal deformation? Connection dubious Santali **lamba'ɟ lumbu'ɟ** (*to walk*) *leisurely, slowly*, **ɽimbɔ'ɟ ɽɔmbɔ'ɟ** *slowly, wearily; fatigued* (PINNOW 1959 K 528), since *-y is normally lost in Santali: ib. p. 281.

1537 ***saay** *bee.*

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Mon **sai**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **tərhá:y**.

1538 ***saay** *dispersed.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **sai** *to be separate, apart* (in part, cf. below & 1501 ***s-raay**; **sāy**), Khmer **sa:y** *to spread, stretch out, extend (v.i), to disperse (v.t.)*, Bru **saʔ-sa:y** *scattered all over*; ~ Mon **sai** *to be separate...* (in part; **rhāy**), Khmer **rəsa:y** *untied; sparse*.
Or ***rsaay** < ***s-raay** by metathesis, ***saay** by back-formation? The same initial variants in 872 *(r-)**saac**, 837 ***s-raac**.

†1539 ***həy**; ***həəy**; ***huəy** *finished.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **həy** *just now*, Jeh **hāy** *enough*, Halang **hāy** *already got*.
B: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Khmer **həəy** *finished, already*, Stieng **hə:i** *perfect particle*, Biat **hə:i** *already*, Praok **həy** *punctuating particle*, Sakai **hoi** *to finish* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 115); ~ Kuy **lh̄:i** *already*.
C: (Palaungic) Palaung **huəy** *to have finished*; → Shan **hwāy**.
Connect 875 ***huc** &c.; cf. 250 ***hiiʔ** *to cease...*.
(SCHMIDT 1905 36; cf. SMITH 1972 467.)
(?) Kharia **hoi**, **hoi** *to be, become, to happen*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 83).

(***h[əy]**? see 1435a ***?[əy]**? deictic.)

1540 ***h[oo]y** *to call.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Sre **ho:y**; ~ Khmer **dəŋhaoy** *to summon*.
Onomatopoeic Khasi **kynhoi** *to shout* is probably independent.

†1541 *khaay; *khəy to dig.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi) Middle Mon *khāy*, Modern Mon *khai* to dig, Khmer *kha:y* to scratch, scrape, dig out; ~ (*krhaay >) Khasi *kharai* ditch, trench.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *khới*.

Cf. A138 *kwaay to scratch, dig; 1442 *kaay to scratch.

(?) Sora *gai-*.

Proto-Austronesian *Sukai: Tagalog *hukay* hole, pit, excavation, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 65-6; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

†1542 *khəy? (& *khəy??) moon, month.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Khmer *khæ* month, Biat *khai* moon, month, season, Stieng *khe:i*, Central Rölöm *khē:*, Chrau, Halang *khay*, Bahnar *khēy* moon, month, Jeh *khē:y* month (< variant?), Praok *khi*, Lawa Bo Luang *khəi?*, Lawa Umphai *che?*, Mae Sariang *khēi?* moon, month, Central Nicobarese *ka:he:* moon, Nancowry *kahé*; ~ Khmer *kəŋhae* season (TANDART 1935), Sre *kənhay* moon, month, *nhay* month. Connect Kuy *sai*, Bru *kasay* or *ks- > Katuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric → Khmer, Bahnaric?

Connection dubious Khasi *bnai*. Derive perhaps → Tai *hŋaay moon (Tho-Nung), moonlight (BENEDICT 1975 330, light...).

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; SHAFER 1965 520; BLOOD 1966 184; SMITH 1972 464.)

(?) Sora *aŋ'ga:j-ən* moon (< Proto-Munda *kaŋga:j-, PINNOW 1959 K 151).

(*kh[uyh] see 879 *khuc to wipe, wash.)

1543 *ghuuy; *ghuəy spirit, soul.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) ~ (*gmhuuy >) Mon *həmùì ghamuy* &c. a witch seen in form of will-of-the-wisp; ~ (*grhuuy >) Kammu-Yuan *ró:y* spirit, Thin *hroi*, *hre* corpse, soul of dead person, spirit.

B: (North Aslian) ~ Semang *rōwai* soul (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 347).

Connect perhaps (i) Central Nicobarese *o:wi:* spirits, ghost; (ii) 935a *[hw]iip soul, which compare; as 1447a *guuy shadow of living creature; B99 *[ploo]y shadow of living creature.

1544 *chaay to tip out.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Mon *chai chāy* to empty, pour out, t.o., unload, transfer, Khmer *cha:y* to overturn, kick aside, kick out of the way, (!) Stieng *cai* to pour out, Sre *ca:y* to scare [birds] away, ?Bru *hā:y* to pour out.

SCHMIDT 1905 16 conflates with 1460 *kcaay to be scattered, with which there is contamination.

1545 *[c]haay to multiply.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Late Middle Mon [*rāñ*] *chāy*, Modern Mon [*ràñ*] *chai* to become widespread, flourish, prosper; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi *kyrhai* abundant; ~ *byrhai* many.

1546 *chuy; *chuuy to emit smoke or steam.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) ~ (**cphuy* >) Khmer *phoy-phoy* in puffs; ~ (**cbhuy* >) Khmer *cəmhoi* to cook by steaming, Kuy *phui* to blow [smoke], Biat *bhui* [smoke] to be emitted.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *heo:e* fire, Nancowry *hi?uáy*; ~ (**cnhuuy* >) Thin *ñwi* to light, kindle; ~ Biat *nhui* [*nhəm*] breath, Bahnar *ñru:y*, Jeh *ñrù:y*, Halang *ñrùay* smoke; ~ Chrau *cəmhu:y* mist, vapour, steam. Connect Khasi *thui* [smoke] to come out; & note Khmer *cəmha:y* vapour, fumes; Vietnamese *hơi* steam, vapour. Cf. also A11 **jhuu?* to set light to... .

(SMITH 1972 460.)

1547 *thəys to throw.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *thoa thay* to throw, skim, Vietnamese *thảy* to throw (away).

Connect Burmese *thwe*; ← Mon **thui* < **thəy*[]?

1548 *thuy[?] tangled, confused.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon *thui* to be tangled, confused, to behave in a disorderly way (→ Burmese *thwe:*), Vietnamese [*lôi*] *thôi* (with tone by phrasal assimilation?) to be complicated, involved, troublesome, untidy; ~ (**trhuy*[?] >) Mon [*thui*] *hərui dharuy* to be confused, to behave in an unruly manner, Vietnamese *rối* to be tangled, mixed up.

1549 *t₁huuy; *t₁huəy; *t₁həy; *t₁həəy loose, lax, roomy.

A: (Kuy, Palaungic) Riang-Lang *thuy* to be loosed, relaxed; ~ Kuy *nthò:i* to slacken, pay out (contaminated by 1690 **dhu*[]r, which compare?).

B: (Bahnaric; ~ **t₁lhuəy* >) Biat *lhə:i* loose [garment], West Bahnar *kəhlə:i* sprung [trap] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer) ~ Mon *həloa talhay* &c. width, extent (& by back-formation *hloa* to be broad, wide, extensive), (~?) Khmer *lhae* to relax (v.i.).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer *lhaəy*, *rəhaəy* refreshing, refreshed, Kuy *lhə:i*, *slə:i* cool, refreshing [breeze] (?), Bahnar *rəhəy* loose, lax, relaxed, with tension released, Central Nicobarese by dissimilation *ka:lvi* loose [tooth].

1550 *phuuy; *phuəy; *p?uuy blanket.

A, C: (South Bahnaric) Sre *ouy* blanket. (< **p?*-), Biat *pho:i* woollen blanket.

B: (Khmer) Khmer *phuəy* blanket.

1551 *[]rha[a]y maggot, grub.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat rha:i larva, grub, Chrau ra:y, Bahnar hra:y maggot (GUILLEMINET 1959-63 hrai!).

1552 *[]?iər fowl.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Khmuic) Sre, Biat iar, Chrau, Bahnar ?yər, Jeh ì:l, Halang iar, Thin ?iər, Palaung iər, Riang-Lang ʔyər, Praok i:a, Lawa ?ɛ, Khasi 'iar (~ s'iar); ~ Kammu-Yuan həyíar.

Khasi prefix perhaps weak form of 1324 *ciim bird, Kammu-Yuan of 1127 *kuən child. Connection uncertain Mon [caɪŋ] de jungle-fowl; conceivably < *l-?iər. (SHAFFER 1965 400; BLOOD 1966 111; SMITH 1972 411.)

(*?aar see 1562 *bi?aar two.)

1553 *?ər; *?əər joyful.

A, B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon 'uiw [tambuih] to be full of joy (& 'uit... by sandhi; Modern Mon ɔh kəmpɔh by phrasal rhyme), (A) Khmer ʔə: 'ar joyful (→ Cham auv); ~ (B) Biat n?ər cheerful.

1554 *?ur; *?uur; *?uər to lead, go in front.

A, B: (South Bahnaric; ~ *[]rʔ- >) Chrau luur next [month] (A), Biat lo:r first (B).

C: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' ʔər, Palaung uər to lead; ~ Chrau lo:r first, by metathesis Jeh ro:l, Halang roal before (& by secondary derivation Bahnar adro:l before, first, in front of); ~ Stieng nɔ:r (in) front, before.

*[]rʔ- probably with nominalizing affix rather than < *?ur ʔur &c.

(BLOOD 1966 60.)

1555 *?ur[]; *?uər[] to command.

A: (Viet-Mường; ~?) Vietnamese hổi to urge, press (< *p?ur causative? otherwise *?urʔ).

B: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon 'or /ʔor/ to cause to, command to, Nyah Kur ʔuər ('causing to' =) resultative verb auxiliary, Proto-Semai *ʔɔr to order, to ask (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Middle Mon p'or to send to, to cause to, bid, urge to, Pangan [ya]-pē'-or to command, order (i.e. Mendriq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 54).

1556 *?u[]r; *?uər; *?ə[]r stream-bed.

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Khmer ʔo: 'ūr watercourse, stream, stream-bed, West Bahnar o:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔo: channel, ditch, (or ~ 1597 *cuur[]?) Khasi nur /no:r/ channel.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) West Bahnar ɔ:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer cəŋʔu:ə can'uər channel, ditch, area between ditches.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ə:r flood-plain (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 1686 *h[u]r? &c. *to flow?*

1557 *[c]ʔiir *plentiful, excessive.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Literary Mon s'i *to be numerous, plentiful*, Stieng ʔi:r (BLOOD 1966), Sre ir, Biat i:r *too much*.

Cf. Bahnar hie:r *to find someone tiresome* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
(BLOOD 1966 212.)

1558 *cnʔiir; *cnʔər *kind of basket.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer cəŋʔe: *can'er shallow basket, riddle*, Sre nir *kind of hemispherical basket*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat nər [ra:ŋ] *riddle*.

1559 *cʔəər *to belch.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Mon) Central Rölöm ʔə:r, Biat ɒ:r; ~ Khmer cəŋʔao *can'or* (!; contaminated by *to vomit* ad 11 *cʔ[au]ʔ); ~ Nyah Kur təŋʔɣr &c. (L-THONGKUM 1984 p.371).

Cf. 9 *cʔə(ə)ʔ &c. *to hiccough, belch*.
(BLOOD 1966 380.)

1559a *cʔur; *cʔuur; *[c]ʔuər; *cʔər; *cʔəər *warm.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng u:r *to heat [leaf, to soften it]* (or B), Kammu dialect ũr *to cook* (contaminated by 1685 *hur *to expose to heat*, which compare), Nancowry ʔóy *warm*; ~ Palaung kəʔuur *to be warm* (or E?), Praok siʔaw *to be hot*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [toʔ] ɔr ɔr *lukewarm* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ur (or A?) *with a warm sensation*, Central Nicobarese o:e *warm*, Nancowry ʔúay; ~ Praok siʔu *to be healthy, warm*.

C: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) Khasi (probably, rather than A) or-or *very [warm]*, Vietnamese oi *to be sultry*.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa saʔəu *warm*.

E: (Khmer; contaminated by *hur) Khmer chʔəə ch'ör *to roast, grill*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 527 *cuuŋ. Connect 1671 *waar &c. *hot, to heat*; & cf. 1561 *p[ʔ]ər &c. *to dry*.

1559b *tʔiir; *tʔər *blue, green.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Biat e:r *yellow*; ~ (*t[l]ʔiir >) Sre təlir *blue, green* (→ Röglai), Khasi lir *blue, indigo* (compounding form?).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat ɒr *green*, Thin ʔūr *blue*.

1560 *d₂ʔuur; *d₂huər kind of apid.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) ?Central Nicobarese **ta:o** yellow wasp, ? Nancowry **tūa** bee, (by metathesis, or ~) Khmer **ta: ʔao**, **trəʔao tra-o** &c. kind of large apid; ~ (*d₂nʔuur >) Kuy **ŋʔo:r** small yellow kind of wasp (& (ŋ)ŋò:r bee), Bru **taʔur** hornet, Kammu-Yuan **cənʔù:r** small kind of wasp, Riang-Lang **cəŋɟur** striped domesticated kind of bee.

B: (Mon) Mon **tho** kind of hornet.

Cf. Thai **tò** kind of wasp (< *to hornet, BENEDICT 1975 403-4, sweet...).

1561 *p[ʔ]ər; *[p]ʔəər; *phər (?); *phəər to dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Kuy) Stieng **pə:r**, Sre **pər** to dry over fire (DOURNES 1950); ~ Kuy **ŋʔr:r** to smoke over fire (or B); ~ Biat **nʔər** drying-rack.

B: (Khasi; by secondary derivation) ~ Khasi **tyng-ier** (& **tyng-ür**) drying-rack for firewood.

C, D: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **phoi** to dry out of doors (D); ~ Sre **pənhər** drying-rack (probably C, cf. Biat).

Connect Central Nicobarese **hã:-** to dry, Bru **ʔur** to dry out of doors. A, B contaminated by 1559a ***cʔə(ə)r** warm, or C, D contaminated by 1685 ***hur** to expose to heat?

***1562 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *biʔaar > *baar, Pre-Khmer *[b]ir, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔaar two.**

Old Mon **ḥār /ḥar/**, Modern Mon **ba**, Old Khmer **ber**, **vyar**, Modern Khmer **pì:**, Kuy **bì:a** (!; contaminated by Khmer ?), Bru **ba:r**, Sre **bar** (!), Chrau **va:r**, Biat, Halang **ba:r**, Bahnar **ḥa:r**, Jeh **ba:l**, Kammu-Yuan **pà:r**, Riang-Lang **ar**, Palaung, Khasi **ar**, Mường **hal** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **hai**, Kintaq Bong **biyeh**, Che' Wong **ber**, Central Nicobarese **ã:**, Nancowry **ʔã:**; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭərʔar** pair, (~?) Praok **ra**, Lawa **laʔa** two; ~ Temiar **na:r** two; ~ Mah Meri **hmar:h**, Semaq Beri **mar**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 20; SHAFER 1965 38; SHORTO 1972; BLOOD 1966 279; SMITH 1972 415; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 271.)

Sora compounding form **ba(:)r-**, Kharia **u'bar**, &c.; ~ Sora **bə'nar-** second, next (PINNOW 1959 49; with derivation cf. Temiar)

1562a *snʔaar kind of stinging insect.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic) Khmer **səŋʔa: san'ār**, Kuy **ŋʔa:r** kind of black ant with painful sting, Riang-Lang **səʔar** wasp.

***1563 *sʔuur; *sʔər to emit a smell.**

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Halang **su:r** to smell, Jeh **sul** smell (quantifier), Kammu-Yuan **[həʔúur]** **həʔòor** to smell pleasant; pleasant scent, Palaung **ur** smell, to smell, stink; ~ (*snʔuur >) Lawa Bo Luang **[saʔau]** **hɲau** fragrant; ~ (*smʔuur >) Mon **həmao samū** &c. odour (merging vapour, gas < 1807 ***k/m/huul**).

B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **həʔúŕ** *to smell pleasant...*, Central Nicobarese **ɣi smell**, Nancowry **ʔũy**; **haʔũy** *to make sth. smell* (or A?).

Connect Chrau **nthoŕ** *fragrant*. Cf. **15** *sʔu[]ʔ &c. *mouldy, spoiled*.

(SMITH 1972 419.)

Sora **'uŕ-ən**, **uʔuŕ-ən** *bad smell*, ~ **ə'nur-** *to emit a smell*.

***1564** ***koor** *to scrape, shave*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **kao kor** *to scrape, shave*, Bru **kɔŕ** *to scrape with spoon*, Stieng **kuŕ** *to cut [hair], shave*, Biat **koŕ** *to scrape*, Bahnar **kɔŕ** *to comb, scratch with comb*, Jeh **ko:l**, Halang **koar** *to shave*, Khasi **khur** *to rake (together), scrape*, Central Nicobarese **koĩ:-[hə]** *to scrape [coconut meat]* (or is Nicobarese /kuʔi/?).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **cạo** *to scrape, shave*, **cào** *to scratch, claw, rake*.

(SMITH 1972 422.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kurkur**: Javanese **kukur** *to scratch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 83); (ii; ?) ***kud₃kud₃**: Malay **kukur** *to rasp*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 82, ***kuḍkuḍ**; DAHL 1973 § 14.7). See BENEDICT 1975 371. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 65.)

***1565** ***k[u]r** *to dig*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **kir** /**kør**/ *to dig*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kiir**! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V215), Stieng **kuŕ** *(to dig with) mattock*; ~ Old Mon **kwir**, Modern Mon **kwn** *digging-stick*.

Cf. Biat **kar** *to dig*; & **1593** ***ciir**.

Pampangan **kulkúl** *to dig*, perhaps Karo Batak **ng-kurkur-i** *to turn surface soil without tool*.

1566 ***kuur** *infected*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **koŕ** *painful*, Central Rölöm **[ji:] kɔŕ** *sickness*, Bahnar **kuŕ** *festering* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (***knmuur** > ?) Sre **mour**, Biat **moŕ** *inflammation*.

(BLOOD 1966 7.)

1567 ***[]kuur** *wind, storm*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **(h)kūr**, **ʔkūr** *thunder (storm)* (contaminated by **1582** ***[t₁]gə(ə)r?**), Palaung **kur**, Riang-Lang **ʔkur**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **kaw**, Lawa Umphai **kau** *wind*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **həŋkúŕ** *storm*.

***1568** ***cnkuər**; ***[c]nka[a]r** *integument*.

A: (Mon) Mon **həko jakow** *bark, outer husk of coconut*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cəŋkuar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N77).

B: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Sre **nkar** *shell, husk*, Bahnar **akaŕ** *skin, rind, shell, bark*, Bru **ŋkar** *skin*, **sakar** *scalp*.

(SHAFFER 1965 401; SMITH 1972 418.)

- (i) Sora ə'kur- *to peel off* (v.i.), kur-ən (compounding form, ~ 'kur(r)əŋ-ən), Mundari uŋ *bark*, &c.; (ii) Mundari harta *bark*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 366; but some cited forms rather : 1687 *huur *skin*).

1569 *[t]kur *to stir*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer ko: kūr *to stir*, Stieng ku:r *to stir, to beat or turn while cooking*; ~ Mon həkəp thakuīw &c. *to stir*.

1570 *[d]kər *tree, plant*.

- A: (Viet-Mường, Central & South Aslian) Mường câl (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese cây, Jah Hut, Mah Meri təkəh *tree*; by secondary derivation ~ (Pre-Viet-Mường *p-kər >) Mường cál (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese cây *to transplant [rice seedlings]*.

Cf. 1719 *d₂gəl &c. *trunk, stump*.

1571 *[b]kaar *to cook over fire*.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan káir *to grill, roast*, Riang-Lang ʔkar *to broil, roast, toast, cook in smoke of fire*.

Malay bakar *to set on fire, burn, roast, toast* (probably → Javanese) (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 20, *baka[!]).

1572 *sk[e]r *to look intently, aim*.

- A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Literary Mon kew, Sre ker *to aim at*, Chrau ke:r *to look at*, Central Nicobarese həki:ə- [hətə &c.] *to peep, aim, with one eye closed*, Nancowry hakīa ~ kīa (rather *-iər?).

1573 *skəw̄r *sugar*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon kə (s)kaw *syrup*, Khmer skə: skar (→ Stieng sʰkə:r?), Biat [kac] kə:r *sugar* (beside chkə:r ← Khmer).

If ← Indo-Aryan, an early loan; for Mon-Khmer origin cf. PRZYLUSKI in MSLP 22 208² (& TURNER 1962-66 12338).

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1574 *[]gar *seed*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre gar *seed, grain, kernel*, Bunör gar *seed*, Bahnar gar *seed, pip*; ~ Sre gənar = gar; ~ Central Rölöm ŋgar *seed*, Biat ŋgar *grain, kernel*.

Or *bgar, ~ 1276 *grap by metathesis?

(BLOOD 1966 345.)

² [Editorial note: we were unable to confirm the Przyluski reference. The journal is apparently *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Perhaps Volume 22, page 208 are indicated.]

1575 *gəər to catch fire.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **gīr** /gər/ to shine, Modern Mon **kə̀** to blaze up, shine, glow; ~ (*p̥gəər >) Middle Mon **bguir** to cause to shine, to set light to; ~ (*pr̥gəər > ?) Mon **həkə̀ baguiw** to fan or blow into flame, Vietnamese **gợi** to arouse, awaken [memories, desires].

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. 1978 *guh &c. to glow, burn.

1576 *gur earth yielding red ochre.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **gur** earth yielding red ochre (DOURNES 1950), Biat [luʔ] **gur** laterite, Bahnar **gu:r** earth yielding red ochre (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect perhaps ultimately Sanskrit **hiṅgula-**, **hiṅguli-** vermilion (whence Old Mon **hiṅgul**).

1577 *gur; *guər ear of grain.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **səmkər**.

B: (Khmer) Khmer **kù:ə guə(r)** ear, pod.

1578 *gur; *guər; *gər ridge, handle.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **gor** central ridge or vein, spine.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **gər** id., range of hills (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Bahnaric, Katuic, ?Nicobaric) Sre **gər** central ridge or vein, spine (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar **gər** handle of tool, Bru **kīr** rod; ~ ?Nancowry **hinkəʔa** spine; (probably) → Cham **kār**, Jarai **gər**, Röglai **gər**, North Röglai **gə**, Acehnese **gə** handle, stem; ~ Chrau **ḡgər** bridge [of nose], Biat **ḡgər** handle of knife.

†1579 *guur to fall, be shed.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, ?North Aslian) Old Mon **gūr** /gur/, Modern Mon **kù** [rain] to fall, Riang-Lang **kur** [leaves] to fall, (?) Kerbat **göl** to fall (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 20).

Add Khmer /ʔol/ **ur** [rain] pouring down, **bəṇʔol** to rain, **bəṇʔao paŋ'or** to rain; Khasi **ur** to fall down?

Sora **gur-** to rain, Kharia **gur** to fall, &c. (PINNOW 1959 106).

(Proto-Austronesian *gu[]gu[d_{2/3}]) Malay **gugor** [fruit] to fall singly, Javanese **gugur** to fall off, fall away (so Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ~ *gad_{2/3}gad_{2/3} to fall apart, DEMPWOLFF 1938 51 & BLUST 1972 no. 26).

1580 *guər fitting, proper.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **gor** /gor/ to be meet, fitting, good, Modern Mon [kòp] **kò** ought, Khmer **kù:ə guər** proper, suitable; → Cham **guər** proper, suitable; Thai **k^huan**.

1581 ***ŋgər** *to seek out*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **’gir** /**ᵑgər**/ *to seek out*, Modern Mon **ḡì** *to search for among undergrowth or hair*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kḡir**! (DIFFLOTH 1984 V217); ~ Sre **təŋgər** *to seek to descry*.

1581a ***[c]gar**; ***cgaar** *to fence, enclose*.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **ker**; (by secondary derivation?) ~ **kper** *garden*.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) ~ Khmer **cəmka**: **cəm̥kār** *garden, plantation*, (~?) by metathesis (***c.raak** >) Riang-Lang **ṣərak** *fence, garden*.

Connect (i) Kammu-Yuan **həŋkūr** *wall; to shut [door]*; (ii) perhaps Sre **pəŋgar** *fence*, Biat **ŋga:r** *fence, hurdling*, then contaminated by rather than ← Indonesian (***pagə[d_{2/3}r**]: DEMPWOLFF 1938 110, *-**[l]**), Proto-West-Indonesian; Cham **pakà**, &c.); but this may itself be connected.

1582 ***[t₁]gər**; ***[t₁]gəər** *thunder*.

A: (Khmer, Khmuic, ?Mon) Kammu-Yuan (by voicing metathesis?) **kūr**; → Malay **tagar** *thunder clap*; ~ (***[t₁]pg-** >) Mon **həkə** (or **B**), Khmer **phkə**: **phgar** *thunder*.

B: (Palaungic; probably ~) Riang-Lang **təkər**.

Connect by metathesis **1622** ***gtər** &c. Cf. (i) Bahasa Indonesia **-gegar** *to rumble*, **gelegar** *rumbling (of gunfire, thunder)* (so connected **1584** ***sgər**?); (ii) Proto-Austronesian ***guruq** *to rumble* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 57, ***guluḥ**; Malay *thunder*); (iii) **1567** ***[k]uur** *wind, storm*. See BENEDICT 1975 368, *rumble*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36, 70; SHAFER 1965 566.)

†**1583** ***t₂guur**; ***t₂gar** *straight, upright*.

A: (Mon) Middle Mon **dgū** (*figurative*) *to be upright*, Modern Mon **təkù** also *to be straight*; ~ Old Mon **tḡḡūr** /**təŋgūr**/ *upright position*.

B: (Khmuic; ~?) Kammu-Yuan **səkār** (!) *straight*; ~ **səmkār** *to straighten, to aim*. Kharia **səŋghor** *straight* (PINNOW KHARIA TABLES 169 no. 20).

(***bgar** see **1574** ***[l]gar** *seed*; ***lnguur**, ***lngu[ə]r** see **1720** ***lngal** *plough*.)

1584 ***sgər**, ***sgəər** (*kind of*) *drum*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **sgar**, Modern Khmer **skə̀**; Central Rölöm **gər**, **gar**, Bunör **gər**, Biat **gər**, (?) Bahnar **səgər**, **həgər**, Halang **həgər** *drum*, Palaung **gər** *noise, to make noise, to beat [drum]*; → Cham (**ha**)**kàr**, Jarai **həgər**, Röglai **həgər**, North Röglai **sagə** *drum*; ~ Old Mon **siŋgīr** /**səŋgər**/, Sre **səŋgər**, Chrau **səgər** *barrel-shaped drum*, Jeh **ŋgàl** *drum*.

Bahnar, Halang perhaps by (back-)borrowing, or < ***srgər**.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Bru **saŋkər**, Kuy **[khù:əŋ]khù:ar** *large temple drum*, Stieng **səŋər**.

Cf. **A144** ***[ŋ]guur** *noise*; Stieng **gər**, **ŋər** *drumming of rain* &c.; & for a possible Indonesian connection **1582** ***[t₁]gə(ə)r** *thunder*.

(BLOOD 1966 129; SMITH 1972 402.)

(***ɲiər** see following)

1585 *ɲaər (> Pre-Palaung &c. ***ɲiər**, ***ɲə(ə)r**); ***ɲ[ɔ̌]r** *green*.

A: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cəŋá:r**, Palaung **ɲiər**, **ɲər**, Riang-Lang **ɲer**, Lawa **saŋa** *green*, Khasi [**im**] **ngar-ngar** *very [green, unripe]*.

B: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **cunɔ̌:ə** *blue, green*, Nancowry **cuná:**; ~ Kammu-Yuan [**cəŋá:r**] **cəŋɔ̌:r** *green*.

Vocalism obscure. Cf. Central Nicobarese **ɲə:-**, **-ɲə:** *yellow*, Nancowry **ɲó**.

***1586 *t₁ɲər** *to listen, hear*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Riang-Lang **ɲar** *to hear*, Vietnamese **nghe** *to hear, listen*; ~ Riang-Lang **təkɲar** *to listen (to), to obey*.

Proto-Austronesian ***d₃əŋəɣ**: Malay **dəngar**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 39; DAHL 1973 § 14.7). See BENEDICT 1975 312.

1587 *tɲər *kind of bamboo*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **thɲɔ:** **thiə!** *kind of bamboo with long internodes*, Biat **ɲər** *kind of bamboo*, Khasi [**ri**]-**nger** (compounding form) *kind of rattan, Calamus species*, (? , ***tnər** by assimilation >) Sre **dər** *very straight kind of bamboo, Oxenanthra species*; ~ (***t[n]ɲər** >) Chrau **təŋər** *large kind of bamboo*.

1588 *t₂ɲuur; ***t₂ɲiər** *to make a moaning or sighing sound*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Khmer **thɲo:** **thiūr** *to moan, groan, complain, to hoot, to coo*, Palaung **hɲur** (MILNE 1931), Semang **təngoh** *to groan* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 GUESDON 1930 118).

B: (Palaungic) Praok **ɲi:a** *to sigh*, (**rək** —) *groan*.

Cf. A144 ***[]ɲguur** *noise*.

1589 *d₁ɲ[ɔ̌]r *abstracted*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Literary Mon **lɲaw** [**lɲan**] *to be dazed, lost in thought*, (?) Central Nicobarese **ɲɔ:-[cəka:]** *solemn*, **o-ɲɔ:hə-[cəka:]** *melancholy*; ~ Khasi **dyngngor** *to be in a stupefied state, spellbound*.

1589a *rɲar; ***rɲa[ar]** *cold*.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **ɲàr**.

B: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **rəŋi:ə** **rañā!** (*bitter*) *cold*, Praok **ɲe** *to be cool*.

1590 ***[l]ŋaər** *the right way up, supine.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Mường **ngả** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **ngửa** *to lie on back*; ~ (***[l]ŋaər** >) Mon **təŋəa** *to lie on back, to be the right way up*; ~ (***[l]bŋaər** >) **təŋəa** *to turn the right way up*; ~ (***[l]pŋaər** >) Khmer **phn̄a:** **phn̄ā** *on one's back, the right way up, looking back.*

Or ***rŋ-**. Cf. (i) Biat **ŋgə:r** *to look up*; (ii) Palaung **səŋguh** *to look up*; (iii) Proto-Austronesian ***tiŋadaq** *to look up*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 138 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

1591 ***[c]ir** *plant used to treat wounds.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **sir** *solanaceous plant used to treat wounds* (↔ Röglai), West Bahnar **[pəga:ŋ]** **sir** *tuber used as plaster for wounds* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1592 ***cir**; ***ciir**; ***ciər** *to cover, shelter.*

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **cir** /**cør**/ *to ward [off]*, Middle Mon **cuiw** *to screen*, Modern Mon **cɜ** *to cover over, to wall*, Bahnar **sir** *to be completely covered, hidden*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **sir** *to be completely covered, hidden*.

C: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **che** *to cover, hide, shelter, to take shelter*.

Add perhaps (***cuər** >) Thin **sər** *to hide*.

1593 ***ciir** *to dig.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ciir**, Biat **chir** *to dig [hole]*, Bahnar **sir** *to dig (out, up, hole)*, Jeh **cìl**, Halang **ciar** *to dig*.

Cf. (i) **1565** ***kur**; (ii) Sora **sar-**.

(SMITH 1972 405; cf. SHAFER 1965 482.)

1594 ***ciir**; ***ciər** *to cut up.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ciir** *to cut up cloth*; ~ (***[b]ciir** by secondary derivation ~) Bahnar **təje:r** *to cut into large flat pieces*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ciə ciər** *to slice, trim*, Mường (BARKER 1966 11), Vietnamese **chia** *to divide*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cér** *segment, slice, to cut into segments* (& **cè:r** *to divide, distribute*; by arbitrary variant?); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **təjer** *to cut into small slices*.

1594a ***car**; ***caar** *wild cat, small felid.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **sár** *civet cat*, Palaung **sər** *wild cat*; ~ Khasi **ksar** *fox (or B; ?)*; ~ Chrau **səmar** **[bər]** *flying squirrel*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) ~ (***[k]caar** >) Bahnar **ca:r** *wild cat*; ~ Khmer **chma:** **chmā!** *cat*, (— **ba:**) *flying squirrel*.

Cf. Cham **muca:**, &c. *civet cat*, Proto-Ambonese ***mader** *dasyure* (STRESEMANN 1927; so Proto-Austronesian ***maZə[ry]**?).

(SMITH 1972 417.)

1595 *caar resinous.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **ca:** *cār*, Kuy **ca:r** *Butea frondosa*, yielding red resin, Sre **sa:r** resinous.

1596 *cur pig.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **su:r**, Sre **sur**, Chrau **su:r**, Biat **chor**, Jeh **còl**, Halang **cur**. (SHAFFER 1965 244; BLOOD 1966 164; SMITH 1972 404.)

†1597 *cuur[]; *cuər[]; *car[s] to flow, to pour.

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Praok **su** to pour; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **cau**, Lawa Umphai **cau** waterfall; ~ Khasi **nur** /**no:r**/ channel (or ~ 1556 *ʔu[]r?).

B: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Mon) Palaung [**om**] **suər** current, Mon **co** small creak or stream, Proto-Nyah Kur ***cuar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N239); (or A?) → Röglai **sor** to flow, trickle; ~ Bahnar **cə:r** (drainage) channel, to canalize; ~ Kuy **pcar** eaves (contaminated by 1606 *juər[], cf. Mon **həyù** eaves < *jnjuur[]).

C: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Mon **cə** to pour, Vietnamese **chảy** to flow, melt, leak.

C contaminated by 1600 *jar to exude? Cf. further 1686 *h[u]r? &c. to flow (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 12.)

Sora **ur-**, **er-** to pour, **er[da:-]** sprinkling (n.).

Proto-Austronesian (i; *k'u[d_{2/3}]k'u[d_{2/3}]) Gayo **chěchər** to seep out, Malay **chuchur** to flow, trickle, Javanese **chuchur-an** to jet out (& **chur** in a jet; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *paNk'u[d_{2/3}]: Malay **panchur-an** conduit, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112, *-[]); Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) *pa(N)k'a[d_{2/3}]: Malay **panchar** to emit rays, sounds, &c., probably Cebuano Bisayan **pásad** to scatter, to be scattered (then Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 112).

Cf. further Tibeto-Burman *sywar = *śwar to flow; to pour, BENEDICT 1972 56 no. 241.

1597a *kcəər fin.

A: (South Bahnaric, Mon, Nicobaric) Biat **cə:r** [**ka:**] fin, Nyah Kur **cə:r** fin, Central Nicobarese **ka:fɿ-** (— **ka:ə**) dorsal fin, (— **wi:əŋ-ka:ə**) ventral fin.

Connection uncertain Sre **sənor**. Cf. Nancowry **kasú?** a bone.

†1598 *[]ncuur lips.

A: (Palaungic) Praok **jur**.

Kharia **lu'cur**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 363; Proto-Munda *lukcur?).

†1599 *bcuər to plough.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **phcù:ə bhjuər** (& **cù:ə** furrow, by attraction line, row < 1605 *[j]uər^h), Stieng **cuər**, Biat **cuar**; ~ Kuy **cur**. Sora **or(-'ro:)**.

†1600 ***jar**; ***jər** to *exude*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmu' **jar** to *leak*; ~ (***jɲjar** >) Bahnar dialects **həɲaɪr**, **kəɲaɪr** to *suppurate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **cər** to *drip*, Riang-Lang **_car** to *leak*, (so probably, rather than A) Palaung **jər** to *exude* (MILNE 1931), Khasi [**um**]-**jer** *dew*.

= following? Cf 1606 ***jur**[] &c. to *descend*; 1597 ***cuur**[] &c. to *flow*...

Santali **ɟərɔ** *drip, drop, trickle, leak*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 219).

1601 ***jar** (especially *poisonous*) *sap*.

(Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **jar**, **jār**, Modern Khmer **cəə** *gum*, (*poisonous*) *sap* (→ Thai **cʰan dammar**), Kuy **chàɪr** *sap, resin, gum*, Sre **jar** *vegetable poison* (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **jar** *sap, arrow poison*, Biat **jar** *poisonous sap*, Bahnar **jar** *sap, resin*, Palaung **jər** *sap* (MILNE 1931).

= preceding? (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 52.)

1602 ***jar?** *quick, to run*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Sre **jar** *quick, urgent*, Mường **chăl** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **chạy**, Proto-Semai (DIFFLOTH 1977) ***jar?** to *run*; ~ Vietnamese **nhạy** to *be speedy, to react quickly*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 200.)

1603 ***jər** (& ***jar?**); ***jur** to *warm oneself at [fire]*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **co** (< ***jar?**); ~ (***jɲjər** >) Stieng **ɲjəɪr**, Sre **ɲjər**, Biat **ɲjər**.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **jur**.

1604 ***ɟə**[]r *flowers, blossom*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon **jar** /**ɟəw**/, Modern Mon **cə** *blossom*, Khmer **cə**: **jar** *floral pattern, lace*.

†1605 ***[j]ur**[?]; ***[j]uər**h; ***[j]iir**[]; ***[j]iər**[] *string, line, row*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) ~ Praok **nu** *creeper*, Khasi **snur** *crack, seam, cobweb*, (~ ***jɲnur?** >?) Mường **nối** (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese **nối** to *join, connect, to continue, succeed*.

B: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Khmer **jvar**, Modern Khmer **cùə**, (→?) Biat **cuar** *line, row*, Vietnamese **chuỗi** *string [of beads], file, series, succession*; ~ Middle Mon **cnor** /**cnow**/ *row*, Modern Mon **hno** *line, rule*, Biat **nɔːr** [**yoːk**] [*mountain*] *range*, Riang-Lang **nuar** *cord*.

C: (Mon) Literary Mon **jī** to *arrange in order* = Middle Mon **cī** [**reñ**], Modern Mon **ci** [**rèaŋ**], perhaps ← Burmese **cī** [**rañ**] ← Mon.

D: (Mon, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon **cew** [**reñ**] to *arrange*, Riang-Lang **cər** *row* (→ Palaung, Mon, **taər** to *form a row?*), Praok [**maw**] **siːa** *cord*.

Initial discrepancies obscure; perhaps separate roots in *c-, *j-, with mutual contamination. Add perhaps Vietnamese *giãy*, *giãy* row (then < *-jərɰ; connection dubious Mường *đắ*, BARKER 1966 25!). (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 66.)

Sora *ʃul*-(*ʃul*-) *to string* ~ *ʃə'nul-ən string of beads*; *ro'jo:l-le in a line*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) *d'i[]d'ia[r]: Javanese *jèjèr in a row, in rows, &c.*

(DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d'id'i[l]; NOTHOFFER 1975 61; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; ← Mon-Khmer?); (ii) *d'a[]d'a[r]: Malay *jajar line, &c.* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 45; Proto-West-Indonesian, or Proto-Malayo-Javanese if Ngaju Dayak ← Malay); ~ *baNd'a[r] row. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 18). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 55.)

†1606 *jur[]; *juur[]; *juər[]; *jir[]; *jiər[] *to descend*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Stieng *ju:r*, Chrau *juur*, Biat *jur* *to descend*, Jeh *jòl*, Halang *jur down*, Lawa Bo Luang *co to leak*; ~ Stieng *nju:r to take down*, Chrau *tənjuur to hand down*, Biat *njur to put down*, West Bahnar *ju:r to descend* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Praok *jaə to shed [tears]*, Vietnamese *giội to pour*.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Bahnar *ju:r*, Kammu-Yuan *cù:r*, Riag-Lang *_cur to descend*, Palaung *jur valley*, Khasi *jur descent*, Semai I *jə:r to fall*; ~ Old Mon *jmūr /jmur/ [elephant] subject to must*, Middle Mon *jmū* also *falling [rain]*, by spelling pronunciation Modern Mon *həmù [elephant] subject to must*; ~ (*jrjuur[] >) Mon *həcù to drip*.

C: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy [*ba?*] *chə:r to sweat profusely*, Lawa Umphai *chua to leak*; ~ Mon *hmò [elephant] subject to must*; ~ (*jnjuər[] >) Bahnar *hapə:r trickling* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

D: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese *cě drizzle*; ~ Bahnar *həpir- [hənar] very sweaty*. Cf. Nancowry *céh to drip*; Bru *cacù:r to drip, ooze*.

E: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Praok *ci:a to fall, be shed*, Central Nicobarese *ciě to drip*, (~?) Khasi *jiar* (& *pjiar*; original compounding form?) *to drain off, filter*.

*-r if Vietnamese tone is from plosive sequence; but Central Nicobarese *ciyau leak (in canoe, roof)* suggests a metathetic *jrūu?. Front vocalism secondary. There is contamination with 1600 *jar &c. *to exude* & 1597 *cuur[] &c. *to flow, to pour*. Cf. also 1657 *yur &c. *to hang down...*; 539 *juuŋ (to) *rain*; 1898a *jus *to take down...*

(SHAFFER 1965 119; BLOOD 1966 157; SMITH 1972 403.)

(i; ?) Santali *nur to fell, drop, fall*, Mundari *nur to flow out* (PINNOW 1959 106); (ii) Sora *sir- to spurt, er- to pour, 'er-ən, 'jer-ən flow*.

1607 *juur (& *juər?) *to siphon*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar *jo:r*; ↔ Röglai *jur to siphon*, North Röglai *ju siphon*; ~ Stieng *jənuə:r*, Sre *jənur siphon* (↔ Röglai), Bahnar *jəno:r liquid siphoned up*. Stieng diphthong perhaps regular following nasal.

1608 *[k]jir; *[k]jiər *dense, close together.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jir**, Jölong **sir** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), West Bahnar **kir** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (by metathesis?).

B: (North Bahnaric) Jölong **sər** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **kiar** by metathesis?

(*ɲə(ə)r see 1585 *ɲaər *green.*)

1609 *[l][p]ɲaər *soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon [cək] (k)əɲə, Sre **bəɲar** (DOURNES 1950).

1610 *tiər *to forge.*

A: (Bahnaric, ?Viet-Mường) Stieng **thiər** (!), Sre **tiar**, Biat **ciar** *to forge*, Bahnar **tiər**, **te:r** *to hammer to an edge* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?) Vietnamese **đe** *anvil*; → Cham [pa]tya:, Röglai **tia:** *to forge*.

Cf. Bru **de:r** *to have a knife made*.

1611 *t₁[e][r] *to warn.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **te** *to warn, remind*, Vietnamese **đe** *to threaten*.

1612 *t₁ar *to run.*

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **tar**, Praok **to**, Lawa Bo Luang **tə**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **tə**.

Cf. Thin **där**.

1613 *taar *counterbalance of axe (*cuuŋ).*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau, Bahnar **ta:r**.

Add perhaps (*tar >) Old Mon **tar** /tər/, Modern Mon **tə** *stalk, handle*.

1614 *tə[]r *to fight.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **tə** [kəneh], Khmer **tə:-**(tùəl) &c., **ta!**; ~ Khmer **trədɔ:** **traɣar** *to struggle*; ~ Old Mon **twar** /twər/ *warrior*.

1615 *turh *to change, exchange.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **do:** **tūr** *to barter, to give change*, Kuy **to:r** *to buy*, Stieng **tu:r** *to change [places]*, Nancowry **tóh** *to change*, Mường **tói** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **đổi** *to change* (→ Sre **đuih**).

= following?

(SHAFER 1965 406.)

1616 *t₁[u]r to give.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Literary Mon *tuiw* to give, Praok *tə* to give, hand over, Lawa Bo Luang [həu] *toa*, Mae Sariang [heu] *tau* to send; ~ (*t₁rp[u][r] >) Middle Mon *tawuiw* gift; Nancowry *hatóyhaŋa* to send.
= preceding?

1617 *tur to hit with fist.

- A: (Bahnaric) Biat *tər* to hit with downward movement of fist, Sre, Bahnar *tur* to hit with fist.
(SHAFFER 1965 80.)

***1618** *tuur (to get) burnt.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon *tur* /*tur*/ to burn (v.i.), Modern Mon *tao* also to get burnt, Khmer *dao* *tər* blistered (→ Kuy *do:r* blistered, burned).
(Proto-Austronesian *tu[]tu[d_{2/3}r]) Javanese *totor* wood fire, to make fire, Iban *tutur* to apply fire to, burn, brand [person] (so Proto-West-Indonesian).

1619 *kntiər termite.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *kəndiə* *kəntiər*, Chrau *gətiər*, Biat *nciar* termite, Bahnar *kəte:r* male termite (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; East Bahnar also *kətiər*).
Connect Khasi *ktiar* centipede?

1620 *ktər board, plank.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *ktār*, Khmer *kda:* piece of wood, plank (→ Stieng *kəda:r* table, plank, Chrau *kəda:r* plank, Biat *kda:r* board), Kuy (k)*ta:r* board, plank, Bahnar *tər* board; ~ Old Mon *kintir* /*kəntər*/ seat, Modern Mon *həto* board, seat.
Khmer/Kuy vocalism post-dental. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 32.)

***1621** *kt₂uur; *kt₂uər ear.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Katuic) Kuy (k)*tə:r*, Bru *kuto:r*, Stieng *tu:r*, Sre *tour*, Biat *to:r* ear (→ Chrau), Riang-Lang *cor* (!) outer ear.
B: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon *ktor* /*ktor*/, Modern Mon *kəto*, by metathesis (*t₂kuər >) Khasi *shkor* ear.
Chrau **c(h)o:r is expected.
(SHAFFER 1965 404, 460; BLOOD 1966 18.)
Kharia *lu'tur*, &c.; ~ Remo *lintür*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 147; Proto-Munda *luktur; suggesting *-t₁-!).

***1622** *[g]tiər; *gtər (to) thunder.

- A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric) Bahnar *tə:r* thunder clap, [lightning] to strike (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !); ~ (*[g]ntiər >) Mon *həte* to lament, Kuy *nthi:r* resounding, Biat *ntə:r* to cry out; ~ Middle Mon *gater* /*gətew*/ long-drawn-out intonation, Biat *ntə:r* clap.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Khmer **khtə̌**: **khdar** to reverberate, Stieng **tə̌rh**, Chrau **tər** thunder, Biat **[tah]** **tər** (to) thunder; ~ Sre **ntər** thunder, Besisi **gentah** thunder bolt (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119).

Cf. Malay **guntur** thunder connected by metathesis 1582 *[t₁]gə(ə)r.

(SHAFFER 1965 502; BLOOD 1966 131.)

Santali **ṭher** stroke of lightning, &c. (PINNOW 1959 165; Proto-Munda *-e-).

(Proto-Austronesian *kitər?) Iban **ngitar** lightning.

†1623 *gt₁ar (& *gt₁ər?) to shiver.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **khtə̌** **khdār** to vibrate, sound (contaminated by preceding?), Bahnar **tar**-[war] (!) to shake with fear, (variant > ?) Central Nicobarese **kəṭrə** to tremble, vibrate, Nancowry **túá** v.i., **katúá** v.t.; ~ (*gt₁- >) Mon **həṭə** to shiver, Khasi **kynther** (~ variant?) to shake off, shed, flutter; ~ (*gt₁ar gt₁ar >, or by secondary derivation?) Khmer **təṭə̌** **dəḍār** (→ Bahnar, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **dəḍā** [teeth] to chatter?), Tolo Bahnar **təṭar** to shiver (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. Bahnar **təṭey**, Gölar Bahnar **təṭuey**; **təṭə̌**, (probably) → Cham **təṭə̌** [trèy], **katə̌**, Jarai **təṭur**, Röglai **katə̌**, North Röglai **təṭə̌**; Jölong **təṭǎc** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); all by expressive variant? *-t₁- in view of Sora

Sora by metathesis 'takar-.

Proto-Austronesian *kə(N)tər: Malay **gətar**, **kətar**, &c., Tagalog **katál** (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 79; Proto-Hesperonesian). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 33.)

1624 *[c]t₁ur; *[c]t₁uur; *[c]t₁əər crest.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **səntər** crest, fin.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre **ntor** crest, fin (probably, rather than A), Biat **ntur** [cə̌r] ridge of roof.

C: (Bahnaric) Jeh **tə̌l**, Halang **tə̌r** comb of cock; ~ (*[c]lt₁əər >) Stieng **altər**, Chrau **gəṭər**, Biat **ntər** [iar] comb of cock.

(SMITH 1972 408.)

†1625 *di[]r; *diər; *dar to circle round.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **dir** **təḍir** [large bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Chrau **diər** to swerve, go around, Biat **dər** to make a detour, Bahnar **dər** **təḍər** [small bird] soaring (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (or C) ~ Khasi **gynter** spinning-wheel.

C: (Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai), Bahnar **dar** going round, circumambulation; ~ Sre **sədar** to go round (→ Röglai **adar**).

Add as derivative 1630 *[]na(a)r sun, day? Note further Bahnar **təḍuer** to revolve rapidly.

(SHAFFER 1965 122; SMITH 1972 414.)

Sora dialects **ə-dider** round about.

(***daar** see 77 ***da[ʔ]** *duck*.)

1626 *[d][o]r** *hill*.**

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **dor** (→ Röglai), Halang **doar**, (or 1741 ***dul**, which compare, >) Mae Sariang **tu**, Mường **tôi** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **đôi**.

If Viet-Mường is cognate, ***d-**.

1627 *duur** *back*.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **tù** [**cah**]; ~ Biat **ndur** [**kə:i**].

Cf. Bahnar **kəduʔ**.

1628 *kɔɔr**, ***kdar** *woman, wife*.**

A: (Central & South Aslian) ~ Semai I **kərdɔ:r**, Semelai **kərdɔ:r** *woman*.

B: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **kindar** /**kəndɔ:r**/, Modern Mon **kəɔ** *wife* (→ Burmese **katô** *wife of [official &c.]*), Proto-Nyah Kur ***kəmtar** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N176).

Add Khmer **kəmdə**: **kaɲtar** *to keep company, cohabit*.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 63.)

1629 *sdur** *lips*.**

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Central Aslian) Rieng-Lang **_tor**; ~ Khasi **shintur** *mouth*, Sakai **səntór** *lips* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 2).

1648 ***sɔur** contaminated by 1471 ***snduy**?

1629a *diir**; ***diar** *to spread, extend*.**

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **dir** *to open out, spread*.

B: (Mon, Khasi) Khasi **diar** [*wings*] *spread wide*; ~ Mon **həde** *to extend, spread (v.i.)*.

1629b *dur**; ***duər** *curve, arch*.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Biat **dor** *arch*, **dur** *curve*, Thin **dūr** *rainbow*, (or B) Khasi **dor** *curve, curved*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh **do:l** *curved surface*.

?Add Central Nicobarese **dɔ:n** *curved*, Nancowry **rón** *to bend*. Note Khmer **tò: dor** (< ***[d]uur?**) *leaning, bending*.

1630 *[]nar**; ***[]naar** *sun, day*.**

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **nar** *sun, day*, Chrau **nar** *day, daytime*, Bahnar **nar** *day*, (~?) ?**nar** *sun, day*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm, Biat **na:r**.

Or ***dna(a)r**, ~ 1625 ***dar** *to circle round*?

(BLOOD 1966 310.)

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian *t'ilay *light* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 154, *-n-; DAHL 1973 § 15.4, 8; BENEDICT 1975 470 compares the variant *t'ingay, DEMPWOLFF 1938 154).

1631 *[c]n₂[a]r *to snore*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*[c]nn₂[a]r >) Stieng **nnar**, Sre, Biat **ndar**; (?) → Malay *sendar*; by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkhlər**.
Or *-ə(ə)r? Then add perhaps Bahnar **hṇər**, by dissimilation; but with this cf. Vietnamese *ngáy*, & note Proto-Monic *sn₂ur *grind (one's teeth); snore*. (SHAFFER 1965 557.)

1632 *tni[i]r; *tniər *floor*.

A: (Mon) Mon **nəe knī** *floor, floor boards*.
B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Central Rölöm **niər** *top layer of bamboo floor* (→ Bunör **ṇiar**?); ~ (*tpniər >) Khmer **phniə phiər** *bamboo-twill floor of cart*, Chrau **təniər** *bamboo flooring*.
For Stieng **pəni:r** *bamboo partition* (= **pini:r**, compared at B107) see A147 *piir.

†1633 *par *to fly*.

(Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường, North Aslian) Mon **pə**, Kuy, Stieng **par**, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar, Halang **par**, Jeh **pal**, Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **ṭpər**, Praok **po**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəu**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peu**, Mường **pəl** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese *bay*; → Cham **par**, Jarai **pər**, Röglai **pər**, Acehnese **pə**; ~ Semang **kəpuih** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 203); (?) → Madurese **ngappər**; ~ Biat **mpar**; ~ (*pnar —& in part *pmnar?— >) Stieng **penar**, Sre **ḍar**, Chrau **pənar** *wing*, Biat **nar** (!) *wing, feather*, Bahnar **pənar**, Jeh **manal**, Halang **manar**, Kammu-Yuan **pənúr** (!) *wing*, Khasi **'ner** (~ *sner*) *fly*, Nancowry **nuāy** *wing*.

Kammu-Yuan vocalism by attraction **túr** *to fly*, ad 1683 *həər.

(SHAFFER 1965 25; BLOOD 1966 362, 368; SMITH 1972 412, 413.)

Mundari **a-pir** *to fly*, &c. (Proto-Munda *per); ~ Kharia **pə'ner** *wing* (PINNOW 1959 K 501).

Paiwan *mi-pə[ɣ]pə[ɣ] (!; BENEDICT 1975 394, *to spread (out)*..., which see); perhaps also Proto-Austronesian *lə(N)pad_{2/3}: Tagalog *lipád* *flight, flying*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 247; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1634 *pəər (& *pər?) *rice-gruel*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **pər** *soup*, Sre **por** *rice-gruel* (< variant?), Chrau **pər** *soup, gruel*, Biat **pər** *rice soup*, Bahnar **pər**, Jeh **po:l**, Halang **poar** *cooked rice*; ~ Khmer **bəbə: papar** (→ Stieng **pəbər**) *soup, rice-gruel*.

Bahnar **[ḍa:k] bu:r** *water in which rice has been cooked* is ← Indonesian, cf. Cham **(a)pù:**, Röglai, North Röglai **bu** *rice-broth*, < Proto-Austronesian *bud_{2/3}bud_{2/3} (DEMPWOLFF 1938 32). Is this ultimately cognate?

(SHAFFER 1965 553; SMITH 1972 421.)

1635 *p[]uur?; *p[]uər[]; *p[]ər[]; *p[]ar[] to bind round, wrap.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *pūr* /*pur*/ to surround with, to bind round, Modern Mon *pao*, Mường *púl*, Vietnamese *búi* to bind round.

B: (Palaungic) Praok *pua* to wrap.

C: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang *par* to wrap; (probably, rather than D) ~ Palaung *rəpər* winding round, to wrap [bandage] (MILNE 1931).

D: (Mon, Khmuic) Thin *pār* to wrap; ~ Old Mon *kupar* /*kəpər*/ to put round; ~ *kunpar*, Modern Mon *həpə* to go round; (?) → Bahasa Indonesia *kumpar* to wind on a spool.

Or **pw-*, causative ~ 1669 **wuur* &c. to go round...? Cf. 1754 **p[]ul* &c. to twine round. Sakai *sapur* to wrap up (Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 145) is probably ← Malay *simpul*.

Connection uncertain Mundari *biur* to turn round, to surround, to move round, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361 (Proto-Munda *[p]ijur).

***1636 *knpur lime.**

A: (Mon, Khmer Katuic, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon *gapuiw*, Modern Mon *həpə*, Khmer *kəmbao kəmpor* (→ Stieng *kəmuə:r*?), Kuy *mphə:r* (!), Vietnamese *vôi*.

Khmer/Kuy vowel lengthening precedes lowering; Kuy chest register obscure.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian **k[]-(q)apuɣ*: Malay *kapur*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 75, **kapuɣ*: Proto-West-Indonesian; ~ *(*q*)*apuɣ* = **apuɣ* lime, DEMPWOLFF 1938 16). *-*ɣ* suggests Indonesian → Mon-Khmer, with secondary infixation.

1637 *cpiir pumpkin.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Thin *pīr*, Vietnamese *bí*; ~ Mon *həpə*, Proto-Nyah Kur **cəmpiir* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N102), Riang-Lang *səpīr*.

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect perhaps 1756 *[c]puəls &c.; a similar alternance in 1675 **siir*/**suul*.

***1638 *cpiər to blow, to winnow.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Mon) Thin *pīər* to blow, Riang-Lang *pīər* winnowing-tray, Central Nicobarese *ifuə* to blow, *ifuī* to fan, Nancowry *ʔifuú*; & *fūy* breeze, Nyah Kur *hwīr* (& Thin < *-iir?); ~ Chrau *səpiər* kind of winnowing-basket, Proto-Semai **jmpīər* winnowing-sieve (DIFFLOTH 1977); by secondary derivation ~ Vietnamese *nia* winnowing-basket.

Nicobaric vocalism contextual.

Kharia *humper* to blow (PINNOW 1959 K 159).

‡1639 ***tnpaar** *flat surface*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, ?North Aslian). Mon **həpa** *flat surface, back [of hand &c.]*, Khmer **dəmba: tən̄pār** *flat surface*, Semang **tebal** *plain* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 122; ?).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***da(N)pa**[**d**_{2/3}Y] *flat*: Malay **dampar** *stranded*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***da(m)pay**; sep. Tagalog **lapag** *floor*, or -g by dissimilation?; separate probably Ngaju Dayak, *step*; Proto-Malayo-Javanese *-r, NOTHOFER 1975 153); (ii) ***la(N)pad**_{2/3}: Javanese **lampar** *flat and spacious...*, &c. (DAHL 1973 § 20.7, ***laNpar**; add Cebuano Bisayan **lapad** *flat, level surface*; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 291.

1640 ***mpuər** *leguminaceous plant yielding shampoo*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic) Mon **kəpo lapow** &c. *soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle*; (by contraction of compound?) ~ Khmer **səmbuə sampuər** *Mimosa fera*, (—**kək**) *kind of shrub from fruits of which shampoo is made*, Riang-Lang **səmpuar** *soap-acacia creeper, Acacia concinna De Candolle*.

1641 ***[b]iir** *to forget*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Biat **bir** *neglectful*, Palaung **bir**, Praok **pi[ɔm]** *to forget*.

1642 ***ber** *to float*.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **pè** *to ride low in the water*, Khasi **per** *to float*.

1643 ***boor** *plentiful*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **pò baw!** *to be plentiful* (→ Burmese **po**), Khmer **pò: bor** *to be full to overflowing*.

1644 ***?baar** *to kneel*.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **ḃār** /^m**bar**/, Modern Mon **mèa**, Khasi **par** *to kneel*, Vietnamese **bái** *to bow, pay homage to*. Vietnamese tone from initial sequence.

1645 ***gbur** *to eject from mouth*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **khpùl khbur** *to rinse mouth, spew out, make a shower*; ~ (***gnbur** > Middle Mon ***kambuiw** >) Mon **kəmə** *ejected residue of betel chew*. Mon head register results from Middle Mon voicing distribution rule.

1646 ***cbaar** *hibiscus*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **[kao] hwèa** *hibiscus*, Khmer **cba: cpā!** *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*. Add perhaps by voicing metathesis (***jpaar** >) Central Nicobarese **cəfa:** *Crinum laurifolium*.

1646a *tbar; *tbər sticky, slippery.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ Sre **mbar**, Chrau **mvar** *glutinous*; ~ (*trbar >) Bahnar **təbar** *sticky*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **mbər** *slippery, to slip*.

Connect Nancowry **kipáy** *sticky*.

(*[b]ir see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

1646b *b[a]r flying ant.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **[i]bər**; ~ Khasi **kber** *flying white ant*.

Cf. Riang-Lang **buŋ** *bay flying ant*.

(*baar see 1562 *biʔaar two.)

1647 *[k]bur dark, night.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **bur** **[tru:]** *dark, overcast* (DOURNES 1950), Riang-Lang **ʔbor** *evening, night, to get dark*, Lawa Bo Luang **[ma]-pu**, Lawa Umphai **[mua] phu**, Mae Sariang **[mua] pu** *evening*; (?) → Malay **kabur** *dim, faint*, Ngaju Dayak **kabul** (!) *obscure, misty*; ~ Sre **mbur** *shadow*, Praok **bo** *night*.

Bahnar has **maŋ mu:** *very dark*; = West Bahnar **mu:** *shadow* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), ad 111 *[][b]uu??

1648 *t₁bur; *t₁bər lip.

A: (Khmer, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **môi**; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **bəbo:** **papūr** (perhaps contaminated by Malay **bibir** < Proto-Austronesian *bibiy, DEMPWOLFF 1938 129; → Khmer **pəpì:** *labia pudenda*).

B: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **vər** **[vəʔ]** *lip*, Biat **bər** *mouth, opening*, Sre **bər**, Bahnar **ḃər** *mouth*; ~ Palaung **səbər** *lip*; ~ Bru **tamber bəeʔ** *lip*.

Cf. 1629 *sdur.

(SHAFER 1965 407.)

1649 *mar to increase in size.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **mar** /mər/, Modern Mon **mò** *to increase*, Khasi **mer** *to grow well, to sprout*; ~ (*kuən mar by contraction >, cf. 1127) Riang-Lang **kənmər** *to be pregnant*.

Separate Biat **mo:r** *to swell*, = *inflammation* ad 1566 *kuur.

1650 *mar[?]; *maar[] (equivalent) quantity.

A: (Central Aslian, ?Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **máy** *how much, how many; some, a few* (?; then → Mường, BARKER 1966 16), Temiar **mar** *size* (BENJAMIN 1976B 165), **mar-** *as big as*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **ma** *quantity* (sandhi-form, *tm-, from */bnət ma/), Praok **mə** *how many, as much as*.

1651 *[]**maar**; ***miir** (& ***mir**?) *dry hill-field*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **mar**, Riang-Lang **_mar**, (!) Praok **ma**, Lawa **?ma**.

B: (Bahnaric) Sre **mir** (< ***mir**? BLOOD 1966 **mi:r**), Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **mi:r**.

With presumed Bahnaric fronting, cf. 1923 ***rmaas**; 1381 ***m-yaam**. A perhaps, as Waic suggests, ***k(n)maar**, ~ (***kaar** >) Late Old Mon **kār** /**kar**/ element in toponyms of cultivation; but B must then be separate.

(SHAFFER 1965 179; BLOOD 1966 217.)

1652 ***muur** *to pass, duck, under something*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **mur** (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar **mo:r** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1653 ***m[]uur**; ***m[]ər** (& ***m[]uər**?) *to roll up*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **mù:** **mūr**, Kuy **mù:r**; ~ Mon **kəmao** **tmū** &c.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **mɔ:r** *to fold up, roll up, roll [cigarette]* (< *-**uər**?), Riang-Lang **_mar** *to roll*, Nancowry **mūa** *twisted* (< *-**uər**?); ~ Khmer **khm̥:** **ghmar** *round, curled up*.

Or ***mw-**, ~ 1669 ***wuur** &c. *to go round, turn round*? Cf. 1772 ***m[]il** &c. *roll*, with mutual contamination

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

(***kmaar** see 1651 *[]**maar** *dry hill-field*.)

1654 *[s]**rm[ɔ]r** *chebulic myrobalan, Terminalia chebula Retz.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **həmò!** **khamow**, Khmer **sɾəmɔ:** **sɾam̥a!**

Or *-**ɔər**; or *-**uər** (Mon), *-**ər**. Mon chest register by arbitrary differentiation **həmo** *nasal mucus*, ad following? If ***j-**, Khmer head register obscure.

1655 ***smuər** *nose, beak*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, North Aslian) ~ Old Mon **sinmor** /**səmmor**/, Modern Mon **həmo**, Semang **hāmoh** *nasal mucus* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98), (~?) Sre **səmoar** *beak*.

Cf. Central Nicobarese **m̥ɔ:** *mucus*. Khmer **səmbao** **sənp̥or** *mucus* is perhaps < ***spmuur** by metathesis; for a variant ***smuur** cf. also Palaung **gɔŋ mur** *nose* (literally *handle of the mouth*, so for ****hmur** by attraction **mur** *mucus*, under the entry 147 *[hy]**mu?**). (Cf. SHAFFER 1965 408.)

1656 ***yaar** *to lift*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **yèa** *to lift up, raise*, Khmer **yì:ə yār** *to raise [fist]*.

1657 ***yur**; ***yuər**; ***yaar** *to hang down, to carry hanging down, to lower*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **yùl yur** *to droop*, Sre **yur**, Chrau **yur** *to lower*, Thin **yūr** *to descend* (contaminated by 1606 ***jur** [], which compare); ~ Riang-Lang **ˉyor** *to hang* (v.t.).

- B: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **yù:ə yuər** to *c. dangling in hand*; ~ Kuy **(k)ya:r** to *carry by handle*.
 C: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric; contaminated by following?) Khmer **yù:ə yār** *hanging down, drooping*, Kuy **yì:ar** *sagging, drooping*, Biat **ya:r** to *carry in hand*, Nancowry **céy** to *tangle* (< *yər?).

1658 *[k]yaa[r] to *come loose, come undone*.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ (*[k]ryaa[r] >) Mon **kəya** to *come loose*; ~ (*[k]byaa[r] >) Praok **ya** to *untie*.
 Or *t₁-; *-l.

1659 *[dy][a]r sticky (substance).

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **jər** *bird-lime* (MILNE 1931) (≠ *sap*, < 1601 *jar); ~ Sre **nar**, Vietnamese **nhầy** *sticky*. Or rather compare Palaung to Bru **ya:yh** and Bahnar **iaih** *bird lime* (< *fa(a)s?).

1660 *syaar outstretched.

- A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **hia:r** *unfolded, spread out* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **ïar** *extended, stretch wide, to extend*.
 Connect by metathesis 1501 *s-raay to *be scattered*?

1661 *[d]rer to wait.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Nicobaric) Literary Mon **tre(w)** to *abide*, Khmer **drer** (GUESDON 1930), Central Nicobarese **[hã:]-təre-[yən]** to *wait*.
 Connection dubious Vietnamese **chờ**.

1662 *lir?; *liir[]; *liər[] cricket.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Sre **lil** by assimilation; → Jarai dialect **lir**, Röglai **lil**, **lir**; ~ → Jarai **klir**; ~ (*t₁caar lir? by contraction >, cf. Riang-Lang ̣car ad 838a *raac *grasshopper*?) Kammu-Yuan **cəlél** *kind of cicada*, Vietnamese **đế** (for **ré) *cricket*.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **le:r** *cricket*.
 C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **le:r** *kind of cricket*.
 With Sre assimilation cf. following onomatopoeic? So allegedly Kammu-Yuan.

1663 *liər to project.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Sre **liu** to *stick out* (→ Röglai) (< *liəl by assimilation; cf. preceding), Biat **le:r** to *jut out, project* (& to *lick*; so Stieng **liər**), Palaung **liər** to *(cause to) protrude*, Khasi **[sei] ler**, Vietnamese **lè** to *stick [tongue] out*; ~ Riang-Lang ̣klier to *protrude*.

1663a *lær lie, falsehood.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khasi) Sre **lær lie** (DOURNES 1950), Khasi **[lam]ler (to) lie**; ~ Biat **nau klør lie, ɲə:i klør to lie**.

1664 *loor to glide, creep.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Mon **lò lo!** [*snake*] *to wriggle*, Central Sakai **lôr to creep**.
Connect Khasi **ler(ler)**, **lir-lir** *creepingly*; perhaps **1793 *luul** *tadpole*.

1665 *lur; *luur; *luər to slide in, to push in.

A, B: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khasi **lur** *to push [wood] further into fire*; ~ (***tl-** > ?) Bahnar **klur** *to push into, to penetrate, fall into* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (B) Old Mon **tinlūr /tənlur/** *bolt, bar*; by secondary derivation ~ (A) Riang-Lang **ṭkhlør** *to thread [needle]*.
C: (Mon, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lùa** *to slide into, penetrate, drive*; ~ Literary Mon **klow** *to thrust through a hole*; ~ Khasi **phalor** *gate of sliding poles*.
Cf. Mon **hno** *bolt, bar* (for ****kəno**? Literary Mon has **khañow**), by attraction *line, rule* < **1605 *[j]/n/uər**.

1666 *[]luur; *[]luər to slip, come loose.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **lol** *to slip*. by assimilation; ~ (***.nluur** >) Lawa Bo Luang **klaw**, Lawa Umphai **ɲglau** *to slip, fall*.
B: (Palaungic) Praok **lu:a** *to come unfastened*; ~ (***t,pluər** > ?) Kammu-Yuan **təluər** *to slip*, Riang-Lang **ṭəkluar** *to slip, to cause to slip*, Khasi **phlor** [*ring*] *to come loose and fall off*.
Connect **1668 *[s]liər** ...*slippery*? But connection dubious **2067 *loh** &c. *to unravel*...

1666a *luər worm.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **luar**; ~ (***.rluər** >) Vietnamese **giòi** (for ****ròi**) *worm, maggot*.
Connect obscure Bahnar **huar**. Palaung **riər** is < **1926 *riəs**.

1667 *tlaar ancient.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **tlār /tlar/** *to be anterior; first, formerly, before*, Modern Mon **kla** *time before*, Sre **klar** *to be old, worn* (→ Röglai **kla?**!).

(***pliir**, ***pliər** see **1791 *pril** *hail*.)

1668 *[s]liər smooth, slippery.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **liər** *to be slippery*; ~ Biat **ple:r** *smooth* (& by metathesis **ple:r rle:p**).
Connect **1666 *[]luur** &c. *to slip*...? Cf. also **1803a *(l)hiil** &c. ...*smooth*...; **1076 *lit** &c. *slippery*...

‡1669 ***wir**; ***wiir**; ***wiər**; ***wər**; ***war**; ***waar**; ***wuur**; ***wuər** to go round, to turn round.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Bahnar **wi:r** to twist (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B), Kammu-Yuan **wer**[ka:y] to turn (v.i.), Mường **wəl** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **về** to return; → Jarai **wi:r** (or B?), Röglai **wir** to turn; ~ Biat [ndac] **lwur** to turn (v.i.), Bahnar **rəwir** to stir (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) Stieng **vui:r** to avoid (or A), Kammu-Yuan **wi:r** confused, Praok **vi** to visit, (or A?) Khasi **wir** astray; ~ Vietnamese in compounds **vi** to surround; circumference; ~ Central Nicobarese **hen-wi:yə** eddy, Nancowry **wí** to go round and round, wander (or 231 ***wii**?).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **viə viər** to go aside, avoid, Biat **wə:r** to abstain from; avoidance; unlucky, Bunör **wə:r** (→ Sre, → Röglai, **wer**?), Central Rölöm **wiər** taboo, Bahnar **wə:r**, Palaung **viər** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **_vier**, Praok **vi:a** to go aside, avoid; ~ Khasi **tawiar** to go round and round.

D: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Khmer **və: var** to go wrong, to cause trouble, Sre **wər** to stir round, Chrau **wər** to stir; edge, Biat **wər** to stir, Bahnar **wər** to turn (v.t), to enclose, to wag [tail], to paddle, to go and come back, Kammu-Yuan **wür-wür**, [wì:t] **wər** dizzy, Khasi **wer-wer** [to hear] by rumour; → Iban **uar** to stir.

E: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre **war** to go or put round spirally, Biat **war** to roll up (v.i.), Nancowry **wáy** to go around; ~ Kuy (k)**war** to stir, Bru **kuwar**; ~ Riang-Lang **_wər** to wander, ramble; ~ Kammu-Yuan **sərwər** round and small.

F: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **ua:r** cattle-pound, Chrau **wa:r** pen for livestock, Biat **wa:r** circumference, Central Rölöm **ua:r** to stir (BLOOD 1976), Bahnar **wa:r** to fence round, Riang-Lang **_var** edge, rim, boundary, Praok **ve** that which surrounds; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənwà:r** fence, garden; to fence.

G: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Old Mon **wūr** /**wur**/, by sandhi Modern Mon **wùt** [təh] round, around, Praok **vur** to turn round (v.i.t.); ~ Palaung **kən?ur** edge, boundary; ~ Khasi **lyur** circular.

H: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **vua** to wrap round; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kərwə:r** [bent] in a curve; ~ Vietnamese **ngoe** [ngoáy] to wag [tail].

Add perhaps (***p-wuur** &c. causative =) 1635 ***p** [juur? &c. to bind round, wrap; (***m-wuur** &c. =) 1653 ***m** [juur &c. to roll up. Cf. 1794 ***wil** &c. to turn.

(SCHMIDT 1905 64; SHAFER 1965 409; SHORTO 1973 378-9; BLOOD 1966 94.)

(i) Sora **jar-**, **jer-** again, re-, **jar-jar-** around, on all sides, round and round; (ii) ~ Sora **tor-**(**tor-**) to stand round, to form a fence, to surround, Kharia **tər** to enclose (PINNOW 1959 197); (iii) perhaps (by metathesis?) Sora **-ju(:)r** in **'gujur-** &c. to whirl, **'piju(:)r-**, **pij'ju:r-** to turn round (: Mundari **biur**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 361; Proto-Munda ***[p]ijur**; otherwise : ***p** [juur? &c.

(Proto-Austronesian ***kəuir** or ***kiuər**) Iban **kuir** to swing, whirl, by metathesis Ilocano **kiwar** to stir, turn over, **kiwer** curly [tail].

1670 *wiir to raise, tend.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **wir** /**wir**/ husbandry, Modern Mon **wì** to raise, tend, Bahnar **wè:r** to look after, tend (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1671 *waar; *wər hot, to heat.

A: (Khmuic) Khmu' **wa:r** hot, to heat, Kammu-Yuan **wà:r** to be warm.

B: (South Bahnaric; contaminated by 1812 *rʔuəl to grill) Stieng **uər** to heat in pan. Connect 1559a *cʔur &c. warm.

1672 *wər; *wəər; *waar; *wuur to crawl.

A: (South Bahnaric, ?Katuic) Stieng **wər** (BLOOD 1966).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **wə:r**; ~ Palaung **mu:r**; ~ (*[]mw- >) Kuy **mù:r**, Pakoh **mò:r**.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer **vì:ə vār** to creep, crawl, Kuy **wì:ar** [plants] to creep, climb; ~ Gölar Bahnar **kua:r** [plants] to creep, climb.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang **_mur** to crawl.

C-D secondary.

(BLOOD 1966 424.)

1673 *twər forearm.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **tu:r** [ti:] (?); ~ (*tpwər >) Mon **kəwə** [toa] arm, forearm, Sre **təwər** [ti] arm, (merging 1913 *puəs, which see) Palaung **puər** (— ti) forearm, (— grəŋ) calf.

Cf. (i) Central Nicobarese **koa:l** (upper) arm, Nancowry **kuál**; (ii) Pangan **huál** arm, forearm (Kensiu), Kěnaboi **rhûah** upper arm, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 136.

1674 *sw[e]r cicada.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **ˉwər**, **ˉvər** large kind of cicada, Vietnamese [con] ve-ve cicada.

1675 *siir; *suul to incise, write.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng **sir** to carve, Sre **sir** to decorate with pigmented incisions; ~ Old Khmer **sarsir**, Modern Khmer **sə:se:** to write; ~ Khmer **sme:** smer secretary, clerk.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **sūl** /**sul**/ to write.

Middle Mon has **kṣū** write (Modern Mon **chu**) by back-formation from ***dasū** writing, for which cf. Old Mon **sirsūl**, Modern Mon **kəsao**. Connection obscure Vietnamese **tô** to draw, colour. On rhyme-alternance cf. 1637 *[c]piir.

(SHAFER 1965 482.)

1676 *sər; *sar scrub.

- A:** (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **sər** *abandoned field, fallow*, Bahnar **tsər** *brushwood* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; beside **tsər**, cf. **sar** below); ~ (***srsər** >) Middle Mon **dasuiw**, Modern Mon **kəsp** *bush*.
- B:** (Bahnaric) Sre **sar**, Biat [**bri:**] **char** *brushwood*, Bahnar **sar** *unploughed field*.
- B** by interdialectal borrowing, cf. Stieng? With it connected probably Khmer [**prèy**] **phsay** *scrubland*, by rhyming deformation &/or popular etymology, cf. **phsay** *to be scattered...*
- (SHAFFER 1965 463.)

1677 *sur[]; *suur?; *suər[] bag.

- A:** (Palaungic) Praok **haə**.
- B:** (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hur** *bag*, Vietnamese **túi** *pocket, purse, small bag*.
- C:** (Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese **kenhō:ə** *small bag, pocket*.

1678 *suur; *suər to poke, pierce.

- A:** (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **cho:r** *to impale, spit, skewer*; ~ (*[t]**suur** >) Mon **chu khyū** *quanting-pole*.
- B:** (Palaungic) Palaung **huər** *to transfix with*.

1679 *kmsiir relation by marriage.

- A:** (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **kumsīr** /**kəmsir**/ *parents- (or father-?) in-law* (& Modern Mon **khamśəe** *parents-in-law*, originally as learned form), Semai I **gəŋsi:r** *husband*.
- BENJAMIN 1976 compares Semai with North Aslian forms: Kensiu **gəswy**.

1680 *ksiir; *ksiər; *ksur to blow one's nose.

- A:** (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **chir** (→ Röglai), Chrau **che:r**, Central Nicobarese **hehe:-**[**hətə** &c.] (!; by expressive deformation?), Kuy (**k**)**sər**, Bru **ksir**; ~ (***knsiir** >) Biat **nche:r** [**moh**].
- B:** (South Bahnaric) Stieng **cər** [**muh**].
- C:** (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **khúr**.
- C** secondary; primacy otherwise uncertain.

1681 *ks[uə]r quill of porcupine.

- A:** (Bahnaric) Biat **chər**; ~ Chrau, Bahnar **gəso:r** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Biat excludes ***kc-**. Cf. (i) Kammu-Yuan **cəŋkhál** (contaminated by **khú:l** *body hair*, < **1803 *ksuul?**); (ii) Palaung **pər hur** *short and bristly [hair]* (MILNE 1931).

1682 *hiir thirsty.

- (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi). Khmer **həl hir** *peppery, hot on tongue* (by attraction **1684 *h[əə]r**), Biat [**ji:**] **hir** *thirst, to be thirsty*, Bahnar [**to?**] **hir** *deliciously hot* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **hir** *longingly, ardently*; ~ Stieng **thir** *to be thirsty*; ~

(***t̪hiir** >) Sre **təhir** *thirst*, Chrau **kə̃hi:l** *to crave [food]* (BLOOD 1966 **kə̃hi:r**),
(— **da:ʔ**) *thirsty*.
(BLOOD 1966 41a, b.)

1683 *hər; *həər to fly.

A: (Khasi) Khasi **her**.

B: (Khmer, Khmuic) Khmer **haə hör**; ~ (***t̪həər** >) Kammu-Yuan **tú:r**.
Connection dubious Central Nicobarese **he:h-hə̃ə**, Nancowry **héh**.

1684 *h[ə]r; *h[ə̃]r burning, smarting.

A: (Katuic) Kuy (**ʔa:har**) *hot taste e.g. of ginger*, Bru **ʔahar**.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **haə hör** *hot, peppery*, Chrau **hə:r** *to sting, hurt*, Bahnar **ha:r** *bitter, fiery, strong* (!; GUILLEMINET 1959-63 has **hə̃r** East Bahnar, **h̃r** West Bahnar).

1685 *hur to expose to heat.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **hur** *to warm, soften by heating*, Biat **hor** *to expose to flame*, Sre **hur** (→ Röglai **hu:**), Bahnar **hur** *to harden in flame* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1812 *[r]huul &c. *to grill contaminated by* **1559a *cʔur** *warm?*
(SHAFER 1965 273.)

1686 *h[u]rʔ; *huər[] to flow.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ho: hūr**, Sre **hor** (!); ~ (***ch[u]rʔ** >) Vietnamese **xôi** *to pour*; ~ Khmer **cə̃ho:** *small channel*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng, Chrau **hə:r** *to flow*, Biat **hə:r** *to dribble [saliva]*, Palaung **huər** *[blood] to flow* (MILNE 1931), Central Nicobarese **wua:** *current, (-)ne to flow*, **wa:yə-[da:k]** *stream*, Nancowry **riáktwuá** *river, stream*; ~ (***khuər[]** >) Kammu-Yuan **kó:r** *to flow*.

Connect **1556 *ʔu[]r** &c. *stream-bed?* Cf. also **1597 *cuur[]** &c.
(SHAFER 1965 272, 405.)

***1687 *huur skin.**

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **hur**, Riang-Lang **hur** *skin, hide, leather*; ~ Vietnamese in compounds **phu** *skin*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **hə̃mpú:r**, Thin **hə̃mpur** *skin, hide* (& Thin **pūr** by back-formation).

Mundari, Santali, Ho **ur** (PINNOW 1959 366; other forms cited rather : **1568 *c[n]kuər** &c.).

1688 *kh[ee]r burnt [food].

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **khe:r**, Vietnamese **khê**.

Or ***i(ə)r**; then perhaps connected Sre **hiər** *dried [meat]*; but not Röglai **khia** *burnt*, : Cham **khyaʔ**, Jarai **khia:ʔ**.

1689 *chiər? *to tear.*

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **chier**, Vietnamese **xé**.

***1690 *dhu[]r; *dhuər** *loose, lax.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khasi) Khmer **thù: dhūr** *slack, loose, soft*; by secondary derivation ~ Kuy **ntho:r** *loose [rope]*, **nthur** (by arbitrary variant?) *over-large, fitting loosely*, Khasi **kynthur** *with loose-fitting clothes*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **thoar** *widely spaced, loosely attached* (DOURNES 1950).

Cf. **1549 *t₁huuy** &c.

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***kə(N)duy**: Malay **kěndur**, &c., Cham **catù:**, **tatù:** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 77, ***kəṇḍuy**; Proto-West-Indonesian).

(***d₂huər** see **1560 *d₂uur** *kind of apid.*)

1691 *[p]haar *intensive.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Old Mon **phār /phar/** *very*, Khasi **phar** *entirely*.

Or ***bh-**.

(***phə(ə)r** see **1561 *p[ʔ]ər** *to dry.*)

1692 *phu[]r; *phuər *soft in texture.*

A: (Khmer) Khmer **phūr** *glossy, velvety, soft* (GUESDON 1930); ~ **pəpho: paphūr** *soft, smooth...*

B: (Mon) Literary Mon **phow [lāy]** *to be downy*.

1693 *lhu[r]; *lhuə[r] *to throw horizontally.*

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **hrur** *to throw along the surface of the ground* (MILNE 1931; with perhaps regular assimilation).

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **lhor /lhow/**, Modern Mon **hlo** *to hurl [spear &c.]*.

Connection dubious Vietnamese **lao** *javelin, to throw*.

(***ʔil** see **1780 *[y]il** *barking deer.*)

1694 *ʔəl *anxious, hesitant.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon by alliterative deformation [**sba**] **s'aw** *to be anxious, fearful*, Khmer **ʔəl** *perplexed, hesitating*.

Cf. Khmer **phʔaəl** *to panic*, → Biat **pʔə:l** *timid*.

(***ʔəl** see also **1696 *iʔəl** *to see.*)

†**1695** *ʔul[]; *ʔuəlʔ; *ʔəl[]; *hul[] *nausea, to choke, vomit.*

A: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer ʔol *unwashed after sleep*, (GUESDON 1930, **dik** —) *stale saliva in mouth on waking*, Bahnar ul *indigestion, nausea* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer ʔu:əl *to gasp for breath, choke, gag*, Kuy ʔu:l *to have sth. stuck in throat*, Stieng uɔ:l *indigestion*, Chrau ɔ:l *to choke*, Bahnar ɔl *indigestion, nausea* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese ói *to have indigestion, to vomit; surfeit*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer chʔəl! *flatulence, nausea; to overeat* (contaminated by **951** *cʔ[ə]t ...cloyed), Kuy ʔəl *dirt on teeth*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung hūr. Riang-Lang ʔəl, Praok haw *to vomit*.

Connect **1766** *ʔu(u)l *drunk*.

Sora 'o:l-ən, compounding form ad 'o:le:n-ən *saliva*, Mundari hul, ula *to vomit*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 312).

Proto-Austronesian *(q)u(q)[aə]l: Malay *m-uāl* *queasy, to loathe, to vomit*, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 341; Proto-Hesperonesian); & connected Cebuano Bisayan *sum-ul* *cloying*.

†**1696** Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *iʔəl > *yəl, Pre-Palaungic &c. *ʔəl *to see*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Khmer yùəl *to see, to understand*, Stieng io:l (& iə:l) *to look at from a distance*, Riang-Lang ʔəl *to see, perceive, to find*, Jehai ʔel *to see*; → Cham yal; Thai yon; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 16), Vietnamese ngó, (~?) Sakai terniəl *to show* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 155); ~ (*y/mp/ɔl >) Sre mpol *to see in the distance*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 190, 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 135, (?) U 15.)

(~) Santali ɲel *to see, to look*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 495i); (?) Sora mel-'mel- *to examine, inspect*.

1697 *[c]ʔiəl[]; *[c]hiəlʔ *to wilt, wither*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon ea s'ey *to wither, become withered, dry up*, Jölong yel *poor [harvest]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang hiu *to wither*; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese héo *to wilt, dry up, wither*.

Cf. Semang wāl or ul *withered, faded*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 131.

1698 *prʔiəl *to be high, rancid*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat rʔi:u *to become rancid*, Kammu-Yuan pəʔiəl (to) *smell of fish*.

1699 *rʔal; *rʔaal; *rʔiəl; by metathesis *rlaʔ *forehead*.

A: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese ləl.

B: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Riang-Lang ʔdal, Nancowry ləl.

C: (Palaungic) Praok [dɔŋ] **re**, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdɛ, Lawa Umphai ʔrɛ, Mae Sariang ʔɣɛ.

D: (Khmer) Khmer **rəl̩iːə** *ralā* forehead, skull.

C obscure.

†1700 ***rʔəl̩h**; by metathesis ***r̩lʔəh** *each, every*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *ruih*, Modern Mon **rəh**, Khmer **rə̌l**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **dəh**.

Cf. for Mon -h 1758 ***dpuulh** &c.

Sora **di-** (< ***rəlʔih**, with further vowel metathesis).

Proto-Austroasiatic ***riʔəl̩h** or the like?

(***rʔuul**, ***rʔuəl** see 1812 ***[r]huəl** *to grill*.)

1701 ***[s]ʔɔɔl** *satiation*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon [**baw**] *'aw to be plentiful*, Khmer **sʔɔ:l** *satiated, stuffed* (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.; GUESDON 1930 *'al*).

†1702 ***kal**; ***kaal** *to break off, to be broken*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Late Middle Mon **kaw**, Modern Mon **kə** *to break in two, snap* (v.i.), Khmer [**kat**] **kal** *to break with someone, repudiate one's child*, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **kal** *to cut down*, Kammu-Yuan **kəl!** *to lop*; ~ (***.nkal** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ŋga** *to cut down*.

B: (Nicobaric) Nancowry **kál** *to cut*, Central Nicobarese **kā:l-[həŋə]** *to trim down, halve*, (~?) **okā:l-[həŋə]** *to amputate* (or 1707a?).

To cut down &c. by attraction 1707a ***k(u)əl**, which compare with Kammu-Yuan cf. Vietnamese **gãy** *to break, snap* (v.i.).

(SMITH 1972 397.)

Sora **al-** *to bend, crush, pluck, break*.

1703 ***kaal** *in front, before*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **ká:l** *before*, Praok **ka** *first, before, until*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **ka** *in front, before*.

Add Sakai **kāl** *tomorrow* (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178?

†1704 ***ka[i]l** *to speak*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) ~ Old Mon **kinkāl** /**kənkāl**/ *to declare, tell, expound*; ~

(***[k]rka[i]l** >) Praok **sika** *to speak*.

Sora dialect **kaj** *to say, to tell*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 65). For Munda loss of *-l cf. 1782 ***kyaal**.

Proto-Austronesian ***kayɨ** *language, to speak*: Atayal **kai** *language*, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 198). See BENEDICT 1975 389-90.

1705 *kəl[]; *kəəl? to support, help.

- A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəl** to support from below (→ Sre **kəl** to help?), Kuy **kal**, Biat **kəl** to put wedge under; ~ Khmer **khnəl** rest, cushion.
- B: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Muong, Katuic) Stieng **kə:l** to prop up, Chrau **kə:l** to pile together, lean [something] on, Bunör, Central Rölöm **kə:l** to help, Biat **kə:l** to help, save, Muong (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **cứu** to save, Bru **takw:l** put (support) under head; ~ Sre **kərnə:l** support, **kərnə:l bou** pillow, Chrau **gənə:l** pillow, East Bahnar **kənə:l** base of post (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khasi **syngkhien** to prop.
- A variant ***kuł?** may underlie Vietnamese **gối** pillow; to rest one's head (& Sre **kəl**, above?); & ***kuul**[] West Bahnar **kəno:l** base of post (GUILLEMINET 1959-63). Cf. then **B106** ***gur** to help.
- (BLOOD 1966 396.)

1706 *[]kuul knee.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Aslian) Kuy **kə:l** (& by contraction of compound **tkə:l**), Bahnar **ku:l** [ta:ŋ] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by sandhi Stieng **ku:k** [ta:ŋ]; by contraction Sre **kəl**[taŋ]; & with vowel metathesis Kensiu, Lanoh Yir **kal**[toŋ], Semelai **kal**[tuŋ].

For **ta:ŋ** &c. see **543a** ***t₂a**[a]ŋ. Perhaps ***rk-**, see Bru **rakə:l** and by metathesis Temiar **karə:l** (with cognates in most Central Aslian languages) < variant ***rkuəl?**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 40.)

Proto-Austronesian ***dəNkul**: Javanese **ḍəngkul**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 43, ***d-**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese); → Vietnamese **gối?**

1707 *kuulh naked.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre, Chrau **kuh**, Riang-Lang **ˀkul**[ˀkal]; → Röglai **kul**, North Röglai **kuluh**.

Hence by metathesis **A31** ***sl**[uu]k?

1707a *kuəl; *kəl to cut down, fell.

- A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **kə:l**, Kammu-Yuan **kó:l**.

- B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kəl**.

Chrau **kal**, &c., are < **1702** ***kal** by attraction Cf. **1702**.

1708 *krkuul descent group.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **kirkūl** /**kərkul**/ family, clan, Modern Mon **həkao** also race, nation, Khmer **trəko:l** family, race; → Thai **trakuun**.

Cf. Bahnar **khu:l**, Gölar Bahnar **khul**. Hardly connected Sanskrit/Pali **kula-**, which would give Old Mon /-**kəl**/; but perhaps connected **1759** ***dpuul** &c. **1708a** ***ckal** turbid (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic). ~ (*[c]rkal >) Sre **səkal** polluted, Biat **rkhal** (!; contaminated by **1221** ***khən** thick...?) turbid, Bru **takal** muddy; ~ Riang-Lang **ˀsəkkəl** muddy.

Connect Acehnese **cökə**, Jarai **cəkə:l**, North Röglai **cakən** (< *k'ək[ə]l).

1709 *[c]kuul (?); *[c]kuəl; *[c]kəl; *[c]kiil; *[c]kiəl *to call, to bark.*

A: (North Aslian) Semang **kul** *to call* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 8).

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **kuə:l** (BLOOD 1966 **khua**l), Chrau **kuəl** *to call*, Biat **kwal** *to call, to bark*, Sre **khua**l, Bahnar, Jeh **kua**l (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (by affective deformation?) Kammu-Yuan **kwá:l** *to bark*.

C: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **gâu** (!) *barking*.

D: (Mon) Mon **ki** *to bark*.

E: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **kêu** (!) *to call*.

*[c]- in view of Stieng, Sre **kh-**; front vocalism then secondary; Vietnamese tone probably post-palatal.

(BLOOD 1966 87; SMITH 1972 400.)

†1710 *[t₁]kiəl; *[t₁]kail *cucumber.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **ke**, Lawa Umphai **cə** *cucurbitaceous plant*, Palaung **təkiər**, Khasi [**soh**]-**khia** *cucumber*, Central Nicobarese **ke:əl** *brinjal*, Nancowry **kíal**.

B: (Katuic) ~ Kuy (**ŋ**)**ke:l** *cucurbitaceous plant*.

Mundari **tahər** *cucumber*, &c. (!; ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1322-3).

1711 *dkiəl *to weigh.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **ke**; ~ Late Old Mon **dinkel** /**dənkel**/, Modern Mon **həke** *tical, unit of weight*; ~ (***dnkiəl** >) Lawa Bo Luang **ke**, Lawa Umphai **ŋje** *to weigh, measure*.

Connection uncertain Semang **takāl** **təkol** *heavy*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 67; or Kharia **ke'nəl** *heavy*, &c., PINNOW 1959 332.

1712 *[b]kəl[]; *[b]kəəls *to give, make over.*

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Mon **kil** /**kəl**/, Modern Mon **kə** *to give*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kul** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V236; implies *-ul); ~ Old Khmer **pragalbha**, Modern Khmer **prəkùəl** *to hand over*.

B: (Viet-Mường) ~ Vietnamese **gửi, gởi** *to send, despatch, to leave in someone's care*. Literary Mon **pakuw** *to convey to, procure for, to give* is probably a late causative formation rather than : Khmer. Connection dubious A156 ***gəl** *to change, exchange*.

(***rkuul** see 1706 *[]kuul *knee*.)

1713 *gaal *right, proper.*

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **ga:l** *right, correct*, Bahnar **ga:l** *right, proper, to agree* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1721 *sgaal *middle*.

1714 *guul *clearing*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kù** *market garden, cultivated clearing*, Biat **go:l** *clearing*.

1715 *guul; *guəl *mortar for pounding rice*.

A: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***guul** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Serau **tergul** (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 179B).

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **kwùal!**, Thin **guŋl**.

Connection dubious 1757 ***tpal**; or Vietnamese **cóí**.

(*ngal see 1720 ***lngal** *plough*.)

1716 *jgal *to recognize*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **skə̀l** *to know, recognize*, Kuy **khàl** *to know, be acquainted with*; ~ Chrau **səngal** *to recognize*, by metathesis (***gnal** >) Sre **dal** *to look at, observe, recognize*, Biat **nal** *to recognize*; (probably ~) Bahnar **gənal**, **kənal** *to recognize*.

(BLOOD 1966 360.)

***1717 *[j]guul** *finger*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **cərku:l** *finger, toe*, Thin **krgul** *finger*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **cəŋku:l**, Thin **cəŋgul** *to point out*; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **rəngor** *finger*.

Sora **i'gu(·)l-**, **i'gud-**, **a(g)gul-['si:-]**, **aig'go:l-** *to beckon*; Kharia **[tui]'gəl**, Mundari **[tui]gəl** *to point out; index finger...* (PINNOW 1959 K 348).

1718 *t₁g[uu]l; *t₁gəl *top*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **gor**, (→?) Riang-Lang **[ˈtha]** **_kol** *above*; ~ Riang-Lang **_təkol** *top, above, on*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **kəl** (→ Jeh **kàl**, Halang **kəl**), Rəngao **gə:l** *head, top* (GUILLENINET 1959-63), Hre **gàw** *head*.

(SHAFFER 1965 563; SMITH 1972 389; see SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 46.)

***1719 *d₂gəl; *d₂g[əə]l** *stump, trunk*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon **taguiw**, Modern Mon **hək̀ə** *stump*, Khmer **kùəl** *stump, floating log, trunk of tree*, Kuy **khàl** *tree-trunk, (in compounds) plant* (by attraction 1570 ***[d]kər**; or B?), Biat **gəl** *log (quantifier)*; → Cham **gal** *stump* (& **gul** *stump, trunk*, contaminated by Indonesian); ~ (***d₂ngəl** >) Kuy **ŋəl** *stump*, Chrau **təŋəl** *stump, stubble*, Biat **[yo:k]** **ŋəl**, Bahnar **dəŋəl**, Central Sakai **dəngál** *stump*.

B: (Palaungic; or ***-al**, perhaps with Kuy **khàl**; ~ ***d₂n_[2]g-** >) Riang-Lang **_cəlŋəl** *stump*.

Cf. A167 *[d]ng[əw]; Palaung ḡoe (MILNE 1931). Mon-Khmer vocalism contaminated by 1570 *[d]kər *trunk, plant?*

Proto-Austronesian *tuNgul: Karo Batak *tunggul-tunggul* *dead tree*, Malay *tunggul* *stump*, &c., perhaps Tagalog *tunggól* *decapitated* (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 99; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian).

†1720 *lŋgal, *ŋgal; by dissimilation *lŋguur; *lŋgu[ə]r *plough*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon təŋð, əŋð *lañaw* &c. *yoke, pair*, Khmer nɛəŋkðəl, (TANDART 1935) ʔəŋkðəl (→ Biat ŋgəl?), Kuy ŋkhəl, Sre ŋal *plough*, Stieng ŋa:l *ploughshare*, Mường cāl (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese cày (& cày) *to plough*; ~ Cham laŋal (& liŋan), Rōglai ŋal, Acehnese laŋay *plough*; Sanskrit lāṅgala-; & connected Malay tēnggala (→ Sakai —i.e. Temiar— tēnggāla, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 147A).

B: (Mon) Old Mon laŋgur /ləŋgur/, Literary Mon lñū *yoke, pair*.

C: (Khasi) Khasi lyngkor *plough*; → Sanskrit lāṅgula.

A variant *ŋgəl might be constructed from Vietnamese cày, Khmer, Katuic, Biat ~ Sora gal- *to yoke* (≠ *to plait*). (Cf. KUIPER 1948 127; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 63.)

1721 *sguul; *sgə[]l; *sgaal *middle*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre gu:l *middle, half, mid[night]*; ~ (*snguul >) Biat ŋgu:l *id.*

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng gə:l *half, mid[night]*.

C: (Mon) Old Mon sgāl /sgal/ [tney] *mid[night]*, Modern Mon kèa *mid[day, night]*.

C perhaps contaminated by 1713 *gaal *right...*; cf. semantically Mon thò *to be exact, in the centre...*

1722 *ŋil; *ŋiil; *ŋiəl; *ŋəl; *ŋul; *ŋuul; *ŋuəl *to bend, sway*.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ŋil *to shake head in denial* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (— ŋul) *to sway in wind*; ~ Bahnar ʔŋəʔŋil *to shake head*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Rieng-Lang ŋil ŋil *to nod in assent*, (~ ?) Bahnar ʔŋe:l-ʔŋe:l *shaking head*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bahnar ŋel *to shake head in denial* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese nghèo *to tilt [head] to one side*; ~ Bahnar ʔŋəʔŋel *to shake head*.

D: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bahnar [ŋu:l &c.] ŋə:l *to sway* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan ŋəl-ŋəl *shaking one's head*.

E: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Khasi) Bahnar [ŋil] ŋul *to sway in wind* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi ngun (or < E) *with head bent down*, Central Nicobarese ŋol-[fire] *to bow head*; ~ Khmer ŋəŋul *with head down*.

F, G: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ŋu:l, ŋə:l *to incline head (in assent, from weariness)*, (— ŋə:l) *to sway* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

†1723 *j[n]ɲəl *fire*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung ɲər, Riang-Lang ɲal, Praok ɲu, Lawa Bo Luang ɲa, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang ɲɔ, Danaw ɲɔn.

Note also Nancowry cál *to burn*.

(SHAFFER 1965 144, 421.)

Sora 'aɲəl-ən, Kharia sɔɲ'gəl *firewood*, Santali sɛɲgəl *fire*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 252; Proto-Munda *cəɲgəl?).

1723a *[t₁]ɲuul; *[t₁]ɲul; *[t₁]ɲəl *stupid*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese *ngu* *foolish, stupid*; ~ (*[t₁]mɲuul by metathesis >) Stieng bəloɲ *foolish, stupid*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang ɲoa, Lawa Umphai ɲau *stupid*, ~ Palaung kəɲuər *to be simple-minded, clumsy* (MILNE 1931).

C: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Tolo Bahnar [ɲɣ:p] ɲɣ:l *stupid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese *ngây* *to look stupid*; ~ (*[t₁]mɲəl by metathesis >) Biat məl *ignorant*; by secondary derivation ~ Sre bəɲəl *ignorant, stupid*.

Cf. Bahnar ɲi:l *immature, ignorant [child]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Cebuano Bisayan *tunggul* *stupid*.

1724 *ɲal; *ɲuul *to wake (v.i.)*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre [kah] ɲəl *to wake up in the night*, Bunör ɲəl, Central Rölöm ɲal *to awaken*.

B: (Mon) ~ Middle Mon [yah] lanū *early [in the morning]*, Proto-Nyah Kur *ɲuul *morning* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N238) (rather *ɲuul with metathesis).

With Mon vocalism cf. *ɲuul ~ 1720 *ɲla.

(BLOOD 1966 372.)

†1725 *cul; *cuəl; *ciil *to light up, look for with a light*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre sol *to light up, illuminate*; ~ səmpol *torch*.

B: (Bahnaric) Chrau sɔ:l *to look for with a light*, Bahnar sɔ:l, Rōngao cɔ:l *to light up, illuminate* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon) Mon ci *to look for with a light*.

C secondary.

Proto-Austronesian *t'uluq: Acehnese lhoh *to look for with a light*, Malay suloh *torch*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 157, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62). Hence with secondary infix Cham (ha)nuh, Röglai hanuh *torch*, probably → Khmer cənloh *canluh*, Stieng cəɲluh.

1726 *cul; *cuəl *to hire*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng cul *to hire, borrow*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Old Khmer jval *to engage, employ for compensation* (!; contaminated by 1729 *j[u]l?), Modern Khmer cù:əl, Kuy cu:l *to hire*.

1727 *jal near.

A: (Katuic, Khasi) Khasi *jan* to be near; ~ Kuy *ɲchəl* near.

1728 *jəl to charge, fight.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, North Aslian) Old Mon [sic] *jal* /jəl/ to quarrel, fight, Modern Mon *cə* to fight, Old Khmer *jal*, Modern Khmer *cùəl*, Kuy *chəl* to knock into, fight, Bahnar *jil* to butt, strike with horns, (~?) Pangan *'yal* angry (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 17); → Thai *c^hon* to bump against, butt, collide, fight with horns; ~ (**pjəl* >) Late Middle Mon *byuiw* to cause to fight, Modern Mon *pyə* to stir up enmity, Khmer *phcùəl* to set [animals] fighting; ~ (**prjəl* >) Mon *həcə*, Khmer *prəcùəl* to set [animals] fighting; ~ (**pnjəl* >) Literary Mon *bayuiw* to incite to quarrel or fight, Khmer *bəɲcùəl* to cause to fight, (~?) Pangan *nyiyal* to fight with, oppose (Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906). Literary Mon *b-* in *bayuiw*, & Khmer chest register in *phcùəl*, by levelling.

*1729 *j[u]l; *jiəl to buy.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung *juur* (A), Riang-Lang *_yɛl* (B).

B secondary. Cf. 1726 *cu(ə)l to hire; 1822 *jaw? &c. to hand over.

Proto-Austronesian *Zu(S)[a]l: Malay *jual* to sell, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 48, *d'u'al, less Toba Batak; Proto-West-Indonesian or Proto-Malayo-Javanese; add perhaps Cebuano Bisayan *dúhul* to hand to; then *ZuSəl, Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 375, sell, buy. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 54.)

Cf. Lushei, Mikir, Meithei forms referred at BENEDICT 1972 51 & n. 170 to *ywar to sell ← 'Austro-Thai'.

1730 *jul[] (& *juul[]?); *[j]uəlɰ basket, to make baskets.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer *cùl* to weave, braid..., (**juul*[] >?) Riang-Lang *_yol* [cotton-]basket.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Palaung *juər*, Sakai *chuəl* basket (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 62A); ~ Vietnamese *giỏ* market-basket.

1731 *[s]jaal; *[s]jəəl light in weight.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~?) Praok *yɛ*, Lawa *ywa* easy; ~ Kammu-Yuan *həmcà:l* light.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Hre *hìw*, Sedang *hia*, Palaung *juər* light; ~ Mường *nhẹl* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese *nhẹ*.

Cf. 1801 *saal.

(SMITH 1972 393.)

1732 *bɲuəl pangolin.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat *ɲual*; ~ Sre *bəɲpoal* kind of saurian (DOURNES 1950), Bahnar *bəɲual*, Bru *manyùəl* pangolin, by metathesis Khmer *pùəɲrù:l* pangolin; → Cham *pìno:r*, Jarai *m'no:l*, North Rōglai *bipũn* pangolin.

Connect Kuy *khyù:r*.

†1733 *t₁iil; *t₁əl (or *t₁il?) *to plant, sow*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre s̄anti:l, Chrau s̄ati:l, Biat n̄ti:l *seed, sow-grain*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon t̄il /t̄əl/, Modern Mon t̄o *to plant (a seed of)*, Nyah Kur t̄əl *to plant*.

*t₁- in view of Sora.

Sora t̄il- *to bury*.

1733a *t₁iil (& *t₁il?) *tracks*.

A: (Bahnaric, North Aslian) Chrau t̄e:l *footprint*, Biat t̄e:l *tracks*, Sre t̄i:l, Rōngao t̄e:l *tracks, mark* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; < variant?), Pangan t̄il *tracks* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (b)).

Cf. 1745a *d̄iil &c.

(BLOOD 1966 40.)

1734 *tal; taal *linear measure, (?) cubit*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre tal *cubit*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon t̄āl /t̄al/, Modern Mon ta 7 *cubits*; → Burmese t̄ā.

Old Mon has hat *cubit* (Modern Mon h̄ot), ← Pali hattha-; is t̄āl the displaced native term?

1734a *t₁uəl *six*.

A: (Palaungic, Nicobaric) Palaung t̄or, Riang-Lang t̄ual; ~ (*t₁puəl >) Central Nicobarese t̄əfu:əl, Nancowry taf̄uəl.

1734b *[t][uə]l *cataract*.

A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy t̄a:l *cataract*, Bahnar t̄o:l *blind*.

Or *.d-, perhaps connected 1745 *k̄diil &c. *to cover*.

†1735 *kt₁aal *under-surface, under*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin t̄āl (*space*) *under, underneath*; ~ Old Mon k̄intāl /k̄əntāl/, Modern Mon h̄əta *under-surface, bottom*, (in compounds) *palm, sole*, Vietnamese dưới (*to be*) *below, under*.

Vietnamese tone from plosive sequence.

Sora ətal-, Mundari talka *palm, sole* (probably not ←, but Mundari metathesis contaminated by, late Sanskrit t̄āla-, t̄ālika- *palm*).

1736 *ktuəl *lump, clod*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy tu:l; ~ Bahnar k̄ətual *clod*.

Cf. Biat rcual *clod, [blood] to clot*; (~) ← unrecorded Chrau form?

†1737 *bnt₁iil sand.

A: (Mon) Old Mon *bintil* /bəntil/, Modern Mon *hətəe*.

*t₁ in view of Munda.

(~) Nahali *biṭil*, Kurku *bitil*; connected Santali, Mundari, Ho *gitil* (so Proto-Austroasiatic *g^w-?).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *pat'iɣ: Malay *pasir*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 115; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1738 *bt₁ul; *bt₁uul; *bt₁uəl swelling, mound, hill.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Old Khmer *dul*, Modern Khmer *tùl* to bulge, Stieng [bu:k] *tu:l* anthill (or < B?), Biat *tol* tumour, Mendriq *tol* mountain; & from sandhi-form in *bu(u)k bt₁ul (cf. Stieng; 369) Biat [yo:k] *ktol* (termite) mound, Riang-Lang *kətəl* wasps nest; ~ (*bnt₁ul >) Chrau *ntuəl* anthill; ~ Sre *bərtul* termite mound.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *pətəl* termite mound, anthill (& by metathesis < compound East Bahnar *bəko:l* GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer, ?Central Aslian) Old Khmer *dval*, Modern Khmer *tù:əl* hill, mound, knoll, perhaps by metathesis Semai I *lɔ:t* mountain; → Cham *dual*.

For Bahnar vocalism see 335a *đuuk. Hill, mountain perhaps contaminated by 1741 *dul, with which Khmer forms are compared at SCHMIDT 1905 66 (so SHORTO 1971).

Note (i; Proto-Austronesian *b[əu]Ntud₁ >) Cebuano Bisayan *bungtud*, *ka-bungtúr-an* hill, anthill; (ii) Javanese *mbēṇḍul* bulging, *mbēṇḍol* knobbed (referred to (Proto-West-Indonesian) *bēNduł threshold at DEMPWOLFF 1938 26). (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 100; cf. also H 101, F 230; POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41.)

1739 *dal; *dəl to block, obstruct.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Katuic) Old Mon *dal* /dəl/ to bar the way, Middle Mon *dar*, *daw*, Modern Mon *tə* to close, block, Old Khmer *dal*, Modern Khmer *təəl* blocked [road], Stieng *dal* held up, obstructed; ~ Kuy *nthəl* to dam (or B); ~ Khmer *prətəəl* baffled, (~?) Khasi *padan* to obstruct, hinder.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer *tùəl* to hold back, (*tùp-* —) bar the way; → North Röglai *dən* deaf, Acehnese *dəə* blocked up; ~ Khasi *sden* to dam; ~ Biat *rdəl* to stop up, block, (*kaŋ* —) bar the way.

Cf. 1745 *kdiil &c. to cover.

1740 *dəl; *dal as far as; to reach.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon *duiw*, Modern Mon *tə* as far as, Khmer *tùəl* (to reach) as far as, till, Biat *dəl* as soon as; ~ (*[k]dəl >) Khmer *dəl* to arrive, reach; as far as (→ Cham *tal*).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Old Khmer *dāl*, Modern Khmer *təəl* to go right through; as far as, till, Bahnar *dal* till (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)

1741 *dul (& *duəl?) hill.

A: (Mon, ?Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Old Mon *dal* /dəl/, Modern Mon *tə*, (or 1626 *[d][o]r, which compare, >) Mae Sariang *tu*, Mường *tôi* (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese *đài*; ~ Khasi *kynton mound, ridge, heap, pile; to accumulate* (? , see below; or variant?; by attraction 1738 *bt₁u(ə)l, which compare).

Uncertain. Khasi may rather be connected to Praok *ton mound, hillock* (< *dun?). SCHMIDT 1905 66 compares Mon with Khmer forms under the entry *bt₁u(ə)l.

1742 *dul?; *duul[]; *duəl[] to carry on head.

A: (Viet-Mường) Mường *tội* (BARKER 1966 24), Vietnamese *đội to wear or carry on head*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, Nicobaric) Khmer *tù:l*, Kuy *thù:l*, Central Nicobarese [ɔl]-to:l *to carry on head*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Biat *dual to carry on head*. Note also Kuy & Bru *də:l carry on shoulder* (< *d-?).

Cf. 1781 *[y]uəl &c.

1743 *dul; *duəl; *dəl middle, belly.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer *tùl belly flesh [of certain fish]*, Lawa Bo Luang *tu intestines*, (or C?) Praok *tu belly*; ~ Stieng *kəndu:l*, Sre (kə)ndul, Chrau *kənduəl*, Biat *ndul belly*.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Middle Mon *dor* /dow/, Modern Mon *tò middle*; ~ Stieng *kənw:l middle*; ~ Central Sakai *pěduəl centre*.

C: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Biat [di:] *dəl (in the) middle*; ~ Khmer *kənda:l middle* (? , with secondary lengthening; if so, → Chrau *kənda:l*).

(SHAFFER 1965 574; BLOOD 1966 159; cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 41 (a).)

1744 *duul; *duəl; *d[ə]l to prop, support.

A: (Bahnaric) ~ (*[c]duul >) Bahnar *təl to prop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre *səndul short post supporting floor, prop*.

B: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Central Nicobarese *hətə:l-[hətə] to support*; ~ (*drnuəl >) Bahnar *dənw:l prop* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Khmer *tùəl to prop (up), lean*, Kuy *thəl to support, hold up, prop*, Bru *təl support (with stick)*, Biat *dal to prop up*, Stieng *dal to prop (up), lean*; ~ Bahnar *tə:l to prop up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer *cəntuəl prop, pile*, Kuy *nthəl prop for shaft of cart*, Biat *ndal pile, to prop*; ~ Old Mon *dnal* /dnəl/, Modern Mon *nì pillow*; ~ Stieng *drəna:l prop*.

Vocalism at C post-dental? For Bahnar -ɔl see 335a *đuuk. Separate Bahnar *dəl to prop up*; Sre, Nicobaric exclude *d-.

(LEWITZ 1967, 129.)

†1745 *kdiil; *kdiəl; *kdəl to cover.

- A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Chrau **kənde:l** to put over, cover; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **təde:l** to put over, cover, Biat **rde:l** to stop up, block.
- B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *kndiəl >) West Bahnar **kəne:l** stopper, wad for gun (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- C: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **kətə** to cover up, cover over, close, Vietnamese **đậy** to cover; ~ (*krdəl >) Middle Mon **kaduiw** coverlet, Kuy **thàl** lid, cover, Bahnar **kədəl** pot- cover of leaves (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy **nthàl** to close, cover; ~ Chrau **gədəl** to stop one's ears, Bahnar **kədəl** blocked up, solid; → Cham **kadal** to cover, stop up.
- Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. To stop up, block by attraction 1739 *dal &c., which compare.
- Sora **da(·)l-** to cover, put lid on, ~ **də'nal-ən** lid, cover.

†1745a *diiil; *diəl; *dail tracks.

- A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **de:l**.
- B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***diəl** (DIFFLOTH 1977).
- C: (Khasi) Khasi **dien**.
- C secondary. Cf. 1733a *t₁iil.
(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 118 (a).)
(?) ~ Sora 'onid-, 'onil- (& 'sannil-) to follow tracks of.

1746 *də[ə]l to press down on.

- A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Mon **də** to press down on, crush, squeeze, Bahnar **də:l** to crush by pressure, force stopper in (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- (*duul see 86 *dii? one.)

*1747 *kdiəl; *kdail low, shallow, short.

- A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Rieng-Lang **ṭdēl** to be low, shallow, humble, Bru **ntiəl** (!) shallow; ~ Semnam **kəldē:l** short.
- B: (Mon) Mon **da** to be shallow; → Röglai **dal** ford; ~ (*kbfail >) Mon **həda khḍā** to make shallow.
- Cf. (i) Lawa Bo Luang to shallow (< *kḍul?); (ii) A165 *[d]h[əə]l shallow, suggesting Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***diʔəl** ~ ***dihəl**. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 16.) (?) Proto-Austronesian (*di/[](N)p/ay =) ***di(N)pay** (to) ford: Cham **tapa:**, Kelabit **dipar** to ford, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 160, *(dD)-; Proto-Hesperonesian; ≠ each of two sides, DAHL 1973 § 20.7, Proto-West-Indonesian). Note also Malay **dampar** stranded, under the entry 1639 *tnpaar.

1748 *kɗuul; *kɗuəl; *kɗəl; *kɗəəl *heel*.

- A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) → Jarai **k^əɗu:l**; ~ Sre **kəndol** (!), Bahnar **kəʔno:l**, Riang-Lang **kəndol**; by secondary derivation ~ Pangan **duldul** (i.e. Mendriq &c.; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 69).
- B: (?South Bahnaric) (or A, C?) Stieng **kənɔ:l**; → Cham **kadol**, North Röglai **kaɗuən** [**takai**], Acehese **gönuə**.
- C: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Central & South Aslian) ~ Stieng **kəndəl** (BLOOD 1966), Sakai **kənöl** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 70), Besis **kenthöl** (i.e. Mah Meri; ib. H 69) (or D?), Central Nicobarese **kentvələ-[la:h]**.
- D: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Mon) ~ Kuy **nthù:al**, Bru **kəndə:l**, Pakoh **kandool**; ~ Chrau **gənə:l**, Biat **ndə:l** [**jəŋ**], Jeh **kanè:l** (→ Bahnar **kənə:l**?), Halang **kəʔnè:l**; ~ Nyah Kur **ndɣɿl**.

Connect obscure Thin **-pəlʔyɿl**.

(SHAFFER 1965 417; BLOOD 1966 399; SMITH 1972 392.)

1749 *krn[uə]l *groin*.

- A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **gənɔ:l**, Biat **rnɔ:l** (→ Sre **nol**?), Bahnar **kənɔ:l**.
- Connect by metathesis Khmer **krəlɿən** *groin*, Kuy **k(ə)li:n** & Bru **panə:l** *lymph glands in groin*?

(*gnal see 1716 *jgal to recognize.)

1750 *dnaal (& *dnal?) *coconut-shell as measure of capacity*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, ?South Bahnaric) Old Mon **dnāl** /**dnal**/ *measure of rice*, Modern Mon **nèa** (*coconut*-)shell, Khmer **nɨ:əl** *coconut-shell measure, weight of rice (600 grams) so measured*, (→?) Stieng **na:l** *pound weight*, (? , variant >) Biat **nal** [**jək**] *weight*.
- With Khmer initial cf. 1354 *[d]/n/im.

1751 *rn[ii]l *roller*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **nì** *roller for moving boats &c.*, Khmer **rənè:l** *roller for moving loads*.
- Or *-eel. Cf. Biat **rnə:l** *log, chopping-block*.

***1752 *paal; *puul** *pale, indistinct*.

- A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon [**pəriʔ**] **pa** *to fail, be ineffective* (?), Stieng [**sə:u pu:r**] **pa:l** [*to see*] *imperfectly, to glimpse*, Sre **pa:l** *pale, faded* (→ Röglai), Biat **pa:l** *pale*, Bahnar **pa:l** *pale, livid* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ late Middle Mon **sapā** *to have defective sight*, Modern Mon **həpa** *to see imperfectly, to be dimly lit*.
- B: (Palaungic) Praok **pəə** *pale*.
- B secondary.
- (SHAFFER 1965 95.)
- Sora **polu-**, **palu-**, Gutob **pār** *white*.

1752a *pul *bag-like organ.*

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **pul** *stomach, intestines*, Biat **pol** *gizzard*, Bahnar **pul** *womb*.

1753 *pul; *puul; *puəl *to divine, take an augury.*

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pol** *to take an augury*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Khmer **bo:l** *to take an augury*, Kuy **po:l** *to prophesy in trance*; ~ Khmer **phno:l** *omen*.

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **pə:l** *to divine*; → Röglai **pual**.

1754 *p[]ul; *p[]uəl; *p[]al *to twine round.*

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pul** [**pal**] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **pual** *to lean on, grow round* (→ Röglai **pual** *to lean on*), Biat **pual** *to hang from*. Note Nancowry **fúalɲa** *to embrace* (?)

C: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Bahnar **pal** *to twine round* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (? , ***[k]pal** >) Mon **kwə** *to bind [chick, floor bamboos] together*.

Or ***pw-**, causative ~ 1794 ***wil** &c. *to turn?* Cf. 1635 ***p[]uur?** &c. *to bind round, wrap*.

1755 *pul; *pəl *to borrow.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **bol** *to borrow at 100 percent interest*; ~ Khmer **bəmnol**, Sre by dissimilation **kəmol** *debt*.

B: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Sre **pəl** *to borrow [rice]*; ~ (***[k]pəl** >) Kuy **bəl** *to borrow [item of food]*.

Cf. Vietnamese **nợ** *debt, to owe*.

1756 *[c]puəls; *[c]pə[]l[] *pumpkin.*

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Muong) Stieng **phuə:l** *kind of gourd or melon* (& **puəl** *kind of greenish cucumber*), Bahnar **pual**, Vietnamese **buổi** *pumpkin*; ~ (***[c]rpuəls** >) Chrau **ləpuəl** *long squash*, Sre **rəpual**, Biat **rpuəl**, Bahnar **həpual** *pumpkin*.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **hapə:l** *pumpkin* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. 1637 ***[c]piir**.

(SHAFFER 1965 100.)

1757 *tpal (& ***tpaal?**) *mortar for pounding rice.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **tbal**, Stieng **pa:l** (< variant?), Palaung **pər**, Riang-Lang **pal**, Praok **pə**; ~ (***tnpal** >) Sre, Biat **mpal**, Bahnar **təpal** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **pə**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mbə**; ~ (***trpal** >) Kuy (t)**pal**, Chrau **ləpal**.

For variant note also Khmer **tba:l** (TANDART 1935). Connection dubious 1715 ***guul** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 18; SHAFFER 1965 309; SMITH 1972 398.)

1758 *d₁puulh; *d₁puəlh; *d₁pəlh *seven*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic, ?South Aslian) Kuy (th)phò:l, Palaung pur, Riang-Lang ʔpul; ~ Riang-Lang ʔtəpul, (~?) Ulu Indau tempo (i.e. Temoq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 122; or B?).

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre pəh, Stieng, Chrau pəh.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat pəh, Mường páy (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese báy, báy; ~ Old Mon dūmpəh /dəmpəh/, Modern Mon həpəh, Bahnar təpəh, Jeh tapəh, Halang təpəh.

Central Nicobarese təfu:əl six is < 1734a *t₁/p/uəl.

(SCHMIDT 1905 14; SHAFER 1965 21; BLOOD 1966 262; SMITH 1972 338.)

1759 *dpuul; *dpuəl (*descent*) *group*.

A: (Bahnaric) Bahnar bə:l *group*; ~ Sre mpoul *family*, Biat mpo:l *group, tribe, bal mpo:l family*, Bahnar təpo:l *herd, troop*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar bual = bə:l; → Röglai puəl; ~ Jölong təpu:əl (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Rōngao təbu:al) = təpo:l; → Cham tapor *herd, group*, Jarai təpuəl, North Röglai tapuən *group*.

Conceivably *k/mp/uul &c. ~ 1708 *krkuul *descent group*, contaminated by 1763 *tbəl &c. *clump, bunch*. Connect Khmer ʔəmbo: 'ampūr *family*.

(BLOOD 1966 16.)

‡1760 *p[r]pail *skate, ray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [kaʔ] həpa *skate*, Khmer bəbael, prəbael *skate, shark*.

Or *p(r)p-.

(~) Proto-Austronesian *payi(S): Malay pari, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 111).

‡1761 *b[e]l (& *beel?) *to spread a mat*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang ʔpəl *to spread (mats in), strew* (with tone by levelling on derivation?); ~ (*bp[e]l >) Mon həpe bapew *rush matting* (with -p- unlevelled in absence of simplex), Palaung per, Semang pil (i.e. Sabum; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 63 (a)), by assimilation or metathesis Sre bi:l, Chrau ve:l *mat*; ~ (*[b]nb[e]l >) Biat mbe:l, Praok bi *mat*; ~ (*t₂nb[e]l >?) Riang-Lang ʔsəmpəl *mat*.

(BLOOD 1966 32.)

Sora be'l-, Santali bel *to spread mat*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 221; Proto-Munda *bel).

(Proto-Austronesian *b/an/iʔ >) Proto-Philippine (ZORC & CHARLES) *baniG: Tagalog baníg *mat*, &c.

1762 *cbal; *cbaal *companion, friend*.

A: (Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Biat bal *companion*, Jeh bal *group* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (→, or ~ *cpbal >?) Bahnar bal *in a swarm, (dih —) each other*; ~ (? , *cnbal >) Lawa Bo Luang hməu, Mae Sariang hmeu *friend*.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon hwèa *close male friend*, Praok [paw] pə *friend*.

(SMITH 1972 396.)

1763 *tbəl; *tbul; *tbuul clump, bunch.

A: (Khmer, ?Mon) Old Khmer *thpal* clump (of trees), bunch; ~ (*tnb- >) Mon *kəmp* *tamuīw* &c. clump, bunch (or B), Old Khmer *tampal* grouping, cluster, settled area; → Thai *tambon* locality, district, group of houses, → Khmer *təmbən* locality.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar *təbul* forming a small group or clump; to roll up in a bunch; ~ (*tnbul >) *həmul* bundle of notes.

C: (Katuic, North Bahnaric) Kuy *pə:l* bush, grove, clump, Bru *pù:l* bush; ~ Bahnar *həməl* sheaf, bundle, armful.

B, C secondary? For Bahnar -əl see 335a *đuuk. Connect Nancowry *mól* to be together, (ta)múl to be in a group (< *mu(u)l?).

POU & JENNER 1975 no. 10 compares Proto-Austronesian *təbəl thick, for which see 1768 *[t]bəl.

1764 *biəw? askew.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, Katuic) Mon *bea* to be out of alignment, out of true, out of the square, Nyah Kur *bíəw* bent out of shape, Vietnamese *méo* to be out of shape, Bru *biəw* distorted; ~ Bru *kubiəw* to pull out of shape, Pakoh *tarbèaw*, *kubèaw*, *bibèaw*. ↔ Thai *bīaw*.

***1765 *bul; *buul drunk.**

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *pùl* vegetable poison, Jeh *bòl*, Halang *bul* drunk; ~ Sre *bəpəl*, Chrau *vəpəl*, Biat *jul* drunk, Bahnar *bəpəl* poisonous (mushroom).

B: (Mon, Katuic, Khmuic, Central & South Asian) Literary Mon *hū*, Kuy *bu:l* to be drunk, Proto-Semai *bryl drunk (DIFFLOTH 1977), Besis *bul* sick, vomiting (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 V 23); ~ Old Mon *balbul* /*bəlbul*/, Modern Mon *həbu* to be drunk; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəmpù:l* poison, poisonous, to be poisoned by. Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer probably *biʔul in view of infix *ɲ*, Kuy *b-*; connected then 1695 *ʔul[] &c. ...to vomit.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; BLOOD 1966 161; SMITH 1972 390.)

Kharia *bul* drunk, &c. (PINNOW 1959 105).

1766 *bul; *buul; *buəl green pigeon.

A: (Palaungic) ~ Riag-Lang *tənbəl*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) ~ Khmer *pəpù:l* green pigeon, *Treron nipalensis vernax*; ~ Pakoh *kambòal* green pigeon.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Mon [həcem] *pha bo* emerald dove, *Chalcophaps indica indica* (by secondary expansion, cf. Khmer); → Cham *babuy* green pigeon; ~ (*[t₁]nbuəl >) Biat by hypercorrection *mʔual*, Bahnar [se:m] *kəmu:əl* pigeons (generic) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Cf. BENEDICT 1975 273, dove.

1767 **ḡulʔ*; **ḡuəl* [] kind of lizard.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng *bu:l* *grey lizard*, Biat *bul* *lizard*, Vietnamese *mối* *house lizard*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Jeh *bual* *lizard*, Halang *bual* *snake*.
(SMITH 1972 401.)

***1768 **[t]ḡəl*; **[t]ḡul* thick.**

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Stieng *bɔ:l*, Chrau *vəl*; ~ (**[t]mḡəl* >) Stieng *nbɔ:l*, Biat *mbəl*, Kammu-Yuan *həmpuəl*; ~ (**[t]rḡəl* >) Bahnar *həḡəl*, Khasi *rben*.

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *pu*, Lawa Umphai *phu*.

B secondary.

Proto-Austronesian **təbəl*: Malay *təbal*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 132-3; Proto-West-Indonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 407.

1769 **dḡəl*; **[d]ḡail* cheek.

A: (Khmer, Mon) Khmer *thpə̀l*, Nyah Kur *təbál*.

B: (Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)*pɛ:l* (!) *buttocks*, Vietnamese *má* (?) *cheek*, South Nicobarese *təpɔ:ə* *cheek*, Nancowry *tapuá* (suggest *-ɔr?).

Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Cf. Semang *pen-al*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 83. But separate Praok *siba* (< *-paʔ, cf. Lawa *sapaʔ*).

***1770 **[m]ḡil* salt.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Middle Mon *ḡuiw*, Modern Mon *bɜ*, (~?) Old Khmer *am̐pyal*, Modern Khmer *ḡəmbɔ̀l*.

Cf. Vietnamese *muối* (< **[m]ḡuəlʔ* or connected Bru *bɔ:yʔ*); Bateg Nong, Semaq Beri *təpəl*, Jah Hut *pol*; separate Proto-Nyah Kur **phəʔur* (DIFFLOTH 1984 N236) & 2037 **ḡəh*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 36; SHAFER 1965 41, 440.)

Kharia *bi'luŋ*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 277c).

1771 **m[ḡ]il*; **[m]ḡiəl* tamarind.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer *am̐vil*, Modern Khmer *ḡəmpuəl* *tamarind tree*, Kuy *mphəl*, Biat [*plai*] *muəl* *tamarind*, Sre *mil* *tamarind tree*; → Cham *amil*, Röglai *mil* *tamarind tree*, Acehnese *mɛ* *wood, pods, of tamarind*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang *same*, Lawa Umphai *sami* *tamarind*.

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese [*cây*] *mɛ* *tamarind [tree]*; → North Röglai *mě* *tamarind tree*.

Hardly all ← Pali *ambila-* *sour*!

1772 **m[]il*; **m[]iəl*; **m[]uul*; **m[]uəl*; **m[]əl* round.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *mèl-mèl* *rolling*.

B: (Khmer, Katuic) Kuy *mì:l* *to roll (v.t.)*; ~ Khmer *rəmìəl* *toround (down) (v.i.t.)*.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:l**, Stieng **mu:l** *round*; ~ Khmer **rəmù:l** *roll* (& **lmù:l** *(to) roll* by assimilation).

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **mù:əl** *to twist*, Stieng **mu:əl** *to twist; spiral, ellipse*; ~ Stieng **krəmu:əl** *to twist, form into spiral &c.*, (~?) Chrau **təmħə:l** *to roll up*.

E: (Palaungic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔbəu**, Lawa Umphai **ʔməu** *round*.

Or ***mw-**, ~ 1794 ***wil** &c. *to turn?* Cf. 1653 ***m[]uur** &c. *to roll up*, with mutual contamination

(SCHMIDT 1905 6.)

1773 *məl; *mæł; *mil; *miil *to watch (for)*.

A: (Katuic, Khasi, ?Mon) Pakoh **mal** *to wait for, expect*; ~ Khasi **kyrmen** *to hope*; (or variant) ~ Old Mon **cirmil** *to wait for*, Modern Mon **kəmæ** *to await, hope (for), expect*.

B: (Khmer) Old Khmer **mel**, Modern Khmer **m̃:l** *to look (at), see, to wait (for)*.

C: (Khmer) ~ Khmer **rəmùl** *to steal a glance*.

D: (Palaungic) ~ Praok **simi** *to look*.

Connect Khasi **pyrman** [*to observe*] *from a distance*. C, D secondary, contaminated by 129 ***mii?** *to look at?* For Sora **mel-'mel-** *to examine, inspect* see 1696 ***i?əl**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54.)

1774 *kmuul *silver*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **kəmú:l** *money*, Praok **maə**, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **mau**, Lawa Umphai **mau** *silver, money*; → Shan **máə**.

1775 *[j]m[ɔ]l *mountain*.

A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) (~ ***jnm[ɔ]l** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **mə**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mo**, (~, or by assimilation?) Jehai **jəlməl**, Temiar **jəlməl**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 87 (a).)

1776 *jm[oo]l *male*.

A: (Khmer, South Aslian) Old Khmer **jmol**, Modern Khmer **chmò:l**; ~ (***jrm[oo]l** >) Semelai **rəmɔ:l**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 20.)

†1777 *jmuul; *jmuəl (& *jmul?) *to dabble*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Palaung **mor** (!); ~ Stieng **jərmu:l**, Bunör **rəmu:l**, Bahnar **jəmu:l**.

B: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng **muəl** *to dabble* (BLOOD 1966), Kammu-Yuan **cəmɔ:l** (perhaps < ***jnmuel**) *to sow [rice, cotton]*, (***jmul** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **[ŋgrəi?] ʔmə**, Lawa Umphai **[ŋgre?] ʔmo** *dabbling-[stick]*; ~ Chrau **ləmɔ:l** *dabbling-stick*, Kammu-Yuan **cərmɔ:l** *dabbling-stick; sowing-season*.

Cf. following.

(BLOOD 1966 237.)

Sora **jam'məl-ən**, **'jammə:l-ən** *seed* (= **jəb-məl**, ZIDE & ZIDE 1976 1304-5, 1307; Proto-Munda *[cs]i(N)-moXl).

1778 *t₂maal to sow.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*t₂[n]maal >) Riang-Lang **səmal**, Praok **sime** *seed*; ~ (*t₂rmaal >) Stieng **rəma:l**, Bahnar **təma:l** *to sow second lot [of paddy] where first fails* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa **sama** *to plant*.

Cf. preceding & Khmer **thna:l** *seed-bed*.

(SHAFFER 1965 425.)

†1779 *smuul; *smuəl; *smaal (& *smal?) shadow, soul.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Kuy **smə:l**, **mhə:l** *shadow*; ~ Mon [pəŋ] **həmao samū** &c. *butterfly soul, fetch in form of butterfly*, Khmer **srəmaol** *shadow, image in mirror*, (— **khmaoc**) *ghost*.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ *snmuəl by metathesis > *mnsuəl >) Bahnar **pəhŋə:l** *soul*.

C: (Khmuic; *smal > ?) Thin **hmäl** *shadow*; ~ Kammu-Yuan [kó:n] **hərmà:l** *image, shadow of animate or mobile entity*.

Khmuic vocalism obscure.

(SMITH 1972 571.)

Sora **um'mul-ən** *shadow, reflection, image*, Santali **umul** *shadow*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 121).

1780 *[y]il barking deer.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **il**, Chrau **ju:l**, Biat **jil**, Jeh **jèl** *barking deer*, Halang **jil** *small kind of deer*, Bahnar **jil** *kind of deer*.

Or *ʔil? Literary Mon [**drāy**] *e antelope*, if not ← Pali **eḷaka-** *wild goat*, may with Khmer **ʔael** *doe, fawn* reflect *ʔel. Connection uncertain Proto-Austronesian *kaNk'il *mouse deer*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 73 (Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

(BLOOD 1966 138; SMITH 1972 388.)

(*yɔl see 1696 *iʔɔl to see.)

†1780a *yo[o]l to oscillate.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Khmer **yò:l** *to oscillate, ripple, to swing* (v.t.), Bahnar **ju:l** [**ja:l** &c.] [*large object*] *swinging* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **yù:l** [**rəŋyù:l**] *shaking continuously*; ~ Kuy (**k**)**yɔ:l** *to swing* (v.t.), Kammu-Yuan **kyù:l** *shaking once*.

Proto-Austronesian *iuyiuɣ: Acehnese **mö-yu-yu** *to shake back and forth*, Tagalog **yugyog** *to shake*, Hiligaynon Bisayan **yugyug** *to shake, to rock cradle*, &c. (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

1781 *[y]uəl; *yəl to carry on head, raise high.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Biat **jua:l** to carry on head, Bahnar **jɔ:l** to raise higher than oneself, hold out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **yò:l** to lift something up with both hands.

B: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **yil** /yəl/ to place on one's head, Modern Mon **yè** to support or carry on head, to lift, Bahnar **yəl** to wear on head.

Cf. Nancowry **ʔusúl** to carry on head; **1742** *dulʔ &c. to carry on head.

***1782** *kyaal air, wind.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **kyāl** /kya:l/, Modern Mon **ca** air, wind, Khmer **khyəl** (!) wind, air, breath, Kuy (k)**ya:l** air, wind, Sre **ca:l**, Chrau **cha:l**, Biat **chia:l**, Bahnar **kia:l**, Jeh **kaya:l** wind (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

With Khmer vocalism cf. **1381** *yaam. Connect Vietnamese **gió**?

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SHAFER 1965 410; BLOOD 1966 286.)

Kharia **kɔʔɔ** wind, &c. (PINNOW 1959 202).

(*kyaal, *t₁yaal see **1658** *[k]yaa[r] to come loose, come undone.)

1783 *syuul; *syuəl to fly through the air.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Palaung **hyur** to fly (MILNE 1931); ~ Khmer **səmyò:l** floating [hair] (TANDART 1935).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Literary Mon [**sān**] **sow** to fly through the air, to throw [e.g. spear]; ~ (*sryuəl >) [**tasow**] **tayow** to glide, dart (with t- by phrasal deformation); ~ (*snyuəl >) Sre **səpnoal** casting-net, Bahnar **həpual** net.

Add following as derivative?

1784 *[s]ryuul; *[s]ryuəl gibbon.

A: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **həryo:l**, Nyah Kur **yuyùl/ʔuyùl/yùl**; so connected Mon **wət 3**?

B: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayua**, Lawa Umphai **rayua**.
Flier through the trees, ~ preceding?

1785 *ril blunt.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rùl**, Biat **ruul**.

1786 *riəl to cut up, dismember.

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **rèa** **rey** to cut up, Khasi **ria** small, broken; ~ Khasi **pharia** to split into small pieces.

(*[]riəl see **1792** *[b]riəl pebble.)

1787 *raal *old, aged*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Praok **rɛ** [ju], Vietnamese **già** (for **rà); ~ Mường **khà** (BARKER 1966 20).

Rather than Praok ~ 164 *kra[]ʔ, which compare.

***1788 *kriəlʔ** *crane (bird)*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **krea**, Khmer **kriəl** *Sarus crane*, Stieng **kriɛ:l**, Biat [kla:ŋ] **krɛ:u**, Vietnamese **sếu** *crane*.

Connect obscure Khasi **sarew**.

Sora **ar're:d-ən** *parakeet*, Mundari **kerea'd** *rose-ringed parakeet*, Santali **kereɔ'd** [*fowls*] *to scream* (PINNOW 1959 K 10).

So originally onomatopoeic.

1789 *[c]riil *gold*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmu' **sri:l**; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khriɪr**, Lawa Bo Luang **khrea**, Lawa Umphai **khrai**, Mae Sariang **khyai**, Praok **khri** (& **khrai** *treasure*; ← Lawa?).

1790 *t₂reel *thin*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Khasi) Mon **kræ trī** &c. *to be (flat and) thin, to be sparse*, Proto-Nyah Kur ***triw** *slim, thin* (DIFFLOTH 84 V207; suggests ***-iiw!**), Palaung **hrer** (MILNE 1931), Lawa Umphai **hre**, by metathesis **hləi**, Riang-Lang **ler** *thin*; by secondary derivation ~ (i) Mae Sariang **khyei**; (ii, with metathesis) Khasi **jlir** *thin*.

***1791 *pril; *priəl**; by metathesis ***pliir; *pliər** *hail*.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **pruəl** (!; & **pruəl**; contaminated by 180 ***briiʔ** ...rain?), Praok **pre**.

B: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Jeh **pri:l**, Halang **prial** *ice, hail*, Bahnar **prel**, Palaung **preər**, Lawa Bo Luang **phre**, Lawa Umphai **pre**, Mae Sariang **phyɛ** *hail*, Khasi **phria** *hail-stone*.

C: (Mon) Mon **pləe**.

D: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Bunör **plɛ:r**, Central Rölöm **pliər**, Bahnar dialects **p(ə)lɛr** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **plíar** (& by further metathesis ***lpíər** > Sre **[mi:w] piar**); → Jarai **plɛ:r**, Röglai **[haja:n] pəliar**.

Connect Kuy **tre:l**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 54; BLOOD 1966 100; SMITH 1972 394.)

Sora **a're:l-ən**, **'are'l-ən** (& by metathesis ***aler-** > **ader-**['gum-ən]), Kharía **'arəl**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 225).

1792 ***[b]riəl** *pebble*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **brəl** *pebble*, Khasi **[maw]-ria** *gravel*, **[tha]-ria** *shingly bed of shallow stream* (compounding form?; ≠ **ria** *small, broken* < 1786 ***riəl**).

Or ***[]riəl**, ~ ***.mriəl** > Bahnar?

1793 ***luul** *tadpole*.

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Riāng-Lāng **_lul**, Khasi **lun**.

Cf. 1203 ***[k]lun**. Connect 1664 ***loor** *to glide, creep, (wiggle)?*

†1794 ***wil**; ***wiil**; ***wiəl(?)**; ***wəl**; ***wal**; ***wail** *to turn*.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **vùl** *to turn (round)*, Sre **wil** *circle*, Bunör **wil**, Central Rölöm **wul** *round*, Praok **ve** *coil*; → Cham **wil** *round*, Röglai **wil**, North Röglai **win** *circle*; ~ Khmer **krəvəl** *ring*, Bahnar **kəwil** *large and bent* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Chrau **we:l** *to beat [game]*, Biat **[da:k wac]** **we:l** *eddy*, Bahnar **wi:l** *round* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vir** *to return*; ~ Central Nicobarese **kəwi:lə** *round, circular*, Nancowry **kīl (?)**; ~ Old Mon **tirwīl** /**tərwīl**/ *to attend on*, Modern Mon **kəwi** **[kəwəŋ]** *to be attended by*.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **viəl** *to dig or cut round, to enlarge [hole]*, Bahnar **wəl** *to spin*, Riāng-Lāng **_viəl** *to turn round*, Vietnamese **vəo** *to be twisted, crooked, distorted*, Kensiū **welwəl** *to turn*, Temiar **wəl** *to turn*; (BENJAMIN 1976B 134) *again*, Central Nicobarese **wi:əl-** *to turn*; → Thai **wian** *to revolve, gyrate, encircle*; ~ Bahnar **kuel** *bend in road, enclosure*, Vietnamese **quéo** *to be curved, bent, crooked, queo* *to be tortuously curved*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **[kərwi:c]-krwùal** *winding, meandering*; ~ Khmer **chviəl** *to dig round, to fly in circles*, Kuy **fi:l** *to stand around in a circle*, Sabum **ciwəl** *to turn*; ~ (***[]mwīəl** >) Riāng-Lāng **_miəl**, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai **me** *again*.

D: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) (probably Old Mon **wel** /**wel**/ *also*.) Khmer **vùəl** *to turn (round)*, Sre **wəl** *to turn; re-, afresh*, (probably) Central Nicobarese **wəl-** (— **-to**) *again*, (**hə-** — **-hətə**) *to repeat*; (or E) → Cham **val** *to turn*, North Röglai **[win]** **wān** *circle*; ~ Vietnamese **quây** *to surround, encircle* (or ad 1669 ***wər**, which compare?); ~ Old Mon **tirwīl** /**tərwəl**/ *limit, term*, Middle Mon **trawuir** *also boundary*, Modern Mon **kəwə** *limit, boundary, area or period within limits*, Khmer **trəvəl** *extent*; ~ Praok **mu** *boundary*.

E: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Khasi) Sre **wal** **[boŋ]** (*lunar, solar*) *halo*, Rōngao **wal** *to return (v.i.t.)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vər** (MILNE 1931), Riāng-Lāng **_vəl** *to stir round and round*, (?) Khasi **wān** *to come*; ~ Semai II **riywal** *to turn*.

F: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) ~ Sre **kuel** *to bend, twist (?)*, Bahnar **kua:l** *to coil [rope], turn [handle]*; ~ Khmer **krəvael** *to go and return, to explore, run back and forth, circle round*; ~ Nancowry **cawāl** *to turn* (or E. ?); ~ Biat **rpuar:l** *circle, hoop*.

Add perhaps 1796 ***wiil** *confused...*; & as derivatives (***p-wul** &c. causative =) 1754 ***p[]ul** &c. *to twine round*; (***m-wil** &c. =) 1772 ***m[]il** &c. *round* (SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 414; BLOOD 1966 149; SHORTO 1973 379-80, with further derivatives; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 251.) (i) perhaps Sora **id-**, **ed-** *to circle, wind* (or : 1090 ***wi(i)t**); (ii) ~ Santali **gerwəl** *ring-shaped marking* (PINNOW 1959 K 521).

‡1795 ***wiil** *left-hand*.

A: (Central & South Aslian) Semai II **wi:l**; ~ Semelai **sawil**.

Connection uncertain Kensiu **ʔəyil**, Temiar **yəl**.

Cf. 233 ***w[i]ʔ**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (b).)

Proto-Austronesian ***uiyi**: Malay **k-iri**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 164, ***v-**; cf. DYEN 1965; DAHL 1973 § 13.3).

1796 ***wiil** (& ***wiəl**?) *confused, to forget*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **wi:l** *mixed up, confused*, Bahnar **wi:l** *to confuse, to be puzzled, at a loss* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Kuy **swi:l**, **fi:l** *dizzy* (ad variant?), Biat **cue:l** *to forget*; ~ Riang-Lang **_tərvil**, **_tərwil** *to forget (to), to faint*.

= 1794 ***wiil** *to turn*? Cf. also 1798 ***wəəl** *to deceive*.

1797 ***waal** *grazing, open ground*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Mon **wəa** *open ground, pasture*, Khmer **vì:əl** *plain*, Kuy **wì:al** *to herd*; ~ Old Khmer **gvāl**, Modern Khmer **khvì:əl** *to herd*, Bru **kuwìal**, Stieng **gua:l** *to graze, to herd*; ~ Mon **həmèa**, Khmer **kùəŋvì:əl** *herdsman*.

Cf. Sre **kuil** *open ground, clearing*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 48.)

1798 ***wəəl** *to deceive*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Muong) Mon **wə** *to deceive, cause false perception or impression*, Praok **[khuum]** **vɔ** *to be guileful*, Vietnamese **vờ** *to pretend to*.

Cf. 1796 ***wiil** *confused...*

1799 ***sil** *to peel*.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kuy **sel** *to peel, to slice thin*, Bru **si:l** *to peel with knife* (< *-iil?), Stieng **se:l** *to peel*, Biat **chu:l** *to peel*, **chil** *to clean with knife* (→ Sre **chil** *to peel*?), Kammu-Yuan **[há:l]** **híl** *to peel with knife, remove bark*; → Röglai **sil** *to peel*.

1800 ***siil**; ***siəl** *ashamed*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[ʃa]si:l** *to be ashamed, put to shame*.

B: (Central Aslian) Proto-Semai ***səel** *shy, ashamed* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 158A.)

1801 *saal *light in weight.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon *sa sā*; ~ (**snsaal* >) Kuy *ŋha:l*; ~ (**srsaal* by metathesis >) Khmer *sra:l*.

Cf. 1731 *[s]jaal &c.

(**saal* see also 191 **laʔ* to spread, extend; **suul* see 1675 **siir* to incise, write.)

1802 *ksaal *split bamboo fibre.*

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *kṣā*, Modern Mon *cha*, Riang-Lang *ṭkhal* [_roʔ &c.]; ~ (**kmsaal* >) Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *hma*.

1803 *ksul; *ksuul *hair, fleece.*

A: (Mon) Middle Mon [*twor*] *kṣuiw* dressed [cotton], Modern Mon *chɔ* to be fleecy.

B: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *khú:l* body hair.

Connect Central Nicobarese *pu(l)yo:l* body hair, Nancowry *puyól* (< **bu(l)sul*?; perhaps contaminated by Malay *bulu*).

1803a *hiil, (**hiil hiil* >) **lhiil*; **lh(i)əl* *bare, smooth, worn.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer *hɿl* blunt, Chrau *hi:l* cleared, bare, empty, Biat *hi:l* cut short, (— *bo:k*) bald, Bahnar *ʔie:l* (!) smooth; (**lh-*) Khmer *rəhɿl* even, smooth [road], Khasi *lin-lin* very [smooth]; ~ Khasi *plin* smoothly.

B: (Khasi) Khasi *len* smooth, *len-len* smooth and bare.

With Bahnar initial cf. *ʔie:p* < 1294 **[h]iəp*. Note further Khmer *lha:l*, *rəha:l* flat and open, spacious, Khasi [*khuid*] *lan-lan* bare, bald, *plan-plan* barren, empty space; Vietnamese *lì* very smooth; & cf. 1668 **[s]liər* smooth, slippery.

1804 *hul *to abuse, threaten.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *hol* to threaten (DOURNES 1950), Jeh *hòl* to abuse (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).

For Bahnar dialects *hu:l* to be angry (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) see 1808 **[t]huul*. Cf. A162 **wal* annoyingly persistent.

(**hul* [] see 1695 **ʔul* [] ...to vomit.)

1805 *khe[e] *shield.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *khael*, Stieng [*ni:m*] *ghe:l*, Biat, Bahnar *khe:l*; → Cham *khe:l*, Jarai *khie:l*; Thai *kʰĕn*, (?) ultimately → Vietnamese *khiên*.

1806 *khal (& *khaal?) cup, bowl.

A: (Mon, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **khal** /khəl/, Modern Mon **khə** *small cup for food-offerings*, Kuy **khal** *bowl used as dipper*, (variant >?) Stieng **kha:l** *small copper drinking-cup*; → Burmese **kho** *small basket for offerings*; Thai **kʰǎn** *bowl*.

BENEDICT 1972 63 no. 266 compares Burmese with Lushei **khou** *kind of basket*.

1807 *khuul vapour.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic) ~ Sre **kənhul**; ~ (*kmhuul >) Mon **həmao khamū** &c. *vapour, gas* (merging *odour* < 1563 *s/m/?uur); ~ Bru **tahɔ:l** *steam, vapour* (< *-ual?).

Connect perhaps (i) 1811 *[]mh(u)əl *cloud*; (ii) Vietnamese **hơi** *steam, breath, vapour, gas, air*.

(*[c]hiəl? see 1697 *[c]?iəl[] *to wilt, wither*.)

1808 *[t]hiil; *[t]hiəl angry.

A: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **hi:l** (& Bahnar dialects, GUILLEMINET 1959-63, **hu:l**; contaminated by 1804 *hul *to abuse...?*).

B: (Mon; or *dh-) Mon **thea** *to be angry, annoyed*.

1809 *thu[s]; *thuul[] to blow.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **thổi**.

B: (Central Aslian) Temiar **təho:l**.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **thú:** [*wind*] *to blow*.

1810 *bhaal (kind of) jack-fruit.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Nicobaric) Mon **pha** *mountain jack*, *Artocarpus chaplasha* Roxburgh, Khasi [**soh**]-**phan**, Central Nicobarese **pəya:l** *jack-fruit*.

†1811 *[]mhuəl; *[]mhəl cloud.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **mhoal** (→ Röglai), Jölong **h(ə)mu:əl** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mường **māl** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **mây**; (probably ~) Kuy **lməl**, Bahnar **həməl**.

Connection uncertain Thin **ʔǎŋʔul** *mist*; Bahnar **kəŋuəl** *cloud* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Kensiu **ʔal** *cloud*, which suggest *(k-)nʔ-; Munda, Austronesian support *mh-. Cf. 1807 *khuul *vapour*.

Sora (i) **'mo:da:-n**, compounding form **mo:l-ən** *mist, fog* (referred at PINNOW 1959 384 to a root meaning *smoke*; final discussed ib. p. 361); (ii) **mor'mo:ri-**, **mom°** (*to be*) *foggy*, **mor-** [*smoke, mist*] *to spread*; (iii) **umod-ən** &c., compounding form **'mo'd-ən** *fog, mist, smoke, v.*

Proto-Austronesian ***Samuy** (?) *dew*: Tagalog **hamóg**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 91, *1-, Proto-Hesperonesian; Javanese < *S/al/amuy?; Proto-Philippine ***hamquR**, ZORC & CHARLES). See BENEDICT 1975 268-9, *dew*.

1812 *[r]huul; *[r]hə[]l; *rʔuul; *rʔuəl to grill.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **hɔ:l** to hold over flame, Sre **houl** to heat up [food] (→ Röglai); ~ Biat **nhɔ:l** to heat up [food], to grill.

B: (North Bahnaric) ~ West Bahnar **həhə:l** to grill, dry by heat (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (Khmer) Khmer **rò:l** to expose to heat of fire, roast (probably → Kuy **rò:l** to singe).

D: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:əl** to grill [fish], (~?) Chrau **uəl** to toast, roast, Biat **ual** to grill.

Connect Khmer **ʔa:l** to roast, grill, burn, (**rò:l** —) to irritate, ~ Biat **rʔa:l** irritation, rash; but connection uncertain Khasi **phon** to make stock. Cf. **1685** *hur to expose to heat; **1671** *waar &c. ...to heat.

(*lhiil, *lh(i)əl see **1803a** *hiil bare, smooth, worn.)

1813 *ʔaawʔ upper garment.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **ʔa:v** upper garment, Sre **a:w** garment, Chrau **a:w** shirt, clothes, Biat **a:ɔ** jacket, Jeh, Halang **a:w** shirt, Bahnar **a:w**, Mường (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese **áo** upper garment; → Cham, Röglai **a:w**, Jarai **a:ɔ**, North Röglai **au**.

Hardly all ← Vietnamese.

(SMITH 1972 438.)

***1814** *kiəw; *giəw left-hand.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **kiaw**, Biat **ciau**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **giɔ**, **giɔu**, Chrau **gyaw**; ~ Bahnar **ʔɲiew**.

Jeh **i:w**, Halang **iaw** are ← Indonesian (*uSiau?), see **233** *w[i]ʔ.

(BLOOD 1966 96; cf. SMITH 1972 436; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 48 (c).)

Proto-Austronesian *kiua: Malay **kiwa** left-handed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; DYEN 1953 § 97; DAHL 1973 n. 20.22; Proto-Hesperonesian). See BENEDICT 1975 327.

1815 *kaw areca nut.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **cau**; ~ Old Mon **kmow** /kmɔw/, Literary Mon [tnaŋ] **kmau** areca palm.

1816 *ŋk[awʔ] (kind of) owl.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Nyah Kur **kýw** owl, Chrau **nko**: screech-owl, Stieng **kɔu**, (→?) Biat [kla:ŋ] **kɔ:u**, Sakai 'ngkō owl (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 72).

Connection dubious Vietnamese **cú**.

1817 *jkaw (*kind of*) *bear*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Bru **sakaw**, Stieng [klah] **kəu**, Biat **kau** *bear*; ~ Sre **jirkaw** *Ursus malayanus*, Chrau **səkaw** *black bear*, Bahnar **cəgə:w** (!), Mường **cú** (BARKER 1966 15), Vietnamese **gấu** *bear*; → Cham **cakəw**, Jarai **jəgəw**, Acehnese **cagəə** *bear*, Röglai **jəgəw** *Melursus ursinus* (& **jirgəw** *Ursus malayanus*, contaminated by Sre), North Röglai **cagəu** *bears*.

Bahnar →, vocalism contaminated by, Indonesian! Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Note Jakun **dehó**, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 107.

(SHAFFER 1965 531; BLOOD 1966 194.)

1818 *tkaw[ʔ] *to sit, stay*.

A: (Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Kuy (t)**ka:u** *to sit*, Bru **takù:** (suggs. ***tguuʔ?**), Kammu-Yuan **kʂʔ** *to (lie in) wait for*, Praok **kaə** *to endure*, ?Nancowry **kũʔ** *to sit* (or ad 283 ***[ʔgukʔ]**).

Connection uncertain Vietnamese **cũ** *to continue to*, **cũ** *to dwell*.

†1819 *pkaaw; *pkaʔ *flower*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Aslian) Old Mon **pkāw** /**pkaw**/, Modern Mon **kao**, Stieng **ka:ə**, Biat **ka:ə**, Mendriq, Semnam, Semelai **bəkaw**; → Röglai **bəka:w** (→ Sre); Proto-Karen ***p'kau** (SHAFFER 1965); ~ (***pnkaaw** >) Chrau **ŋka:w**, Bahnar **pəka:w**.

B: (Khmer) Old Khmer **p(h)kā**, Modern Khmer **phka:**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 34; SHAFFER 1965 42; BLOOD 1966 273; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 187.)

(Ad B) Santali **baha**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 21; Proto-Munda ***baqa**).

Note Proto-Austronesian ***buŋa**, DEMPWOLFF 1938 35-6; DYEN 1953 § 110; &

***bu(N)ka** *to open*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 32, ***buka**; DYEN 1953 § 108; NOTHOFFER 1975 193.

†1820 *rk[aw]ʔ (& ***rkaawʔ?**) *husked rice*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Palaung **rəko**, Riang-Lang **ʔkoʔ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔakauʔ**, Lawa Umphai **rakoʔ**, Mae Sariang **yakoʔ** *husked rice*, Khasi **khaw** *rice*, Sakai **rəkuaʔ** *husked rice* (i.e. Jah Hut; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 111); ~ Khmer **ʔəŋkə:** **'an̄kar** (!), Kuy **ŋka:u**, Kammu-Yuan **rəŋkóʔ**, Praok **gaw**, (var. > ?) Mường **cáo** (BARKER 1966 25), Vietnamese **gạo**! *husked rice*.

(SHAFFER 1965 222, 304, 550; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)

Gutob, Juang **rukə:**, ~ Sora **'ruŋku:-n**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 139).

(***skəəw** see 1866 ***ksəəw** *red ant*; ***giəw** see 1814 ***kiəw** *left-hand*.)

1820a *gaaw (& ***gawʔ?**) *to go up, climb*.

A: (Khmuic, Khasi) Kammu-Yuan **kà:**, (variant > ?) Khasi **kiew**.

Separate Praok **kaw** *to stand up*, : Lawa Bo Luang **kauh**, &c.

(***lɲaw?** see 34 ***lɲaa?** *sessamum*; ***sɲiiw** see 37 ***sɲi?** *house*.)

1821 *cəw *to come, go, to return.*

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Old Mon **caw** /cəw/ *to return*, Modern Mon **cao** also *to proceed to arranged destination*, Kuy **cau** *to come*, Jeh **cìw**, Halang **ciw** *to go*.
Cf. Khasi **shaw** *to fetch, to go to meet*.

1821a *.caaw *to bargain.*

A: (Khmuic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Kammu-Yuan **cá:** *to bargain, haggle*, Khasi **siew** *to pay*; ~ Vietnamese **giao** *to hand over* (by attraction following, which compare).

1822 *jaw? (?); ***jaaw** [] *to hand over.*

A: (Palaungic, ?Khasi) Praok **co**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **cho?** *to sell* (& Lawa Bo Luang **thau?**!), (?) Khasi **iew** *market*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer **jāhv** *to barter*, Modern Khmer **cì:əv** *to buy, sell* (monk's language), Sre **ja:w** *to offer, to hand over*, Chrau **ja:w** *to entrust, hand over*, Bahnar **ja:w** (*what is*) *handed over*; → Cham **cà:w** *to hand over, give*; Thai **c^hâw** *to rent, lease, hire, let*.

Cf. besides preceding. 1729 ***j[u]** &c. *to buy*, with which there is contamination connection uncertain Praok [la] **caə**, Vietnamese **chợ** *market-place*.

(SHAFFER 1965 547.)

1823 *[b]jəw? *to bewitch, exercise supernatural powers.*

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **cə?** *to bewitch the affections of* (& **cə?** *to bewitch so as to cause sickness or death* by arbitrary variation; → Kammu-Yuan **có:** *to kill by sorcery?*); ~ Sre **bəjəw**, Bahnar **pəjəw**, **pəjəw** *shaman*; → Cham **pacəw**, Jarai **pəjəu**, Röglai **bəjəw**, North Röglai **bijəu** *shaman*.

(SMITH 1972 425.)

1824 *taaw *to stand.*

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?Khasi) Old Mon **tāw** /taw/ *to stand, remain, stay, endure*, Modern Mon **tao** *to be stationary, to dwell, be located in*, Chrau **ta:w** *to get up, stand up*; ~ (*[t]ntaaw >) Sre **nta(:)w** *to be upright, get up*; ~ Old Mon **ptāw** *to halt* (v.t.), in compounds *to set up, maintain*, Modern Mon **pətao** *to set up...*, (?) Khasi **thaw** *to make, create*.

Connection dubious Bahnar **pəd̥** *to raise, set upright* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFFER 1965 580.)

1825 *kt[aw]? *skin.*

A: (South Bahnaric, Aslian) Kensiu **katə?**, Semai **gətə:**, Semaq Beri **gətu:h**; ~ Sre **gəltaw** *leather, hide*, Chrau **nto:** *skin*, Biat **ntəu** *skin, leather*.

(BLOOD 1966 199; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 236 (c).)

1826 *kt₁aaw *sugar-cane*.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Sre **ta:w**, Chrau **ca:w**, Biat **ta:ɔ**; ~ Bahnar **kəta:w**, Sedang **katéo**, Bru **kata:w**.

(SHAFFER 1965 466; BLOOD 1966 336; SMITH 1972 447.)

1827 *ptaw *creeper, rattan*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **phdau** *rattan*; ~ (***prtaw** >) Chrau **pəta:w**, Biat **rtaw** *creeper*, Khasi **pathaw** *gourd, melon, pumpkin* (by attraction Tai ***taw**, cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, *dip*...).

1828 *pt₁[əw]ʔ *smoke*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan **pətəʔ**, Riang-Lang **ṽtəʔ** [**ṽal**], Praok **taw**.
Connect obscure Sre **otərto** *smoke-cloud, smog*.

1829 *daaw *noble*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **təa** *nobleman*, Khmer **tì:əv** *royal title* (TANDART 1935 *first princess of blood*); → Thai **t^háaw** *rank title for court ladies*; ~ Khmer **cùmtì:əv** *lady, noblewoman*.

1830 *[]diiw; *[]d[i]əw; by metathesis ***[]d̪uəy** *to point (out)*.

A: (South Bahnaric) ~ Sre (→ Röglai) **səndi:w** *to point out*.

B: (Khasi; ~?) Khasi **kdew**, **'dew** *to point (out)*.

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **nthù:ai** *to point with finger*, Bru **sadɔ:y**.

1831 *cdaw *lamp, torch*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon [**pnān**] **cḍow** /**cdɔw**/ *lamp*; ~ (***crdaw** >) Mon [**kəmot**] **hədao** *illuminations*, Chrau [**uŋ**] **sədaw** *torch*.

1832 *[c]pn₁[ə]w *young unmarried man, bachelor*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **pənu**, Riang-Lang **ṽsənu**, Praok **sino**.

(***krpii**w see 103 ***krpiʔ** *buffalo*.)

***1833 *[t₁]pawʔ** *to put hand in*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **po** *to take [fish] by hand*, Riang-Lang **ṽpoʔ** *to fumble, to put hand into*.

Cf. Lawa Umphai **pək** *to take [fish] by hand*.

Mundari **tupu**, Santali **topo** *to dip* (PINNOW 1959 K 531).

(***tbaw** see 1835 ***[r]baw** *kind of gourd*.)

1834 *d[b]aw millet.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Old Khmer *tvau*, Modern Khmer *thp̄u*, Stieng *bou*; ~ East Bahnar *t̄b̄u* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect 125 *(t)ḍuu? *sugar-cane?* Cf. also 122a *[j]ḍ[o]? *kind of cereal crop.* (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 19.)

1835 *[r]baw kind of gourd.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Khmer *lp̄u*, *rəp̄u* *Cucurbita pepo* (TANDART 1935), Kuy *phà:u* *pumpkin*, Stieng *rəb̄:u* (& *krəb̄:u*) *edible wild gourd*, War [cya]-*təp̄u* (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.), Vietnamese *bầu* *gourd*; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang *pai*, Lawa Umphai *mbai* *Cucurbita pepo*.

With Lawa vocalism cf. ?nai ad 1856 *ləw?

Cf. Sanskrit *alābu-* *bottle- gourd*, *lābu-*, *lābū-* *gourd*, ← Austroasiatic according to MAYRHOFER 1953-80 i 55; supposedly → Malay *labu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89, **labu*^c; Proto-Malayo-Javanese; → Central Nicobarese *ləbu*, *ləpu*). But perhaps **tbaw* ~ **trbaw* (then Stieng *rəb̄:u* ← Khmer; Khmer contaminated by Sanskrit?), : Toba Batak *tabutabu*, Malagasy *tavu* *bottle- gourd*. (referred to **tabu*^c *dipper* at DEMPWOLFF 1938 125; HENDON 1964, 372 ff. proposed **tabew*; cf. BENEDICT 1975 271, *dip*...).

(SCHMIDT 1905 68; cf. BEFEO 55, 193.)

(*ḍiəw? see 1764 *ḍiə[l]? *askew*.)

1836 *ḍ[aw]? companion, mate.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre *baw* *spouse*, Chrau *vo:* *to mate*, Riang-Lang *ṭbo?*, Praok *paw* *companion, friend*, (?) Lawa Bo Luang *po?*, Lawa Umphai *pho?*, Mae Sarian *pu?* *one another*.

Palaungic contaminated by 109 *b[oo]? *friend*.

1837 *kḍaw to rinse mouth out.

A: (Mon, Katuic, North Bahnaric) Mon *baō* [paiŋ], Kuy *pau* [trai]; ~ (**knḍaw* >) Bahnar *gəṃỵ:u*, *kəṃỵ:u* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(**miiw* see 127 **mi?* (to) *rain*.)

1838 *miəw cat.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Sre **me:w**, Biat **mɛ:u**, Chrau, Bahnar **me:w cat**, Jeh **mi:w**, Halang **miãw wild cat**, Kammu-Yuan **mè:w**, Riang-Lang **_meau**, Lawa Bo Luang **meau**, Lawa Umphai **mɛu**, Mae Sariang **mia**, Khasi **miaw**, Vietnamese **mèo**, Semang **méu** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 C 45), Central Nicobarese **meau cat**; → Cham **muya:w**, Röglai **mia:w**, North Röglai **miãu**, Acehnese **miə**, Iban **mayau**; by back-formation Jarai **ɛ:ɔ**, → Bunör **ʔɛ:w**, Biat **ɛ:u**.

Onomatopoeic. Cf. Thai **mɛɛw**, Shan **měɔ**, &c. (see BENEDICT 1975 411, *tiger...*; → Kuy **mɛ:u**, Bru **me:w**).

(BLOOD 1966 99.)

***1839 *by[əw]h storm.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, ?South Bahnaric) Khmer **p(h)yùh storm, hurricane**, Kuy **phyùh**, Vietnamese **bão [tố] storm**; ~ (? , *bry[əw]h >) Sre **bruih fog**, Chrau **[vəh] vrɛh drizzle**.

Connection uncertain Kensiu **bewaʔ**, Mah Meri **buwaʔ wind** (= SKEAT & BLADGEN 1906 W 109 (a), ? (c)).

Proto-Austronesian ***bayiuS**: Tagalog **bagyó storm, tempest**, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 32).

1840 *raw; *raaw to make a loud sound.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Stieng **rɔ:u to cry, howl, roar, bellow**; ~ Bahnar **jrew (to give an) exultant cry**, Jeh **dri:w to hoot**, Halang **driaw to talk loudly** (with secondary fronting); ~ (***.nraw** >) Stieng **ndrɔu**, Chrau **ndraw to crow**, Biat **ndrau to croak, crow**; ~ Mon **krèa to crow, coo, hiss**, Proto-Nyah Kur ***khrɔw** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V208).

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **riw, riew to make a sound**; ~ Khmer **krɪ:əv breaking of voice, mew; hoarse**, West Bahnar **gra:ɔ to crow** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **nra:w to crow**.

Add perhaps as derivatives **1845 *kra(a)w to call out, announce**, **1847 *craaw babbling...** . Cf. **161 *roʔ &c. to make an inarticulate noise**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 202.)

1841 (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer *riʔaawh > ?) *r[]aawh to wash.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rɪ:au**, Bru **ʔariaw**, Sre, Chrau **ra:w**, Biat **ra:ɔ to wash**, Jeh, Halang **ra:w to wash [hands]**, Kammu-Yuan **rà: to wash [dishes, edibles]**, Vietnamese **rửa to wash**; → Cham, Röglai **ra:w**, Jarai **ra:ɔ**, North Röglai **rau**; (probably ~) Bahnar **hra:w to wash rice**; ~ (? , Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***rinʔaawh** >) **ʔpa:w to wash**.

Cf. **2053 *ruuh to wash [clothes]**. But hardly connected **165 *kruuʔ**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 70; SHAFER 1965 517; BLOOD 1966 323; SMITH 1972 441, 444.)

1842 *raaw openwork basket.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon *rèa* openwork basket, Khmer *rì:əv* basket for crockery, fish, &c.

Connection dubious Bahnar dialects *rɔ:ʔ* small coarsely woven kind of basket

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh *rou*, Halang *ro:* back-basket (&c., see SMITH 1972 568; < *rɔʔʔ?).

1843 *kri[i]w; *kriəw to castrate.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng *kri:u*.

B: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *kriəv*, Sre *kria:w* (& *kra:w*) to castrate, Biat *kre:u* castrated, Bahnar *krew* to castrate; → Jarai *kreɔʔ*, Röglai *kria:w*, North Röglai *kiäu*.

(SHAFFER 1965 61.)

1844 *krawʔ back, behind.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, North & Central Asian) Old Mon *krow* /*krɔw*/ behind, after (& *krāw* /*kraw*/; with secondary lengthening?), Modern Mon *krao* to be subsequent, Mường *khau* (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese *sau* (!) behind, Kensi *kiyɔʔ*, Temiar *kəruʔ* back; → Burmese *kro* back; (probably) ~ Lawa Umphai [ka]ngroʔ, Mae Sariang [ya]ngyoʔ back (or [kaŋ]groʔ &c.; then < simplex).

With Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 1856 *ləwʔ; 170 *jriiʔ.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 4 (a).)

1845 *kraw; *kraaw to call out, announce.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ (*knraw >) Riang-Lang *_krau* news, report (with tone contaminated by Shan *khǎu*), Praok *grɔ* [grɔŋ] facts, about; ~ (*kpraw >) Chrau *praw* legend, tale.

B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Mon, ?Nicobaric) Jeh, Halang *kra:w* to call, Bahnar *kra:w* to call, cry out, summon; ~ Middle Mon *kamrau* to announce (or A), Sre *kəmra:w* to be passed round by word of mouth (→ Röglai), Vietnamese *rao* to announce, advertise, cry out; ~ Literary Mon *kamrau* narration, Modern Mon *pərao* (facts) about. ~ (?) Nancowry *kayów* to gossip.

~ 1840 *ra(a)w to make a loud sound?

(SMITH 1972 443.)

1846 *kraw; *kraaw to poison.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng *krɔ:u*, Chrau *kraw* to poison [fish] with bark of creeper, Biat *krau* to poison, Bahnar *krɔw* to poison [fish]; ~ Bru *ntràw*.

B: (Bahnaric) Jeh *tra:u*, *kra:u* to poison [fish] (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ (*kpaaaw >) Sre [bəs] *pra:w* viper, poisonous snake, Bahnar *pra:w* kind of snake.

Cf. Khasi *khariaw* *Millettia pachycarpa* creeper, yielding fish-poison.

(SHAFFER 1965 103.)

1846a *[c]riəw *in quantity.*

A: (Mon, Khasi) Mon **sea sea** *all together*, Khasi **riaw** (compounding form!) *in a crowd, in large numbers.*

Or ***sr-**.

1847 *craaw *babbling, tinkling.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon [**sea**] **sao srau** *with a confused noise*, Khmer **cra:v** *metallic tinkling.*

~ 1840 ***ra(a)w** *to make a loud sound?*

***1848 *[c]rəw** *itch.*

A: (Palaungic, Khasi) Palaung **hrəv** (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **rau** *itch*, (~?) Khasi **sarew** *scab, skin disease causing scabs* (& **satrew** *sore caused by itch*, [**'niang**] **trew** *sore caused by itch*).

~ (i) Proto-Austronesian ***gar[ə]u**: Acehnese, Gayo **garu**, Cham **kàra:w**, &c. *to scratch*, Malay **garu** *to scratch hard*, &c. (cf. NOTHOFFER 1975 88, Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***garəw**; Proto-Malayo-Javanese/Proto-Aceh-Cham, perhaps Proto-West-Indonesian); (ii) East Formosan ***kayaw**, Thao ***k/m/uyaw** *to scratch* (BENEDICT 1975 370, which compare).

1849 *triəw *oriole.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre [**si:m**] **tre:w** *kind of oriole* (DOURNES 1950), West Bahnar [**sɛ:m** **yɔ:ŋ**] **kia:o** *oriole* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Distinguish 1788 ***kriəl?** *crane.*

***1850 *t₂raw?**; ***t₂raaw** [] *taro.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Mon) Mon **krao** (or **B**), Khmer **trau arum** (GUESDON 1930), Sre **traw**, Chrau [**vu:m**] **traw taro**, East Bahnar **trɔ:u** *amaranth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Riang-Lang **səro?** *taro*; ~ Kuy (**ʔa:**)**rà:u** *taro*.

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric, Khasi) Khmer **tra:v** *taro*, East Bahnar **tra:u** *amaranth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **shriew**, **'riew** *arum*.

Sora **'saro:-** [**'gai-ən**] *Caladium esculentum*, Mundari **saɽu** *kind of edible root*, Santali **saru** *taro*.

Proto-Oceanic ***ntalo** (which might be cognate if Polynesian → Melanesian!) is referred to Proto-Austronesian ***talət'** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 128-9; Malay, Javanese *kind of tuber*).

***1851 *t₁praw** *six.*

A: (Mon, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, South Aslian) Old Mon **turow** /**tərw**/, Modern Mon **kərao**, Sre, Chrau **praw**, Biat **prau**, Mường **kháu** (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **sáu**, Serting **pěřū** (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 231); by secondary derivation ~ Bahnar **tədrɔw**, **tədrəw**, Jeh **tadraw**, Halang **drəddraw**, Ulu Tembeling **těmpěřū** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

Mường, Vietnamese tone from initial sequence. Connect Khasi *hinriw* (< *-raaw?). (SCHMIDT 1905 70; BLOOD 1966 196; SMITH 1972 432.)
 Kharia 'tib(h)ru, &c. (PINNOW 1959 148; Proto-Munda *tiwru).

1851a *braw[ʔ] mature unmarried person.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *prəu* *old maid*, (boʔrəh —) *old bachelor*; ~ Biat *ndrəu*, (by metathesis *bnruəʔ >) Bahnar *adrə*, Gölar Bahnar *hədrə* *widow, widower*; → Röglai *bənra:w* *widow, widower*.
Widow(er) perhaps by attraction Cham *piləw*, &c., < Proto-Austronesian *balu(S) (DEMPWOLFF 1938 22; DYEN 1953 § 93; Proto-Hesperonesian).

1852 *braaw coconut palm.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Old Mon *brāw* /braw/, Modern Mon [nəm] *prəa*, Lawa Bo Luang, Lawa Umphai *phrua*, Mae Sariang *phua*, Central Nicobarese *oyau*; → Thai *map^hráaw*, → Khmu' *bla:w*, Thin *blau*; ~ (*bnraaw > ?) Vietnamese [*cây*] *dừa* (for ***rừa*).

(*sriəw see 1846a *[c]riəw in quantity.)

1853 *law[ʔ] finger, digit.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng *ləu* *finger (quantifier)*, Biat *lau* [ti:] *finger*; ~ Sre [ti] *naw* *forefinger*, Stieng *ŋləu*, East Bahnar &c. (h) *anjləu* *finger, toe* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

1854 *law; *laaw to pass, exceed; past time.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Halang *law* *more than; to pass by*; ~ Stieng *no:u* *formerly*, Sre [or] *naw* (*in the*) *non-immediate past*, Praok *naw* *to be early, primitive; once, formerly*; ~ Sre *rəlaw* *more*, Biat *rlau* *to exceed; past, more, exceeding*, Jeh *llaw* *more than*.
 B: (North Bahnaric) ~ Jeh, Halang *na:w* *more*, Jeh *?na:w* *recently* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
 Not *rl- ~ *rnl-, which should yield Stieng *rən-*, Praok *sin-*. (SMITH 1972 448.)

1855 *laaw which?, what?

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Old Mon *lhāw* /lhaw/ *which?, what?* (& Modern Mon *lə* < weak form), Kensiu *ləw*, Temiar *ləʔ* *what?*; ~ Vietnamese *nào* *which?*.
 (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 77 (a).)

1856 *ləwʔ long in duration.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Central Aslian) Old Mon **lɔ'** /lɔʔ/, Modern Mon **lòʔ**, Proto-Semai ***liiw** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Mường **lô** (BARKER 1966 12), Vietnamese **lâu** (!) *to take a long time*; ~ (*jnləwʔ >) Riang-Lang **cənwʔ** *duration; to be long in time*, (?) Lawa Umphai, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔnai** *late*.

With Lawa vocalism cf. Lawa Bo Luang **pai**, &c., ad 1835 ***[r]baw**; with Mường, Vietnamese tone cf. 1844 ***krawʔ**; 170 ***jriiʔ**.

1857 *klaaw male sexual organs.

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Stieng **klau** *male sexual organs*, Chrau **klaw**, Biat **[ŋkɔ:ŋ] klaɔ** *penis* (vulgar), Hre **klew**, Sedang **kléo** *testes*, Kammu-Yuan **klá** *scrotum, penis*, Semang **klau** *penis* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 53); ~ Central Nicobarese **[no:t]-kəmələu** *boar*.

Hence by deformation Cham, Röglai **klay** *penis*? Cf. here Lawa Bo Luang **kləiʔ**.

Cham **pə:h klu:**, Jarai **bə:h tʰlu:**, Röglai **boʔ kluh** *testes* are < Proto-Austronesian ***qət₂luɣ** egg (DEMPWOLFF 1938 134, ***[t]əluɣ**). Connect 1859 ***t₁l[ə]w[ʔ]** *male*? (SMITH 1972 449.)

1858 *gləw (kind of) leech.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, North & Central Aslian) Chrau **glu:** *water leech*, Biat **glu:**, Semang **alu** *leech* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 46); ~ (*gpləw >) Vietnamese **[đia] trâu** *large kind of leech*; ~ (*gmləw >) Sre **blu** *leech*.

Cf. 1410 ***t₁ləm** &c. *land leech*.

(BLOOD 1966 231.)

1858a *t₁nlaaw[] (& *t₁nlaw[]?) lake, pond.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Sre **tənw** *pond*, Biat **ŋlaɔ** *pond, marsh*, (variant >?) Thin **tənlɔ** *lake*.

Connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***d₁an₁au** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 42, ***danav**; DAHL 1973 § 14.5, 15.2; Cham **tàna:w**, &c., probably → Bahnar **dənw**); or Vietnamese **ao** *pond*.

1859 *t₁l[ə]w[ʔ] male.

A: (Bahnaric, South Aslian, Khmuic, Katuic) Sre **klaw**, Chrau **klɔ:**, Biat **klɔ:u** *male (human being)*, (by metathesis ***t₁luəʔ** >?) Bahnar **klɔ:**, Jeh **klou** *husband*, Halang **klɔ:** *man*; ~ (*t₁nluəʔ >?) Bahnar **tənw** *male*, Jeh **tanou**, Halang **təno:** *male animal*; → Jarai **t^ono:**, Röglai **tənw**, North Röglai **tano** *male [animal]*; ~ Besis **malâu**, **ma'lau** *husband* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 21 (a)); by secondary derivation ~ Chrau **səklo:** *husband*, Kammu-Yuan **cəmrəʔ** *man, male*, Bru **nlaw** *man*.

Connect 1857 ***klaaw** *male sexual organs*?

(BLOOD 1966 200; SMITH 1972 561, 563.)

1860 *ml[əw] *betel*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **mlù:**, Kuy **mphlù:**, Bru **manlùə**, Stieng, Chrau, Biat **mlu:**, Bahnar **[hla:] bəlw, bəlw**, Kammu-Yuan **plù:**, Mường **trù** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **trầu**; → (i) Thai **p^hluu**, Shan **p^hlū**, → Riang-Lang **plu**, Lawa Bo Luang **plø?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **phlo?** *betel*, Palaung **plu** *areca nut*; (ii) Karo Batak **belo** *betel*; & (iii) by obscure borrowing route (***sla blu** >) Middle Mon **sablu**, Modern Mon **həplù?** *betel leaf*; Central Sakai **blök** *areca nut*.

Culture-word; Khmer **perhaps** → South Bahnaric; but hardly all ← Tai in view of Khmer **m-**. Hence ultimately Proto-Austronesian ***buyuq**, BLUST 1973 no. 92 (Proto-Hesperonesian)? Cf. BENEDICT 1975 299, *fruit...* (IV); Tho-Nung shows anomalous diphthongization, supporting ***-əw**.

(SHAFFER 1965 298; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 125.)

1861 *rliw (& *rliiw?) *lazy*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường, ?Khmuic). Mon **[kənùh] lì** *to be lazy, idle*, Khmer **rəli:v** *drowsy*, (~, or with phrasally conditioned tone?) Vietnamese **lêu-[ông]** *to loaf, be lazy*; ~ (? , ***krliw** >) Kammu-Yuan **[krá:w] kríw** *carelessly; untidy*.

Mon, Khmer vowel lengthening perhaps regular in context. Cf. 189 ***la?** *lii?* &c. *careless, slovenly*.

1862 *slew? *to squint*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Khasi, Viet-Mường) Khmer **slaev** *squinting*, Vietnamese **lé** *to squint*; ~ Mon **həle salew** *to be oblique*, (**mòt** —) *to squint*, Khmer **srəlaev**, (TANDART 1935, SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.) **srələev**, Khasi **share** *squinting*; ~ (***splew?** > Vietnamese **tréo** *to be at an angle, crossed* (& **trèo** *to be off natural position, to be dislocated*).

Cf. 759 ***sliŋ** &c. ...*to squint*.

1863 (***tawaw** >?) ***twaaw**, ***ta[]waw** *koel, Eudynamys scolopaceus malayana Cabanis and Heine*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) (***tw-**) Old Mon **twāw** /**twaw**/, Literary Mon **kwau**; (***ta[]w-**) Mon **kaowao** (& **həcem kəwao**; by contraction?), Khmer **ta:vau**, Biat **ta:wau**; → Cham **tawa:w**.

Onomatopoeic.

†1864 ***ksiw**; ***ksiəw** *to whisper*.

A: (South Bahnaric) Sre **[dəs] chiw**, by metathesis (***kwis** >) Biat **[ŋə:i] chwih**.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi) Khmer **[khsɿp]-khsiəv**; ~ (***kpsiəw** >) Mon **kəsea**, Riang-Lang **kəsiao** (!), Khasi **pasiaw**.

Riang-Lang -s- by onomatopoeic retention.

Sora **pə'se-pə'se-** [*to speak*] *in whispers* (RAMAMURTI 1938; beside **pə'se:ge-pə'se:ge-**).

1865 *ks[aw]ʔ red.

A: (Kuy, Palaungic, Khasi). Kuy (**k**)sau, Palaung **kho**, Khasi **saw** (compounding form?).

Kuy may imply *-ʔ. Connection dubious Chrau **prhɔː**.

***1866 *ksəwʔ; *ksəw[] red ant.**

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian) Kammu-Yuan **khúʔ** red ant, Semang **kaso'** ant (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 101).

B: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Stieng **ce:u** large kind of biting ant, Central Nicobarese **ka:hvə** large red ant, by metathesis (***skəw[]** >) Khasi **'khiew** (~ **dkhiew**) ant; (probably, rather than A) by secondary derivation ~ Mon **(k)əchao** red ant.

(By metathesis?) Mundari **hao-[mui'j]**, Santali **hao** large red ant (PINNOW 1959 K 534).

1867 *br[s]aw; *br[s]aaw kind of water snail.

A: (North Bahnaric) East Bahnar **bəsv:u** kind of freshwater univalve (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **vəsa:w** small kind of water snail.

?Connected to Khmer **[khyɔːŋ]** **khiav** kind of snail so ***k(m)e-**.

1868 *hiw; *hiəw to drift.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Mon **hi** to drift, Kontum Bahnar **hiyu:** drifting (on water), floating (in air) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **hiu-hiu** [wind] to blow very lightly.

B: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Jölong **h(i)ɛ:o** drifting (on water) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Vietnamese **phiêu** to drift, flost.

Rather than Mon : Khmer **hael** to swim.

1869 *haaw to climb, ascend.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **ha:w** to ascend, Biat **ha:ɔ** to go up, climb, Sre, Bahnar, Jeh, Halang **ha:w** to climb; ~ Chrau **tənhə:w** to raise, Biat **nhə:ɔ** to lift, raise.

(SHAFFER 1965 271; BLOOD 1966 296; SMITH 1972 440.)

1870 *krhiəw small bell, jingle.

A: (Mon, Khasi, Katuic) Mon **hərea** small bell, bicycle-bell, Khasi **[sha]kuriaw** jingle, cymbal, Bru **ʔariiw** small bell.

1871 *ʔas; *ʔəs to swell.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Khasi, Central & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy **ʔah** inflamed and swollen, Sre **as** swelling, Biat **ɛh** abscess, Bahnar dialects **ɛh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **at**, Semai **ʔas**, Semelai **ʔəs** to swell; ~ (***pnʔas** >) Bahnar **pəʔɛh** to swell.

B: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kammu-Yuan *əs* to swell, swelling, Rieng-Lang *as* swollen, to swell, Palaung *ər* to be swollen (so probably, rather than **A**), Praok *u:a*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔəih* to swell, Nancowry *yəh* to swell.
(SHAFFER 1965 431; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 540.)

(**ʔaas* see 1873 **iʔaas* to shine.)

1872 **[ʔus; * [ʔuus; * [ʔuəs* fire, firewood.

A: (Khmer) Khmer *ʔoh us* firewood; → Cham, Jarai, North Rōglai *ʔjuh*, Rōglai *iuh* firewood.

B: (South Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre *ous*, Temiar *ʔo:s*, Semelai *ʔus* fire.

C: (Mon, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric, Katuic) Middle Mon *'oh /ʔoh/*, Modern Mon *uh* firewood, Kuy *ʔu:h*, Bru *ʔu:yh* fire, firewood, Kensiu *ʔəs*, Semai *ʔo:s* fire, Central Nicobarese *ɔh* firewood.

Cf. **885** **ʔup* fire Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese *củi* may be connected, as Vietnamese *củt* with **794** **ʔic* &c.; so may **2041** **[k]buh* to burn, grill. But Cham &c. suggest **jʔ-*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 22; SHAFFER 1965 436; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 124.)

1872a **ʔuus* to drag.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer *ʔo:h 'ūs*, Stieng, Biat *u:ih*, Chrau *uih*.

†**1873** Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **iʔaas* > **yaas*, Pre-Palaungic **ʔaas*; (Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer **iʔaaʔ* >) **yaʔ* to shine.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon *yās /yas/*, Modern Mon *yèh* dawn, to shine, Rieng-Lang *as* to glitter, shine, Proto-Semai **jiis* daylight (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Old Mon *yimās* shining [gold], Old Khmer *mās*, Modern Khmer *mì:əh*, Stieng *ma:h* gold, Sre *mah* (!)gold, shiny (→ Rōglai *məh* shine; ≠ *muh* gold, ← Cham?), Biat *ma:ih*, Bahnar *mayh* gold.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ Bahnar *mənaʔ, pənaʔ* gleaming (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; perhaps ~ (**ipʔaaʔ* >) Khasi *ba* to show a light; by secondary derivation ~ *thaba* to glitter (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.); ~ (**irʔaaʔ* >) Sre *cira* brilliant, dazzling (↔ Rōglai *cira:*).

Kontum Bahnar, Jeh, Halang *mah*, & probably Semang, Sakai *mas* gold (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 62) are ← Indonesian, below. Connect **1920** **c[b]as* light, clear? ~ Nancowry *cuṇác* natural light.

(SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFFER 1965 178; SHORTO 1972 235; BLOOD 1966 306; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 35; cf. SMITH 1972 368.)

Kharia *me'jaʔ* morning (ad **B**; PINNOW 1959 K 173).

(Probably →!) Proto-Austronesian **[ʔəmat'* Acehnese *möih!*, Cham *muh*, &c., Malay *emas* gold, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 50; Proto-West-Indonesian). The same Acehnese vocalism in *döih* : Cham *hatà:h* clear, bright; is this also connected? (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 26.)

1874 *knʔiəs nail, claw.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **ndias** *nail, claw, hoof*, Chrau **kənhye:ih** *nail*, Biat **ɲeh**, Bahnar **təʔɲiəh** *nail, claw*, Jeh **kaʔniayh**, Halang **kəʔniah** *nail*.

Cf. (i) Stieng **kəni:**; (ii) Central Nicobarese **keʃuəh** (< *kəcuəs < *kəyuəs by dissimilation?). Connection dubious **1880 *kiəs ...to scratch**.

(BLOOD 1966 98; SMITH 1972 501.)

(*cʔees see **1960 *cʔeh** *to stink*; *cʔaas see **7 *cʔaʔ** *clear, clean*.)

†1875 *cʔu[s]; *chuu[s] to rot.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Khasi) Mon **ɲh sʔuih** *to rot, be decayed*; ~ (*cpʔu[s] >) Kuy **pʔo:h** *spoiled [food]*, Bru **paʔu:ɣh** *rancid, spoiled*, Khasi **pyut /pʔut/** *to decay, rot*.

B: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **cur** (MILNE 1931), Praok **cu [siʔum]** *to decay*, Vietnamese in compounds **hủ** *rotten [wood]*.

In view of Vietnamese perhaps *-h(-s). Cf. **1960 *cʔeh** *to stink*.

Sora **sʔo:-** *to be rotten, to spoil*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 K 193a).

Hence Tibeto-Burman *u (BENEDICT 1972 148 no. 489; Kachin, Burmese, Kuki)?

(*t[ʔ]aas see **1962 *[t,]ʔah** *forehead*; *prʔas see **248a *prsaʔ** *child's spouse*.)

‡1876 *pʔus; *pʔuus guava tree.

A: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ổi**; → Bahnar **o:y**; Cham **uyh**, North Röglai **ui**.

B: (South Bahnaric) → Röglai **ous**; (probably ~) Sre **pəʔous**.

Proto-Austronesian *paSuq: Cham **paʔʔ** *mango tree*, &c., Malay **pauh** *wild mango*, &c. (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115 16, *paʔuh; DYEN 1953 § 53).

The guava is exotic!

†1877 *rʔis to count.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon **ruih**, Modern Mon **rəh**, Palaung **dir**; ~ (*rmʔis >) Middle Mon **lamih** *number*, Modern Mon **kəmih**, Praok **sime** *total*.

Sora **di·(di·)**- *to count*.

(*rʔbi(ə)s see **1927 *ris** *root*.)

1878 *lʔas ripe.

A: (Mon, Viet-Mường) Mon **duh** *to be ripe, grow ripe*, (~?) Vietnamese **nảy** *to grow, sprout*, (— **nở**) *bloom*; ~ Middle Mon **lam'ah, ram'ah**, Literary Mon **l(a)muh** *ripe*.

(*lʔəəs see **1965 *lʔəh** *to make, do*.)

1879 *lʔus *fat, grease*.

- A: (Palaungic, North & Central Aslian) Lawa Bo Luang **laʔauh**, Lawa Umphai **raʔaus**, Mae Sariang **layɔih**, Jehai, Lanoh **ləʔɔs**; ~ Temiar **lenʔɔs**.

***1880** *kais; *kiəs; *kis *to scrape, scratch*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **kās** /kas/ *to shave oneself*, Modern Mon **kah** *to shave, to scrape off, up*, Khmer **kaeh** (& **keh**; **kəs** &c.), Stieng **kəh** *to scratch*; ~ Bahnar **cəkəh** *to pick up or scratch with nail* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **gãi** *to scratch oneself*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, Viet-Mường) Middle Mon, Modern Mon **keh** *to write with a stylus*, Khmer **kiəh** **kiəs** *to scrape*, Vietnamese **kẻ** *to draw [line]*; ~ Vietnamese **ghẻ** *itch, scabies*.
 C: (Palaungic) Palaung **kir** *to draw a line* (MILNE 1931).
 Connect besides following **1890** *ʔciis *to draw, write*; & Temiar **gi:s**, Semai II **gih** *to scratch*, ~ Semelai **gahgeh**. Cf. also **802** *kaac, **799** *kiic &c.; **1442** *kaay; **867** *kwaac &c.; **A138** *kwaay.

(SHAFFER 1965 73; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 30.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) *kaSit': Acehnese **kəh-kəh** *to scratch*, Malay **kais**, &c. [*fowl*] *to scratch up food*, Javanese **krè-kès** *to beg shamelessly*, Cebuano Bisayan **kahis** *to level with strickle* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 72, *ka'it'; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) *kit'kit': Malay **kikis** *to scrape off*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 81; less Javanese, < i; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. also *kat'kat' *to scratch*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 76. See BENEDICT 1975 371-2. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 58.)

(*kais see also **1967** *k[i]i[h] *kind of deer or goat*.)

***1881** *kuus; *kuəs; (*kaus = ?) *ko[]s *to scrape, scratch, shave*.

- A: (Khasi) Khasi **khud** *to scrape off with sharp instrument*.
 B: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Stieng **kua'h** *to scratch (up)*, Sre **kuah**, Chrau **kɔ:ih** *to shave, scrape*, Biat **kwah** *to claw*, Bahnar **koyh** *to scrape*, Kontum Bahnar *shave*, Central Nicobarese **iko:əh-[həŋə]** *to shave*; → Cham **kwah** *to shave, scrape, scratch*, Jarai **ku:ah**, Röglai, North Röglai, **kuah** *to shave, to scrape*, Acehnese **kuəh** *to dig*.
 C: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Khmer) Khmer **kaoh** **kos** *to scrape* (or < A, levelled on derivation?), Bunör **kɔih** *to shave off*, Mintil **kɔus** *to scratch*; (or A) ~ Khmer **khnaoh** *scraper*.

Add following? Connect preceding. (which compare, with references). Vietnamese **cạo** *to shave* is perhaps cognate Kammu-Yuan **kòr** *to scratch*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 30; BLOOD 1966 58; SMITH 1972 512; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 50.)
 Kharia **kɔi** *to shave*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 382).

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***kut'kut'**: Karo Batak **kuskus** *crust of rice in pot*, Iban **kukus** *to scrape out*, &c. (cf. BLUST 1970 no. 226, BLUST 1973 no. 175; Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***ka[]ut'**: Acehnesse **kəh** *to level [grain in measure]*, Iban **kaus** *to scrape out* (so Proto-West-Indonesian). Cf. Toba Batak **hao** *to itch, scratch* (< ***ka[]uq**). See BENEDICT 1975 371-2.

1882 ***kuus** (& ***kuəs**?) *to trim, whittle*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Stieng **kù:əh**, Sre **kous** *to trim down, pare down, whittle*, Chrau **ko:ih** *to whittle*; (variant?) ~ Mon **həkuh phakoh, sakoh** *to whittle*.
= preceding?

(***[p]kas** see 1914 ***kpas** *side of body*.)

1883 ***[r]kus**; ***[r]kuus**; ***[r]kuəs**; ***[r]k[iə]s** *porcupine*.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **[i]kūr** (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang-Lang **rəŋkəs**.

B: (Central Aslian) Temiar **ku:s** (BENJAMIN 1976B 131), Proto-Semai ***kuus** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Katuic) ~ Kuy **[cəŋ] ŋkah**, Bru **sukə:yh**.

D: (Palaungic, Khasi) ~ Danaw **təŋ kiət**, Khasi **dyngkhied**.

Cf. Iban **angkis**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 185.)

1884 ***gas**; ***gaas** *to separate by force*.

A: (Khmer, Kuy) Khmer **kəəh gās'** *to pry up, uproot, gouge out, force open*, Kuy **khèh** *to pry up, pry open*.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **rga:ih** *to separate persons fighting*.

(***gaas** see also 1975 ***gah** *outside*; ***guus** see 1976 ***guh** *to swell*; ***rgaas** see 1928 ***g-raas** ...*to comb*...)

1885 ***ŋ[]əs** *to wake (v.i.)*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Katuic). Mon **ŋùh** (< */**ŋoh**/ < */**ŋəh**/) *to wake (v.i.)*, (probably) Kuy **ŋùh** *to surface*, Bru **ŋàyh** *no longer sleepy*; ~ Literary Mon **pñah** [**>**] **pñoh** [**>**] **pñuh** *to rouse*; ~ Biat **ŋjeh** *to stay awake*.

Or, if Kuy **mèh**, Bru **ʔamàyh** *to wake (v.t.)* are cognate, ***ŋw-**? (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 192.)

1886 ***ŋus**; ***ŋuus**; ***ŋuəs** *price*.

A: (Palaungic) Praok **[sin] ŋaw** *wealth*.

B: (Mon) Old Mon **ñūs /ŋus/**, Modern Mon **ŋùh** *price*.

C: (Palaungic) Palaung **ŋuər**, Praok **ŋə**, Lawa Bo Luang **ŋuah**, Lawa Umphai **ŋuas**, Mae Sariang **ŋoih** *price*.

1887 *cis; *ciis; *ciəs low, to descend.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, North & Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *cis* /cəs/, Middle Mon *cuīh* to go down, Praok *se* [saŋ] to be oppressed = [caŋ ma] *se* south (cf. *laŋ* to be high; (caŋ ma —) north), Lawa Bo Luang [ka]saih, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang [ka]seh below; ~ Kammu-Yuan *kəsés* to fall; ~ Semang *măchis* low, shallow; steep descent (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 150 (a)); ? by dissimilation Nancowry *ʔés* down.

B, C: (Mon) Late Middle Mon, Modern Mon *cih* = Old Mon *cis*; Literary Mon *ceh* down. Cf. Central Nicobarese *-je* downwards (< *ciʔ?).

1888 *c[ii]s to oppose.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Literary Mon *ceh* [cah] to oppose, be refractory; ~ Khmer *cəce:h caces* to persist in face of opposition (with vocalism levelled on next); ~ (*cric[ii]s >) Literary Mon *dacih* [daca] to oppose, Khmer *cacres* to persist in face of opposition (GUESDON 1930).

*ce(e)s should yield Khmer *-es*. Literary Mon *ceh* by analogy *ceh* = Modern Mon *cih* to go down (see preceding), or < *ciəs.

†1889 *cuus; *cəs to select.

A: (Central Aslian) Temiar *cu:s* (BENJAMIN 1976B 131).

B: (Mon, Central Aslian) Middle Mon [ruy] *cah*; ~ Serau *chenlas* to choose (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C? 120A).

Cf. Khasi *jied*, Nancowry *hasót*. Connect by metathesis or assimilation A58 **[s]ac?* Sora *se-*, *se'se-* (< *ciəs < *c'əs < *cəs?).

1890 *ʔciis to draw, write.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre (→ Röglai), Chrau, Bahnar *cih* to draw, write, Hre *aciḥ*, Lawa Umphai *sas*, Mae Sariang *saih* to write, Palaung *swir* [s'iṽ] to cross out; ~ Biat *nceh* to write.

Cf. 1880 **kais*, **ki(ə)s* ...to scratch (, write); & Biat *rcu:ih* to draw a line, cross out. (BLOOD 1966 209; SMITH 1972 336.)

1891 *ʔcas; *ʔcaʔ; *ʔcaaʔ old.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer (')*cas*, Modern Khmer *cah*, Stieng *ce:h*.

B, C: (Palaungic) Rieng-Lang *caʔ* to be old, mature, tough, rough; ~ *rəŋcaʔ* old age.

B, C contaminated by 164 **kra* [ʔʔ] Connect perhaps Sakai *jaja* (i.e. Temiar), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 O 20; but Vietnamese *già* is < 1787 **raal*.

†1892 ***kcas**; ***kcaas**; (by dissimilation?) ***kcah** *charcoal*.

A, B: (Palaungic, ?Khmuic) Praok **sua**, Lawa Bo Luang **səih**, Lawa Umphai **səs**; ~ Kammu-Yuan **kənsáh** (or C); ~ Riang-Lang **kərc(h)as** (A), (B) Palaung **kəsar**.

C: (Mon, Bahnaric, Katuic) Mon, Sre, Chrau **chah** *charcoal* (& Nyah Kur **ksah** *firewood*); ~ (***krcah** >) Kuy (k)**cah**, Bru **kucah**, Jeh **kacah**, Halang **kəcah** *charcoal*.

Connect Stieng **cə: uij**.

(SMITH 1972 370.)

Sora **ə'saɣ-ən**, Kharia **ga'sa'ɟ**, &c. (PINNOW 1959 289; by metathesis or assimilation < ***kasac** or the like).

1893 ***kc[a]s** *lightning*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Semang **kăchā'** (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 L 91); ~ Palaung **kəsər**, Praok [tu] **sa**.

1894 ***k[m]cas** *to sneeze*.

A: (Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy (k)**ceh**, Bru **càyh** (!), Bahnar **kəseh**, Jeh **kacayh**, Halang **kəceh**, (~?) Riang-Lang **kəmchas**; by metathesis (***cmās** >) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **ʔməih**, Lawa Umphai **ʔməs**.

For Khmer **kəndah**, Chrau **kətaih** see 1900 ***dt₁as** *to make a sound*. ?Connected by dissimilation Nancowry **ʔás** *sneeze*.

(SMITH 1972 499.)

(***krcaas** see 874 ***ksac** *sand*.)

1895 ***pcaas** (& ***pca** [h?]) *sour*.

A: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon **phyah** *to be sour, sharp-tasting* (& Nyah Kur **cah**; < variant?), Semang **pēcās** *sour* (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 349).

Note Khasi **sat** *pungent in taste*; perhaps rather connected 989 ***pcət** *bitter, astringent*.

†1896 ***bcaas** *contrary*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Old Mon **-cās** /**cas**/, Modern Mon **cah** *to go in the opposite direction*, Khmer **ca:h cās** *contrary, against* (TANDART 1935) (with head register levelled on derivatives?), Praok **cha** (!) *to oppose*, Central Nicobarese [hə]-**ʃa:hə** *topsy-turvy, to throw spear butt foremost, lie with feet towards hut door*; ~ Old Mon **bircās** *approach*, Khmer **cra:h** (?; with regular metathesis) *in the opposite direction*, Khasi by dissimilation **pyrshah** *opposite*; by secondary derivation ~ (***crcaas** >) Middle Mon **dacah**, Modern Mon **həcah** *to go towards*, Khmer **carcrās** *refractory, obstinate* (GUESDON 1930).

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 16.)

(?) ~ Proto-Austronesian ***mət'aq**: Javanese **mēsah** *enemy*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 106). See BENEDICT 1975 281.

1897 *[ljiis; *[ljiəs; *[ljəs to prick, to sew.

- A: (Katuic, Nicobaric) Kuy **jih**, Bru **yih**, Central Nicobarese **ici:h-[hətə]** to sew.
 B: (Mon, ?Bahnaric) Literary Mon **jēh** to prick skin and draw blood, (or C?) Stieng **jēh** to prick, lance, Bahnar **jēh** to prick, lance, to gut.
 C: (Khmer, ?North Aslian) Khmer **jas'** to prick to extract [thorn] (GUESDON 1930), Semang **cəs** to sew (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296; ?).

1898 *jas to shiver.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **còh** to have fever, Palaung **jər** to shake (v.t.); ~ Riang-Lang **_tərcəs** to tremble; ~ Palaung **pənyər** slight chill, shivering (& by back-formation **yər**, Mon, to tremble).
 Cf. 1995 *[r]njuh &c. to shake.

1898a *jus (& *juus?) to take down, out, to lay down.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **jus** to take off [carrying-basket], to extract [thorn], Chrau **juih** to drop, let fall, Biat **juih** to put down, (variant >?) Bahnar **yuyh** to take down, dismantle, to take out of storage-place.
 Add perhaps Khmer **cùh juh** to evacuate the bowels. Connect 1606 *jur[] &c. to descend?

(*t₁aas see 1998 *t₁ah level.)

1899 *t₁uəs; *t₁əəs; (by interdialectal borrowing?) *t₁[wə]s to proclaim.

- A: (Mon, Palaungic) Old Mon **tos** /tos/ to utter, proclaim; ~ (*[t₁]nt₁uəs >) Praok **dua** to assert.
 B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **tə:s** to announce a death, Biat **tə:ih [mbu:ŋ]** to carry a message.
 C: (Mon) Middle Mon **twah** /twəh/, Modern Mon **kwəh** to utter, proclaim.
 Connect following?

1900 *kt₁as to make a sound.

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Stieng **tēh** to make a sound, make a noise (→ or ~ Chrau **taih** loud), Bahnar dialects **tēh** noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **kəndəh kəntās'** (→ Stieng **kəndəh**), Chrau **kətaih** to sneeze (by attraction 1894 *k[m]cas), Sre **ntas** = Stieng **tēh**, (~?) Jeh **tatayh** to speak, Halang **həteh** to say; ~ Biat **nteh**, Bahnar dialects **kəteh** noise (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 Cf. Central Rölöm **tēh** to report (BLOOD 1976) (< *kt₁əs?). Connect preceding? (BLOOD 1966 251.)

1901 *[k]nt₁a[i]s prawn.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Thin **cənta** (!), Riang-Lang **kəntas**.
 With Thin initial cf. **cəcndraḡh** < 1947 *k/n/lais; but Riang-Lang **k-** perhaps by attraction animal prefix.

†1902 *[j]t[ɔ]s to dam in order to catch fish.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **tùəh das'** to dam; ~ Mon **hətəh datah** dry-dam fish-trap; by secondary derivation ~ Khmer **thnùəh** fish-weir or fish-crawl of branches.

Or *-əs.

(?) Kharia **ɟ(h)entu** date-leaf mat, Santali **ɟhənti** wattle, wattle fence, **ɟipri** watering-pot, fish-trap. (PINNOW 1959 K 370).

†1903 *pt₁is; *pt₁iis; by metathesis *psi(i)t fungus.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Mon **ptis** /ptəs/, Modern Mon **pətəh**, Kammu-Yuan **tís**, Khasi **tit**.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **tir**, Riang-Lang **ˀtis**, Praok **ti** (or A?), Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **taih**, Lawa Umphai **tas**, Proto-Semai ***btees** (DIFFLOTH 1977).

C: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer **phsɿt**, Stieng **cert**, Biat **chert**, (~?) Sre **bəsit**; ~ (*pns- >) Chrau **nserɿt**, Hre **basèt**, **basit**.

(SHAFFER 1965 432; SMITH 1972 217; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 292.)

Sora **'bati:-n**.

(*rt₁a(a)s see 2009 *rt₁ah to explode; *dəəs see 78 *dəə? ...to be brought up short...; *diis see 86 *dii? one.)

1903a *dās; *daas to break (v.i.).

A: (South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Biat **dəh**, Central Nicobarese **dɛɟ-**, **dəh-[ɲə]**, Nancowry **rás**.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Mon **dah** [rain] to stop (?), Chrau **da:ih** to break. Add perhaps Khmer **təəh dās'** at odds, to quarrel. Bru **dəh** v.t. suggests *-ais.

†1904 *cdis cotton.

A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **dəh**; ~ (*cndis >) Sre **dīs**.

*c- rests on Munda.

(BLOOD 1966 47.)

Sora **ə'di:-n** cotton, Kharia **si'di?** cotton pod (PINNOW 1959 327).

1904a *tdus; *tduəs to pull out, off, back.

A: (Katuic, South Bahnaric) Kuy **təh**, Bru **təwh** to pull out [hair &c.] (so *t- ?), Sre **dus** to pull out, pull up, uproot.

B: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **də:ih** [ntə:u] to skin; ~ (*trduəs >) Mon **hədəh th(a)dah** to pull back [bowstring], remove [ear-wax].

(*pdiəs see 2015a *pduh ...to spark... .)

1905 ***tnaas** (& ***tnas**?) *goal, intention*.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **tnas** /**tnəs**/ (*in the*) *intention of bringing about*, Middle Mon **tnah** *in order to* (originally weak form, or < variant), Khmer **thna:h thnās** *until*, (GUESDON 1930) *in order to*.

1906 ***bn₂iəs** *spear*.

A: (Mon, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Old Mon **bnas** /**bnəs**/, Modern Mon **nùh**, Kammu-Yuan **plias**, Palaung **leər**, Riang-Lang **pləs**, Praok **plia**, Lawa Bo Luang **pleh**, Lawa Umphai **phlias**, Mae Sariang **pliah**, Nancowry **sanéh**.

Connection uncertain Tagalog **bulos** *harpoon* (& Javanese **bulus** *spear*, cited at SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 368), with which cf. Bateg Deq **bulus**, Semnam **bulu:s** *spear*; Moken **bulo**. South Nicobarese **pi:lo:iyə** *pronged spear*, compared at SHAFER 1965 433, more probably belongs here.

*1907 ***mnəs** *to have in mind*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon **mirnas** /**mərnəs**/ *to remember*, Modern Mon **hənùh** *to think of, remember*; ~ (***mpnəs** >) Old Mon **munas** *to inform*, Sre **ḍəs** *to speak*.

Connection uncertain Khmer **srənəh sranəh** *to miss, regret the absence of*.

~ Proto-Austronesian ***manəq**: Toba Batak **por-mano-mano-an** *remembrance*, Javanese **manuh** *to be known*, Cebuano Bisayan **ma/ng/nu**, **ma/ng/nù** *to remember, to remind* (so Proto-Hesperonesian). DEMPWOLFF 1938 105 compares Toba with Malay **manah** *heirloom*.

*1908 ***pis**; ***piis** *knife*.

A, B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **pəh**, Chrau **pih**, Biat **pəh** (A), (B) Sre **pi:s**. (SHAFER 1965 481; BLOOD 1966 44.)

Proto-Austronesian ***pit'au**: Malay **pisau**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 120; Proto-Hesperonesian).

*1909 ***pis**; ***pəs** *to pound*.

A: (Mon, Bahnaric) Old Mon **pis** /**pəs**/, Modern Mon **pəh**, Stieng (→ Chrau ?), Bahnar **pəh**, Jeh, Halang **pəh**; ~ Stieng **brənì:h**, Biat **rnih** *flour*.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **pas**, Modern Khmer **bəh** (& Middle Khmer **poḥ!**) *to pulverize* (→ Thai **bòt** *to crush, grind, pound*), Biat **pəh** *to pound [rice]*.

Connect Sre **piəh** *to pound [rice]*.

(BLOOD 1966 252; SMITH 1972 357; cf. SCHMIDT 1905 15; SHAFER 1965 558.)

Proto-Austronesian ***pipit'**: Malay **pipis** *to grind [spices]*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 119; Proto-Hesperonesian). Cf. Sanskrit **piṣṭa-** *pounded*. (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 11.)

1910 ***piəs**; ***pəs** *to kick*.

A: (Mon) Mon **pəh** [*animals*] *to kick*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **pər** *to kick*.

(*pəəs see 2029 *puh to open.)

1911 *pus; *puəs (& *puus?); *pəs barking deer.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **por**, Riang-Lang **ṽpos**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauh**, Lawa Umphai **paus**.

B: (Khmuic, Central Aslian, Katuic) Kammu-Yuan **púas**, Semai dialects **pɔ:s** (DIFFLOTH 1977) (& **pɔ:s**; < *puus?), Bru **pɔ:yh**.

C: (Mon, North Aslian) Mon **pəh** *barking deer* (& **peh** *mouse deer* by arbitrary variation), Semang **pās** *kijang* (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 D 76).

Connect Malay **napoh**, ↔ Central Sakai **napöh**.

(SHAFER 1965 24a, 426.)

‡1912 *puus; *puəs heart.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian; ~ *pnuus >) Biat **nu:ih** *heart (figurative)*, Sre **nus**, Chrau **[play] nu:ih**, Bahnar **nuyh** *heart*, Khasi **'nud**, **[doh]nud** *liver, heart, mind*, Proto-Semai ***noos** *heart* (DIFFLOTH 1977).

B: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Aslian, ?Nicobaric, ?North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pɔ:ih** *wood exclusive of bark (?)* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Palaung **nuər**, Riang-Lang **[kə]nuas** *heart*, Semai II **nɔ:s** *liver*, Central Nicobarese **[ko:i]-pəni:wə**, Nancowry **kúypaúva** *heart* (connection dubious); ~ Old Mon **pumas** /pəmɔs/, Modern Mon **[kon] kəməʔ!**, (learned form) **paomòh** *heart*.

With Central Nicobarese final cf. **kəyu:ə** < 1936 *kruəs.

(SHAFER 1965 182; BLOOD 1966 234; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63.)

Proto-Austronesian ***put'uq**: Toba Batak **pusu**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 124; DYEN 1953 § 64). See BENEDICT 1975 312-13.

(*puus see also 2028 *puh to blow.)

1913 *puəs calf of leg.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **pəh** **[jə:ŋ]**, Chrau **pɔ:ih**, Biat **[plai] pɔ:ih**, Bahnar **poyh**, Jeh, Halang **puayh** *calf of leg*, (merging 1673 *t/p/wər, which see) Palaung **puər** (— **grəŋ**) *calf*, (— **ti**) *forearm*.

(SMITH 1972 510.)

1914 *kpas; *kpa[i]s; by metathesis *[p]kas side of body.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Praok **pɔ**; ~ (*krpas >) Sre **rəpas** *floor-joist, rib*, Chrau **[nti:ŋ] rəpaih** *rib*; → Bahnar **kəpah** *one side*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **[nti:ŋ] pa:ih** *rib*.

C: (Mon, North Aslian; ~ *[p]nkas >) Nyah Kur **[cəlur:t] ŋkayh**, Pangan **bengkəh** *rib* (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 101).

Connect Stieng **rəpa:i** *side of body*, (**ti:ŋ** —) *rib*; the same correspondence ad 1944 ***la[i]s**.

*1915 *kpaas cotton.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Viet-Mường) (Khmer **ba:h pās** cotton threads tied round corpse ←?) Stieng **pa:h**, Chrau **pa:ih** cotton; ~ Khmer **krəpa:h krapās**, Kuy (k)**pa:h**, Bahnar **kəpayh**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔaphaih**, Lawa Umphai **rapas**, Mường **pái** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **vải** cotton; ~ Khasi **kynphad**, **kymphad** (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.).

Cf. Riang-Lang **ṭpay**, probably contaminated by Tai (cf. BENEDICT 1975 427, yarn). (SHAFFER 1965 477; SMITH 1972 506; HAUDRICOURT 1965, 171.)

Proto-Austronesian ***kapat'**: Malay **kapas**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 75).

Austroasiatic → Sanskrit **karpāsa-**, see MAYRHOFER 1953-80 i 174.

*1916 *t₂puus; *t₂puəs; *t₂pəs (& *t₂pas?); *t₂piis; *t₂puəʔ to sweep.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Old Khmer **pos**, Modern Khmer **baoh** (→ Chrau **bo:ih?**), Kuy **pə:h**, Stieng **pu:ih**, Jeh **pu:yh** to sweep (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Proto-Semai ***prys** to wipe (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ (*t₂npuus >) Kuy **mpə:h** broom; ~ (Jeh? → Bahnar **həpuyh**, **səpuyh** to sweep.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon **twah**, Modern Mon **kwəh** to sweep (or, with derivation, C), Biat **pə:ih** to remove [rust, scales from fish]; ~ (*t₂np- >) Middle Mon **tamah**, Modern Mon **kəməh** broom; by secondary derivation ~ (*prnuəs >) Stieng **brənu:əh** broom.

C: (South Bahnaric, Katuic, Nicobaric) Sre **pəs**, Biat **pəh** to sweep, (*t₂pas >?), Bru **tapayh** to wipe off, Central Nicobarese **ifa:h-** to brush, sweep, rub off dirt, Nancowry (ʔi)**fáh** brush, sweep; (?) → Röglai **bah**; ~ Biat **mpəh** broom; by secondary derivation ~ Sre **pərnəs** broom.

D: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Palaung **pir**, Riang-Lang **ṭpis**, Praok **pi** to sweep; ~ Bunör **mpih** broom, Riang-Lang **ṭsəmpis** broom, broom-grass; ~ Bateg Nong **təmpəs** to wipe; ~ (*t₂rpiis >) Lawa Bo Luang [khauʔ] **ʔaphaih**, Lawa Umphai [hlaʔ] **rapas** broom-grass.

E: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **pəʔ** to sweep; by secondary derivation ~ Thin **pṛnə** broom. (SCHMIDT 1905 30; SHAFFER 1965 428; BLOOD 1966 48a, b; SMITH 1972 497; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 W 124.)

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***pa[]pat'**: Malagasy **fafa** to sweep, clean, Ngaju Dayak **papas** broom, to sweep (Proto-West-Indonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 115, ***pat'pat'**); (ii) ***qaput'**: Cham (ha)**puh** broom, Malay **hapus** to efface, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 62, ***h-**; Proto-West-Indonesian); (iii) by metathesis ***t'a(N)puq** ~ ***t'apuS**: Malay **sapu** to wipe (off, on), &c.; (*-q) Acehnese **sampoh**, (*-q-[aə]n >) Röglai **hapua** broom; (*-S) Cebuano Bisayan **sapu(ha)** to wipe, Javanese **sapon** sweepings ~ **sapu** broom, to sweep (DEMPWOLFF 1938 149, ***t'apu**); (iv) perhaps (cf. BENEDICT 1975 403, which see) ***t₁a(N)pəS** (& ***piS?**): Malay **tampi** to winnow, Fijian **tavi-a** to sweep, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 131, ***ta(m)pi**; DAHL 1973 § 9.5, 14.9). (POU & JENNER 1975 no. 7.)

1917 *rp[ɔ]s *tool, weapon.*

A: (Mon, Khmer) Old Mon **rawas** /rwəs/ *weapon*, Khmer **rəbɔh rapas** *thing, belonging (s), gear, tool*.

Or *-əs.

1918 *rpuus; *rpuəs; *rpuəʔ *second or fourth finger.*

A: (Mon) Mon **puh [toa]** *index finger*; ~ Old Mon **rumpus** /rəmpus/ [*tey*] *finger*, Modern Mon **kəpuh** *index finger*.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar dialects [**kɔ:n**] **pɔ:ih**, **pə:ih** *fourth finger* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Sre [**ti**] **poa** *fourth finger*.
Connection uncertain Stieng **bɔh** *index finger*.

(*baas see 2032 *bah to flow out.)

1919 *knbis *freshwater shrimp.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **kəmpùh kəmbis**, Chrau **kəmvih**.
Chrau excludes *-b-.

1920 *c[b]as *light, clear.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **cbah cpās** *clear, evident, shinging*, Stieng **cəbɛh** *clear, pure*, Kammu-Yuan **pàh** *to be light, to shine; (day) light*, Lawa Bo Luang **puah**, Lawa Umphai **phuas**, Mae Sariang **puaih** *light, bright*.

Connect 1873 *iʔaas to shine? Cf. also 7 *cʔaas &c. *clear, clean*.

1920a *[c]nbaas *mouth of fish-trap.*

A: (Kuy, North Bahnaric) Kuy **mphiah**, Bahnar **səmayh**.

‡1921 *[l]baas *plain, expanse.*

A: (Mon, Viet-Muong) Muong **pai** (BARKER 1966 23), Vietnamese **bãi** *flat expanse*; ~ Literary Mon **labah** *plain*.

Proto-Austronesian *la(N)bat': Malay **lawas** *clear, vacant...*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 89; Proto-Hesperonesian).

(*bi[]s see 2038 *buh ...to boil.)

1921a *bəs *snake.*

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **pùəh bas'**, Sre **bəs**, Chrau **vih**, Biat **beh**, Bahnar **bih** (!), Jeh **bàyh**, Halang **bèh**, Central Nicobarese **pai^c**, **pai^j** (!), Nancowry **pác**.

Bahnar contaminated by **bih** *poison* ← Sanskrit **viṣa-**/Pali **visa-**.
(SHAFFER 1965 40; BLOOD 1966 43; SMITH 1972 494.)

(***bu(u)s** see 2038 ***buh** to bubble, boil; *[t₂]**bee[s]** see 123 *[t₂]**be[e]?** Job's tears.)

1922 *mus; *muus to clear for cultivation.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **mu:ih** (or **B?**), Sre **mus**, Chrau **mu:ih**, Biat **mu:ih** to clear [forest].

B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Bahnar **muyh**, Jeh, Halang **mu:yh** to clear [forest], Proto-Semai ***muus** to break ground in order to extract something (DIFFLOTH 1977). (SMITH 1972 496.)

(***muus** see also 2045 ***muh** nose; ***cmas** see 1894 ***k[m]cas** to sneeze.)

1923 *rmaas; *rmi[i]s rhinoceros.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **rəmi:əh ramās**, Stieng **rəma:ʰh**, Bahnar **rəma:ih** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamaih**; → Cham **ramu:h** (→ Röglai **rəmu?**), Jarai **rəma:h**, North Röglai **lumāh**.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre **rəmis**, Biat **rmih** rhinoceros, (?) Chrau **rəmi:h** gaur. With South Bahnaric fronting cf. 1381 ***m-yaam**; 1651 ***[]maar**. (SCHMIDT 1905 46; SHAFER 1965 211.)

(***yaas** see 1873 ***iʔaas** to shine.)

†1924 *ris; *riis liver.

A, B: (Mon, Palaungic, Aslian) Praok [**rəm**] **ri** heart, mind, Che' Wong **ros** (!), (B) Semai I **ri:s** liver; ~ Old Mon **gris** /**grəs**/ internal organs, Modern Mon **krəh** liver, heart (A), Semelai **gəris** liver.

Add as derivation 1937 ***cris** rib-cage? (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 63, 64 (b).)

Sora ə-'gare:-n, Kharia gə're liver, &c. (PINNOW 1959 181; Proto-Munda ***gəre**).

1925 *ris; *riis; *rəs; *rəs to live; alive, fresh, raw.

A: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **rəh** green, (still) alive, Sre **ris** fresh, raw, (&/or C) Chrau **rih** to live, Biat **reh** to live; alive, raw.

B: (North Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?South Aslian) Proto-Semai ***rees** (DIFFLOTH 1977), (or A?) Semelai **ris** to live; ~ Bahnar **arih**, Gölar Bahnar **hərih** to live; ~ (*[s]**nriis** >) Bahnar **adrih**, Gölar Bahnar **hədrih** green, fresh, raw, Jeh **adrih** unripe, Halang **drih** green.

C: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Khmer **rùəh ras'**, Stieng **reh**, (or A?) Nancowry **ʔəh** to live (< ***yəh**); ~ Khmer **sɾəh sras'** fresh, green.

D: (Central Aslian) Semai I **rə:s** to live.

(BLOOD 1966 50; SMITH 1972 333, 349; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 57 (b).)

1926 *ris; *riəs earthworm.

A: (Khmer) Khmer **rùh rs** [dɿy].

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **riər**.

Riang-Lang **_luar** is < 1666a ***luər**.

1927 *ris; *riəs; *rəs; *rʔiəs (& *rʔis?) root.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Viet-Mường, South Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Mon **rəh**, Nyah Kur **rih** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N81), Khmer **rùh rs**, Kuy **rəh**, Bru **rè:h** (or B), Vietnamese **rẽ**, Semelai **res**, (or D?) Sabum **ye:s**.

B: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Stieng **riəh**, Sre **rias**, Biat **rəh** (probably, rather than C), Jeh **riayh**, Halang **riah**, Kammu-Yuan **riəs**, Palaung **riər**, Riang-Lang **_ries**, Praok **ria**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəh**, Lawa Umphai **res**, Mae Sariang **yəh**, Central Nicobarese **yiəh**.

C: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **rəh**.

D: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Jehai **jəʔis**, Semai **rəʔis**, Proto-Semai ***rʔiəs** (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Chrau **dəye:ih**.

D obscure. Cf. Palaung **viər**; Khasi **trai** (< ***d-riʔ?**). Connection uncertain Santali **rəhə'd**, &c., PINNOW 1959 K 156 (Proto-Munda ***rəhəd**).

(SCHMIDT 1905 54; SHAFER 1965 210; SMITH 1972 502.)

(*ris see also 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

‡1928 *ras; *raas; *riəs to rake, comb, scratch.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Khmer **rəəh rās'** to harrow, rake, Kuy **rəh**, Stieng **rəh** to harrow; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ʔamɔih**, Lawa Umphai **raməs**, Mae Sariang **ʔamɔih** (fruit in combs =) banana.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khasi, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic, South Aslian) (?) Lawa Bo Luang **raih**, Lawa Umphai **ras** to search, Semang **rāis** to scratch (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 52; but perhaps = Temoq **mərac**); ~ Kuy **kra:h** to comb, Jeh **kra:yh** to rake (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Khasi **khrad-khrad** scraping (ly); ~ Mon **krəh** to comb, to harrow, Khmer **krì:əh grās** to search through, Khasi **krad** [hen] to scratch; (IVAN M. SIMON PERS. COM.) to rummage, perhaps by metathesis (***rgaas** >) Riang-Lang **_kas** to comb [hair when wet]; ~ (***craas** >) Bahnar **cra:ih** to scratch, to comb (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **sra:yh**, **kha:yh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Vietnamese **chải** to comb; ~ Biat **ncra:ih** harrow, rake.

C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **crùas**, **crías** to comb.

C contextually conditioned? Add perhaps Palaung **jar** to comb (MILNE 1931) (< ***rjaas** by metathesis < ***jraas?**); & as derivative 1938 ***cra(a)s** to scrape (clean).

Cf. also (i) Mon **khrah** to scratch in the dust, ⇔ Burmese **khrac**; (ii) Riang-Lang **_cəraŋ** comb, perhaps contaminated by **-raŋ** tooth < 709 ***sra[a]ŋ**; (iii) 1935 ***kruus** to rake, scrape.

(Proto-Austronesian ***ka[r]at'**) Cebuano Bisayan **kalas** (to) rake, harrow.

(***ra(a)s**, ***rə(ə)s** see also 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed; ***rəs** see 160 ***rəʔ** dry; ***rus** see 2051 ***ruh** to fall..., 2052 ***ruh** ...virgin.)

1929 *ruus; *ruəs; *riis to grind down, sharpen.

- A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **rù:h rūs** to whet, sharpen, to plane down; ~ Biat **tro:ih** to plane (& **tru:ih** to file; by arbitrary variation?); (?) → Röglai **jəroh** to plane down with dah, → Sre **jəroh**.
 B: (Mon, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_ruas** to whet, sharpen; ~ Mon **həròh darah** &c. spurs of cock, Riang-Lang **_cəruas** barb of arrow &c.
 C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **səntrì:s** spurs of cock.
 C secondary. Note Kammu-Yuan **kréh** to plain.

†1930 *r[]uəs elephant.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rəwas**, Chrau **rəwe:ih**, Biat **rwəh**, Bahnar **royh**, Jeh, Halang **ruayh**.
 Chrau suggests ***rʔuəs**. But perhaps Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ruwas** or the like, cf. 1534 ***ru[wa]y**; then connected by metathesis (***swuər** >) Vietnamese [**con**] **voi**?
 (SHAFFER 1965 209; BLOOD 1966 92; SMITH 1972 511.)
 Sora **rʔa:-n**, compounding form **ra:-n**, Gutob **rʔo:** (PINNOW 1959 K 174).

1931 *ruəs; *rəs (& *ras?); *rəəs; *raas to choose.

- A: (South Bahnaric) Biat **rə:ih** to pick handfuls of; → Cham **rwah**, Jarai **ruah**, Röglai **roah** to choose (→ Sre!); Burmese **rwe:**, → Middle Mon **ruy [cah]**, Modern Mon **rùi**.
 B: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **_ras**, (or ***ras** >?) Lawa Bo Luang **rəih**, Lawa Umphai **rəs**, Mae Sariang **ɣəih** to choose.
 C: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **rə:h rəs**, Bahnar **rəyh**.
 D: (Palaungic) Palaung **rar** (MILNE 1931).
 Cf. Mường **rôy** to gather [flowers] (CUISINIER 1951); Vietnamese **lựa** to choose.
 (SCHMIDT 1905 72; SMITH 1972 495.)

1932 *ruəs quick.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian) Khmer **rù:əh ruəs** quick (ly); ~ Semang **krəs** quickly (i.e. Jehai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 Q 12); ~ Old Mon **pras /prəs/**, Modern Mon **prəh** to be quick.
 Connect Bahnar **hrəh** quick, swift (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (< ***ruəs ruəs**, with *-h by assimilation?); & cf. (i) Proto-Austronesian ***dəyat** to make haste, DEMPWOLFF 1938 39 (> Cham **trə:h** quickly, → Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) [**kə**] **drah** very quick); (ii) Khmer **phləh phlas** quickly (TANDART 1935); Thin **leʔ, ləh** quick.

(***ruəs** see also 2051 ***ruh** to fall, be shed.)

1933 **[k]r[e]s* bear.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **krer**, Riang-Lang **ṽkres**, Praok **kri**, Lawa Bo Luang **khreih**, Lawa Umphai **kres**, Mae Sariang **khyeih**; → Sre **grih** *Melursus ursinus*.
 Sre ← undetermined (probably Bahnaric) source. But Palaungic ***k-** perhaps animal prefix; so cf. Mundari **buṛi**, Birhor **buria** *black bear*, PINNOW 1959 267; with **b-** conceivably contaminated by etymon of Kharia **bənɔi** *bear*, &c.
 (SHAFFER 1965 429.)

1934 **kraas* kind of squirrel.

A: (Bahnaric, Katuic) Stieng **kra:h** *kind of tree-rat*, Chrau **kra:ih**, Bahnar **kraih** *kind of squirrel* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; !), Bru **kra:yh** *small kind of squirrel*; ~ Sre **kəras** *small grey squirrel* (→ Röglai **kərhia:**).
 Connect by metathesis Kammu-Yuan **səŋkár** *giant squirrel*?
 (SHAFFER 1965 491; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 420.)

1935 **kruus* to rake, scrape.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi) Chrau **kru:ih** *slidingly out*, Jeh **trù:yh**, **krù:yh** (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), Palaung **krur** *to rake* (MILNE 1931), Khasi **khru** *to scrape*; ~ (***knruus** >) Jeh **sidru:yh** *scraping-implement* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979).
 Connect 1928 ***ras** &c. *to rake...*? Note also Nancowry **kurís** *to scratch*, **kunrís** *rake*.

1936 **kruəs* (& **kruus*?); **kr[iə]s* gravel.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Viet-Muong, Nicobaric) Khmer **kru:əh** **kruəs** *gravel*, Kuy **kru:h** (< ***-uus**?) *pebbles, gravel*, Stieng **kro:əh** *gravel*, Vietnamese **sỏi p.**, *gravel*, Central Nicobarese **kəyurə** (!) *pebbles*.
 (B; contaminated by 1792 ***[b]riəl** *pebbles*?; Mon) Mon **kreh** *gravel*.
 With Central Nicobarese final cf. **-pəni:wə** < 1912 ***p/n/uəs**.

1937 **cris* rib-cage.

A: (Mon, Central Aslian) Old Mon **cris** /**crəs**/ *womb*, Modern Mon **səh** *chest* (Literary Mon **sruih** *womb, chest, bosom*), Nyah Kur ***cruy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 N146; implies ***-us**!), Sakai **chəris** *rib, side* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 102).
 Originally *heart cavity*, ~ 1924 ***ris** (*heart*;) *liver*?

1938 **cras*; **craas* to scrape (clean).

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Khasi **shrat** (with ***s-** by assimilation?) *to scale [fish] with knife* &c.; ~ Khmer **camrās** (GUESDON 1930), Sre **pəras** (→ Röglai **cəpəras**) *to scrape*.
 B: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, ?Nicobaric) Mon **sah s(r)ah** *to clean [rice] by pounding*, Khmer **cra:h** **crās** *to peel, whittle, scrape, scale, brush, sweep*, Nancowry (ʔi)**sáh**; ~ (***cnraas** >) Mon **kərah** *cleaned [rice]*, Praok **sigra** *to wash*.

~ 1928 ***ra(a)s** to rake, comb, scratch? Khmer **crèəh** clean, pure, clear (~ **cùmvrèəh** to clean) suggests *[c]rah(-s); perhaps construct ***c-ra(a)s** to scrape, ***jraas** < ***jrah-s** to clean, with contamination

1939 *jras; *[j]ruus; *[j]ruəs digit.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian, Katuic, South Bahnaric) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdɔih**, Lawa Umphai **ʔrɔs**, Mae Sariang **ʔʔɔih**, Sakai **jâras** finger, toe (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 109 (a)); ~ (***jnras** >) Kuy **nthrèh** nail, Bru **ntrèh**, (~?) Chrau **kəndraih** middle finger or toe; ~ (***jrras** >) Sre ras [ti, jəŋ] finger, toe.

B: (South Aslian; ~?) Semelai **cəru:s** claw, nail.

C: (North & Central Aslian) ~ Jehai **cənrɔs**, Temiar **cənrɔ:s** claw, nail.

Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***juras**, **B**, **C** by metathesis?

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 1.)

1940 *trus; *truus; *truəs male, virile.

A: (Khmer ...) ~ (***tprus** >) Khmer **proh prus** male; → Danaw **ṽp'roh**; (probably, rather than **B**) ~ Old Khmer **tamrus** male.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Nicobaric) Old Mon **trus** /**trus**/, Modern Mon **kraoh** male, Khmer **traoh tros** male, ungelded [animal], (JACOB 1968) *stalwart*, Kuy **trɔ:h** young and wild [cattle]; ~ Khmer **praoh pros** male, Central Nicobarese **paiyu:h** man, person, Nancowry **payúh**.

C: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **prəh** ungelded.

Danaw ← Riang-Lang ***prɔs**? Connection dubious Sanskrit **puruṣa-**.

(***srɔs** see 160 ***rɔʔ** dry.)

***1941 *las (& *laas?); *laʔ lazy, idle.**

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Palaungic) ~ Old Mon **linlas** /**lənɬɔs**/ to be idle, Modern Mon **kənùh** to be lazy, (~?) Praok **ne** (or **B**) idle, (*-aas?) Central Nicobarese **enla:h-[ŋəʃe]** lazy, Nancowry **lāhŋasi** very little; ~ Biat **rləh** idle.

B: (Palaungic, Khasi, see 189 ***laʔ liiʔ** careless, slovenly.)

Proto-Austronesian (i, ad **A**) *(**S**)al[**ə**]t': Cham (**a**)**lah**, Jarai **alah**, Röglai, North Röglai **alah**, Acehnese **m-alaih**, Malay **m-alas** lazy; → Bahnar **alah** (rather than Malay as DEMPWOLFF 1938 105, ***malət'**); (ii, ad **B**) perhaps ***lələq**: Javanese **lələh** slow, dragging, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *-**h**; Proto-West-Indonesian).

Cf. Sanskrit **alasa-** lazy, apparently → Sora **'adasa:-**. Connection dubious Sora **'rondur:-**.

1942 *[]las time, occasion.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Late Old Mon **las** occasion, Bahnar **lah** (!)time, once, Jeh [ku] **layh** at once, Halang [mə] **leh** [one] time.

Perhaps ***rlas**; **rl-** is not attested in Lamphun inscriptions.

1943 *las; *laas intensive.

- A: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmer) Khmer [cbah]-ləəh *lās* 'very [clear] (?)', Stieng *lēh* *all*.
 B: (Mon) Mon *lēh lēh* [not] *at all*.

(**las* see also 2064 **lah* *to leave*; 2066 **lah* *finished*; **laas* see also ib.; 191 **la?* *to spread, extend*.)

1944 *la[i]s fathom.

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre *la:s*, Chrau, Biat *la:i*h; ~ Bahnar *playh*.
 Connect Stieng *la:i*; the same correspondence ad 1914 **kpa[i]s*. But perhaps = 191 **laas* < **lah-s* ...*to extend*.
 (SMITH 1972 508.)

***1945 *ləs; *l[a]s to weaken.**

- A: (Khmer, Bahnaric) Khmer *lùəh las* 'to reduce, to lose [consciousness]', Sre *ləs* *deterioration [in illness], relapse*, West Bahnar [lo:c] *lih* *to die of [illness &c.]* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
 B: (Katuic; or **li(ə)s*?) Kuy *lēh* *to die*.
 Connection uncertain BLOOD 1966 121 **n₁[]ah* *to get worse*.
 Proto-Austronesian (i) **lələt*': Javanese *lələs* *to lose consciousness*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 94); (ii) **malət*': Toba Batak *malos* *to wilt*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 105; less Malay, ad 1941 **las*).

1945a *ləs to beat, to fight.

- A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Palaung *lær* *to beat*, Praok *la* *to struggle, compete*; ~ Praok *kla* *to strike*; ~ (**krləs* >) Kammu-Yuan *krés* *to beat horizontally with rod*; ~ (*(*k*)*pləs* >) Riang-Lang *plas* *to struggle*.
 Connect perhaps Palaung *luh* *to hit, beat*; then **ləh-s* ~ **luh*.

(**ləs* see also 2067 **loh* *to unravel, unfold*; **ləs* see 195 **lɔ?* *kind of jar or pot*; **lo[]s* see 2067 **loh* *to unravel...*; **luus*, **luəs* see 1084 **luət* *to draw out*.)

1946 *klis to strip [plant].

- A: (Bahnaric) Sre *klis*, Biat *kleh* *to strip [leaves] off*; ~ (**krlis* >) Halang *ləleh* *to cut off thorns*, by metathesis Biat *rkleh* *to remove seeds*.
 Connect A187 **[]keh?* Cf. also Chrau *rēh* *to strip kernels from maize cob*, Proto-Mnong **rēh* *to harvest* (BLOOD 1966 249).

***1947 *klais lightning.**

- A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng *kla:h* *lightning close at hand*; ~ (**knlais* >) Sre *kənas*, Biat *ŋla:i*h, Bahnar *glayh*, Kammu-Yuan *cənrà:s* *lightning*.
 Vocalism rests on Munda.
 Sora 'kila:i-[gum-ən], 'kina:j-[gum-ən].

1948 *cl[ɔ]s to throw.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **klɔh** to throw (at, away) (merging 2072 *c-luəh to abandon); ~ Khmer **crəlɔh cralas'** to throw, hurl.

Or *-əs.

1949 *[d₁l][a]s voice, speech.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **rəs** voice, cry, sound, (?) Praok **lua**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔdɔih** loud; ~ Thin **hrlɔ** word, speech, language.

Cf. Praok **lo** voice, utterance, loud But connection dubious Khmu' **sroʔ** word; as 1964 *rʔah to say, speak.

(*mle[]s see 224 *mleʔ to hate; *rlas see 1942 *[]las time, occasion; *slaas see 231 *slaʔ fire, to burn.)

1950 *was; *waas; *wəs to wave, beckon.

A: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Biat **wah** [ti:] to beckon, Vietnamese **văy** to wave.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vì:əh vās** to gesticulate; ~ Chrau **ləwə:ih** to beckon, wave to.

C: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **văy** = **văy**; ~ Biat **rweh** to beckon. Earlier *wa(a)y-s, ~ 1529 *wa(a)y ...to wave?

1951 *was; *waas; *wəs to measure.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **vəəh vās'** to measure [linear dimensions], Chrau **wayh** to weigh, measure (BLOOD 1966).

B: (Mon, Bahnaric) Mon **wəh** [toa] to count on [one's fingers], Sre **was** to measure [linear dimensions, volume], Bahnar **wa:ih** to measure, weigh (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

C: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **wəy**h to weigh, measure, Biat **wəh** to measure. (BLOOD 1966 255; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 74.)

(*waas see also 2081 *wah (to make an) opening, (clear a) path; *kwis see 1864 *ksiw to whisper; *ɲwəs see 1885 *ɲ[]əs to wake (v.i.); *t₁[wə]s see 1899 *t₁uəs to proclaim; *[l]waas see 2083 *[l]wah wide; *suəs see 2088 *suəh empty.)

1952 *tsiəs to dismember.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **c(h)ies** to tear or pull to pieces with fingertips, Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang **cəh**, Lawa Umphai **ces** to tear (v.i.t.), Mường **thĩa** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **tĩa** to trim, prune, to shell [peas &c.], to beat or kill one by one.

Cf. 1982 *ci(ə)h to split.

1953 *[ts]uəs *dah, knife*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **yoas dah**, Chrau **ye:ih** *bush-knife with long curved handle*, Palaung **[bot] suər**, Riang-Lang **c(h)uas** *knife, dagger*.

Connect perhaps (***tnsuus** > ?) Chrau **[pih] kəno:ih** *curved knife*.

1954 *chəs (chəs) [*foot*] *to strike ground*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kəchəh** *trot* (< ***chəs chəs**); by secondary derivation ~ Riang-Lang **təkchas** *to paw the ground*.

(***chuu[s]** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** *to rot*.)

1955 *thaas *salver, tray*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Middle Mon **thah** *large metal dish*, Modern Mon **thah** *brass tray*, Old Khmer **thās**, Modern Khmer **tha:h** *metal tray*, Kuy **tha:h**, Stieng **tha:h**, Chrau, Biat **tha:ih** *large tray*; → Thai **thāat**.

(SCHMIDT 1905.)

(***ʔeh** see 1963 ***bVʔeh** *to abuse*.)

1956 *ʔah *flesh, meat*.

A: (Khmuic, Nicobaric) Kammu-Yuan **àh**, Central Nicobarese **ā:hə**, Nancowry **ʔāha**.

1957 *ʔəh *younger sibling*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **oh**, Chrau, Biat, Bahnar **əh**, Jeh, Halang **oh**.

Cf. 5 ***ʔ[ə]ʔ** *elder sibling*.

(SHAFFER 1965 504; BLOOD 1966 258; SMITH 1972 380.)

1958 *ʔuh; *ʔa[]h; (*ʔuh ʔuh > ?) *huh (& *huuh?); *huəh; *ha[]h *to blow*.

A: (Bahnaric, Central & South Aslian) Sre, Chrau **uh**, Biat **oh** *to blow [wind instrument]*, Semelai **[ʔah]ʔəh** *to blow, shoot with blowpipe*, Mah Meri **ʔəh** *to blow*; ~ Bahnar **səʔuh** *to breathe out*; ~ Proto-Semai ***tʔuh** *to shoot with blowpipe* (DIFFLOTH 1977); ~ Temoq **bərʔəh** *to blow*.

B: (South Aslian, Nicobaric) Semelai **ʔah[ʔəh]** *to blow, to shoot with blowpipe*, Central Nicobarese **ā:h** *life*.

C: (Palaungic, Khasi, Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ho:ih-[ā:hə]**, Nancowry **hús** *air* (< ***huuh?**; beside **ho:f-hətə** [*wind*] *to blow*; contaminated by 877 ***huuc** *to whistle?*); ~ Praok **phu**, Lawa Umphai **phoh** [*wind*] *to blow*; ~ Khasi **pyrhut** *breezy, windy*.

D: (Palaungic, Nicobaric, Katuic) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **phuah** [*wind*] *to blow*, Nancowry **huās** *to pant*, Bru **rahuah** *to breathe shallowly*.

E: (Nicobaric) Central Nicobarese **ha:h-[haiŋe]** *to sigh* (& **hā:f** *wind*), Nancowry **hās** *wind*.

Onomatopoeic Palaung **huuh** to *gulp in [air]*, ~ **kənhuuh** to *sigh*, is rather < 2087
 ***suh** to *make sibilant sound*. Note Vietnamese **thở** to *breathe*; Kuy **ḡḡh** to *breathe*,
 Bru **taṇuḡh** to *breathe*.

1959 ***ʔuuh** to *ululate*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ṽu** [*dogs*] to *howl*, Khasi **ud** to *groan*,
complain, [*insect*] to *whine*; ~ Biat **mʔuh** [*bull*] to *bellow*, Kammu-Yuan **pəʔuḡh**
moaning sound.

Connect perhaps (i) A186a ***rnʔəh** to *lament*; (ii) Khmer **pruḡh** **bruḡh**, Stieng **bluh** to
bark (< ***mrʔuh** by metathesis < ***rmʔuh**? then to be separate Kuy **kroh**,
 Vietnamese **sũa**, < ***kru(ə)h**; Central Rölöm, Bunör **grəh**, B260, ← Indonesian
 ***də[ɣr]ut'**: Cham **krəh**, &c., Acehnese **droih**).

1960 ***cʔeh**; (***cʔeh-s** >) ***cʔees** to *stink*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **chʔeh** **ch'eh** (*to*) *stink*; ~ Mon **həeh** **ja'eh** to
stink; ~ Khmer **cəmʔeh**, Stieng **ciʔih** *feral smell, stink of urine* &c.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Stieng **e:h**, **i:h** to *smell (v.t.)*; ~ Khmer **cəmʔaeh** **cam'əs**
feral smell, stink of urine (SAVEROS LEWITZ PERS.COM.).

Cf. Khasi [**iw-tung iw**]-*sit smell of urine*; & 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to *rot*, with which Kammu-
 Yuan **úas**, **ʔwúas** to *stink*, may rather be connected.

(SCHMIDT 1905 26; cf. PINNOW 1959 K 193a.)

(***cʔah** see 7 ***cʔaʔ** *clear, clean*.)

1961 *[**c**][**m**]**ʔah** *nasal mucus*.

A: (Palaungic, North Aslian) Riang-Lang **sʔa** *excreted nasal mucus*, Semang **hēmah**
mucous discharge from nose (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98;
 contaminated by **hāmoh** < 1655 ***s/n/muər?**).

(***cʔuh** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to *rot*.)

*1962 *[**t**₁]**ʔah**; (***t[ʔ]ah-s** >) ***t[ʔ]aas** *forehead*.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic; ~ ***[t₁]rʔah** >) Kammu-Yuan **kətáh**, Palaung **kədah**.

B: (Khmer, South Bahnaric; ~ ***tn[ʔ]aas** >) Khmer **thja:h** **thniās**, Stieng **taṇaʔh**.

Connection dubious Semang **ɔwɔs** (i.e. Kintaq Bong), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 224;
 as 1699 ***rʔal** &c.

Proto-Austronesian ***d₁aqiS**: Malay **dahi**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 41, ***[dd]ahaj**; DYEN
 1965; DAHL 1973 § 14.5). See BENEDICT 1975 284, *face*... .

1963 Pre-Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bVʔeh** > ***ḡeh**, Pre-Palaungic ***ʔeh** to *abuse*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **beh** [**lèak**], Biat [**tə:m**] **beh**, Palaung **eh**.

1964 *rʔah to say, speak.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Stieng **lah** to speak, say..., Sre, Biat **lah**, Palaung **dah**, Riang-Lang **ṽda**, (~?) Praok **a**, Lawa **ʔah**, Mae Sariang also **ʔauh** to say; ~ Riang-Lang **rəma** to speak, talk, to call; by secondary derivation ~ Bateg Deq, Bateg Nong **kədəh** to say.

Cf. Kammu-Yuan **sa**, **sah** to say that... . But connection dubious Bahnar **pəma**: speech; to say, speak; as **1949** *[d₁l][a]s voice, speech.

(BLOOD 1966 304; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 360 (b).)

(*rlʔəh see 1700 *rʔəlh each, every.)

1965 *lʔəh; (*lʔəh-s >) *lʔəəs to make, do.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Stieng, Sre, Biat **ləh** to do, Bahnar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) **ləh** to allow to, Kammu-Yuan **əh** to make, do; ~ (*lmʔəh >) Lawa Bo Luang **ʔboh**, Lawa Umphai **woh** to build.

B: (Palaungic; *lʔəəs lʔəəs > *ur-ur >?) Palaung **rur** to do, make, work, build. Connection uncertain Praok **yu**, Lawa **yuh** to make, do.

(BLOOD 1966 403.)

1966 *sʔuh; *sʔuuh to sweat.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Khmer **sʔoh s'uḥ** sultry, stifling; ~ (*smʔuh >) Bahnar **bəuh** (to) sweat; → North Röglai **[ta]baʔuh**; ~ (*srʔuh >) Kuy **sʔoh** overheated, Chrau **səʔuh** sweaty [hands], West Bahnar **həuh** sweating violently (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Röglai **həuh** sweat, Acehnese **röʔoh** (to) sweat; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **[om] rəmuḥ** sweat (MILNE 1931).

B: (Palaungic) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **[om] rəmuḥ** sweat (MILNE 1931). Connect Jeh **kasuʔ**, Halang **kəsuʔ**? cf. SMITH 1972 324.

1967 *k[i]i[h]; *kiə[h] kind of deer or goat.

A: (Khmer, Palaungic) Khmer **kaeh kəḥ** kind of deer or mountain goat horns of which are used in medicine, Lawa Bo Luang **kaiḥ**, Lawa Umphai **ces** kind of deer (Rangsit mountain goat); → North Röglai **keh** ibex, mouse deer.

B: (Khasi, Katuic) Khasi **khiat** moss-deer, musk-deer, Bru **kəḥ** mountain goat, Pacoh **kəḥ** mountain goat.

Or *-s? if so, A *kais. Cf. Thai **kèʔ** sheep.

1968 *[]kah to unfasten.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Biat **[tə:m] khah** (!) to take apart, Bahnar **kah** to separate (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin **kăh**, Palaung, Lawa **kah**, Praok **ka** to untie; ~ Biat **ṽkhah** to separate, push aside, Praok **ga** to be loosened, displaced, to displace, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔangah**, Lawa Umphai **ṽgah** to be separated.

Cf. Vietnamese **cởi, cởi** to untie, unfasten.

1969 *kəh to cut (down).

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian, Nicobaric) Kuy **koh** (!) *to lop*, Stieng **kəh** *to cut, lop*, Sre **koh** *to cut (down, up)*, Biat **kəh** *to cut (up, off)*, Bahnar **kəh** *to cut*, Jeh **koh** *to chop*, Halang **koh** *to chop, cut*, Kammu-Yuan **kóh** *to cut*, Palaung **koh** *to cut (down, off)*, Semai **koh** *to cut*, Nancowry **ʔukóh** *to murder*; → Cham, Acehnese **kəh**, Röglai, North Röglai **koh**; ~ Kuy (ŋ)**kah** *to chop [wood]*; ~ Khasi **dkhot** *part, piece, member*.

Connect Palaung **ŋoh** *to lop, cut branches off*. Cf. 958 *ka(a)t.

(SHAFFER 1965 55; SMITH 1972 381; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 295.)

(*cnk[i]h see 18 *cnk[i]ʔ waist.)

1970 *ckəh dry.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəh skah** &c. *to be dry*, Proto-Nyah Kur *cəkəy̯ (DIFFLOTH 1984 V248; implies *-s), Stieng **khə:h, kə:h** *dry, dried up* (& **khə:**; → Khmer **khah khah**, → Stieng **kha:h** *dry, dried up?*), Biat **kəh** (*dry*) *land*, (— **da:k**) *landing-place*, Sre **kəh** *sloping*; ~ Middle Mon **jamkah** *dry*.

Sre by attraction etymon of Biat **kər** *slope*? Connection obscure Bahnar **khə:**, **khəh** *dry* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); Vietnamese **khô**; Cham **khauw**. Cf. 2086 *s[ɔ]h &c.; 160 *rɔʔ &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 10.)

1971 *jkuh; *jkuəh white, clean.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) Mon **kəh** *to be white*, Khmer **skùh sguh** *pure white*, Sre **kuh** *pale grey*.

B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **gəh** *clean, white* (→ Jeh **goh** *clean*); ~ Bahnar dialects **cəguah** *clean, white* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*j**bkuəh** >) Sre **səkoh**, Chrau **səkəh** *to clean, sift [rice]*, Bahnar dialects **pəguah** *to clean* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

Connect Proto-Semai ***bkooh** *shiny greyish- white* (DIFFLOTH 1977) Cf. 25 *skɔʔ *grey-haired*.

(Cf. SMITH 1972 385.)

***1972 *[d]kah; *lkas to break.**

A: (Mon, ?North & Central Aslian) ~ (*[d]**nkah** >) Mon **həkah dakah** &c. *to break (v.i), burst, split, crack*, ~ (*[d]**bkah** >) Mon **həkah** *to break (v.t.)*, (or Indonesian →) Central Sakai **bəkah** *to crack*.

B: (Kuy, Khasi) Kuy **ŋkah** *brittle*, Bru **luŋkayh** *fragile*; Khasi **dkhat** *to break off, snap*.

A cf. 2074 ***klah**. Connection dubious Sre **dərkaʔ**, Röglai **jərkaʔ** *to break in two* unless Sre ← Röglai ← Mon-Khmer, (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 375.)

(~) Proto-Austronesian ***bə(N)kaq**: Javanese **běngkah** *to split*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 26; DYEN 1953 § 113). Note also Malay **chěkah** *to split open by pressure*.

1973 *dk[a]h to remember.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Sre **kah** to remember, to miss, feel nostalgic about, Chrau **kah**, Biat **kah** [gwt] to remember, Central Nicobarese **əka:h** to know, understand, Nancowry **káh**, **ʔakáh**; ~ Khmer **tùəŋkùh** (!) **daŋgih** to think sadly about, Sre **tənkah** to remember, recall.

Khmer vocalism obscure.

(SHAFFER 1965 45.)

1974 *gah side, edge, direction.

A: (Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **gah** side, border, edge, Bahnar **gah** direction, towards; (probably) → Cham **kà:h**, Jarai **ga:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **gah**; ~ (***.ngah** >) Kuy **ṇàh** rim, edge, Bahnar dialects **ṇah** edge or mouth of hole &c. (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **ngả** direction, way.

1975 *gah; (*gah-s > ?) *gaas outside.

A: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar dialects **agah** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ↔ North Röglai **aga**; ~ ↔ Röglai **təgah**; Jarai **pʰga:h**, Jarai dialect **ga:h**.

B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **ga:h**; ~ **aga:h**; ~ Bahnar **ʔṇayh**.

Connect obscure Old Mon **rumnās** /**rəmṇas**/, Modern Mon **pəṇèh**.

(SCHMIDT 1905 42.)

1976 *guh; *guus to swell.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **guh** to open, to swell (MILNE 1931), Praok **go** [gluŋ] to swell.

B: (Mon, Palaungic) Mon **kùh** to swell up, Proto-Nyah Kur ***kuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V250), Palaung **guh** to open, to swell (MILNE 1931).

Cf. further Palaung **gu** to swell with damp.

1977 *guh; *guuh; (?) *guəh to glow, burn.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **pgoh** /**pguuh**/, Modern Mon **həkəh** to blow (originally ...into flame?).

B: (Palaungic) Palaung **guh** to blaze; ~ (***pguuh** >) Riang-Lang **_ku** to blow (out).

C: (South Bahnaric; ?) Sre **goh** bright, light (→ Röglai).

Add following? Cf. also 1575 ***gəər** to catch fire.

1977a *guuh red.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat **guh** reddish, russet, Bahnar dialects **goh**, **go:** red (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

= preceding?

1978 *g[uə]h to knock, beat, hit.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kùəh goh** to kick or kick away, beat [gong, mat], knock [e.g. at door], Kuy **khà:h** to knock, tap on, Chrau **gəh** to knock, hit, Biat **gəh** to knock at [door], beat [gong]; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ŋgah**, Lawa Umphai **ŋgoh**, Mae Sariang **ŋguh** to hit, beat, (~?) Vietnamese **gõ** to knock on, tap, rap.

1979 *d₁ngah crossroads.

A: (Khmuic, Viet-Mường) Thin **[ŋər] tǎŋga**, Vietnamese **ngã** [*ba* &c.].

(*rg(u)əh, *rguuh see 29 *rguu? to shake.)

†1980 *sgeh to acquire, possess.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Old Mon **-sghi /sgeh/** to be rich, Literary Mon **sgeh** to prosper, to be endowed with, Sre **geh** to have, possess, Biat **geh** to have, possess, to acquire, Chrau **geh** to have, be, to be able.

(BLOOD 1966 246.)

Sora **bo'ge-** to become rich, probably = **bu'ge-** to become stout (& Santali **boge** good, &c., PINNOW 1959 229?).

(Proto-Austronesian ***t'ugiq**) Javanese **sugih** rich, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 67; Proto-Malayo-Javanese). If Mon-Khmer → Indonesian, borrowing route obscure.

(*ŋ[ɔ]h see 30 *ŋ[ɔ]ʔ to fear.)

1981 *t.ŋ[ɔ]h cranium.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **təŋoh** brain, West Bahnar **təŋəh** skull (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(*sŋih see 37 *sŋi? house.)

1982 *cih; *ciəh to split (v.t.).

A: (Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **saih** to cut up, divide up.

B: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung **səh** to split [wood] into splinters (& to tear; ← Riang-Lang **ciəs** < 1952 ***tsiəs**, which compare?), Mường (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 209), Vietnamese **chẻ** to split [wood] (& Vietnamese **xẻ** to split up, cut (up), saw up; contaminated by **xé** to tear < 1689 ***chiər??**); ~ Kuy **ceh** to hatch (v.t.), Bahnar **ceh** to hatch.

Cf. 291 ***caak** &c.

1983 *ceh; *ce? kind of jar.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic) Mon **ceh** small jar, Old Khmer **ceh** jar, Bru **ceh** jar; → Jarai **chəh** jar, Röglai **ceh** squat type of jar, North Röglai **ceh** jug; → Bahnar **ceh** jar (GUILLEMINET 1959-63)?

B: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **ché** jar.

‡1984 ***cuḥ**; ***cuəḥ** to *kindle, blow into flame*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khasi, ?Nicobaric) Bahnar **səḥ** (with vocalism as in 527 ***cuuṅ**), Jeh, Halang **cuḥ** to *light, kindle*; ~ Sre **sənuḥ** *bellows*; ~ Khasi **pyrsut** to *blow; bellows*, ?Nancowry **jōḥ** *chafe, burn*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **səḥ** to *light, kindle*.

(SMITH 1972 373.)

Proto-Austronesian ***k'uqk'up** to *light, kindle*: Acehnese **coh**, Cham, Jarai, North Röglai **cuḥ**, Malay **chuchoh**, Tagalog **suso** (so Proto-Hesperonesian). Khasi at least not ← Indonesian!

1985 ***cuḥ** to *bend down, to go down*.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi) Old Khmer **cuḥ**, Modern Khmer **coh** to *go down, to submit, obey*, Stieng **cuḥ** *tame, broken in*, Khasi [**ar**]**sut** *down, downwards*, (~; or with **c-** by levelling on der.) Kammu-Yuan **cúḥ** to *bend down, look down*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəncúḥ** to *bend down*.

To go down by attraction 1887 ***cis** &c.?

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

1986 ***[c][u]h**; ***[c][u]ʔ** to *wake*.

A: (Palaungic, ?South Bahnaric) Biat **chōḥ** to *arise, come into being* (?; if cognate, ***c-**), (~ʔ) Praok **so** to *rouse*; ~ Palaung **rəsūḥ** to *wake* (v.i.).

B: (Khasi) ~ Khasi **kyrsiew** to *wake* (v.t.).

1987 ***[ʔ]cəḥ** to *peck, to strike with adze, hoe, &c.*

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, North & Central Aslian) Khmer **cəḥ coh** [e.g. woodpecker] to *make hole in [tree]*, Kuy **cəḥ** to *undergo vaccination, to plant*, Stieng **cəḥ** [bird, snake, fish] to *bite, peck at*, Biat **cəḥ** to *chop up, mince*, Bahnar **cəḥ** to *break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe*, Kammu-Yuan **sóḥ** to *cut [firewood]*, chop, hoe, Pangan [**ya**]-**chah** to *chop at* (i.e. Mendriq, Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296); → Cham **cəḥ** to *dig with hoe*, Jarai **cəḥ** to *break up earth with hoe, weed with hoe*, Röglai **coh** to *dig with hoe, to split firewood*, North Röglai **coh** to *peck*, Acehnese **cəḥ** to *peck, [snake] to strike*; ~ Sre **jəcoh** to *chop up, mince*, Chrau **təcəḥ** to *chop up*, Bahnar **cəcəḥ** to *chop, to flatten with dah*; → Cham **tacəḥ**, Jarai **tʰcəḥ**, Röglai **jəcoh**, North Röglai **ticoh** to *chop up, mince*.

= 1989 ***[t]c[ɔ]h** to *kick*, which compare? Cf. also following & 1993 ***juuh** &c.

(***kcah** see 1892 ***kcas** charcoal.)

1988 ***[k]cuḥ** to *pierce*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Sre (→ Röglai) **cuḥ**, Biat **coh** to *pierce holes in*, Palaung **cəḥ** to *chisel*, Besis **chōḥ** to *pierce, penetrate* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 C 296).

Cf. preceding & 1993 *juuh &c. *to peck...*

1989 *[t]c[ɔ]h to kick.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Sre **coh**, Chrau **cɔh**, Palaung **coh**, **cɔh** (MILNE 1931), Semang **tějāh** (i.e. Kintaq Bong; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 K 23 (a)); → Cham **cɔh**, Rōglai **coh**.

Cf. A179 *[k]cəs. = 1987 *[ʔ]cɔh *to peck...*? If so, the same semantics in Mon **bək**.

***1990 *[p]cah to break.**

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **cah** *to break in pieces*, Biat **cah** *(to get) broken*, Bahnar **cah** *broken* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Sre **bəcah**, Chrau **pəcah** *(to get) broken*, Bahnar **pəcah** *to break (v.i.t.)*; (by secondary derivation?) ~ Bahnar dialects **kəcah** *splinters, sherds* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 285.)

Proto-Austronesian *pək'aq: Cham **pacah** *to break*, &c., Malay **pěchah** *broken*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 116, *-h; DYEN 1953 § 62); ~ *k'aqk'aq: Javanese **chachah** *chopped fine*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 86, *k'ak'ah; add Cebuano Bisayan **sàsa** *to crack and flatten bamboo*). Mon-Khmer ← Indonesian?

(*pca[]h see 1895 *pcaas *sour*.)

1991 *jah to scatter.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Mon **cèh** *to be diffused, wafted, (prah —) scattered*, Khmer **cèəh jah** *to throw [water] from container*, Kuy **chà:h** *to throw [liquid]* with secondary lengthening, Palaung **jah** *to spread [seed] out*; → Thai **chá** *to rinse, wash, purify*.

***1992 *juh distant.**

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **juh**.

Proto-Austronesian *d'a(S)uq: Malay **jauh**, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 47; with *da'əh, DEMPWOLFF 1938 37, = *Za(S)uq, DYEN 1951, DAHL 1973 § 16.4; contra, SHORTO 1975 94).

1993 *juuh; *juəh to peck, dart and strike.

A: (South Bahnaric) Chrau **ju:h** *to stab*.

B: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) Bahnar **jɔh**, Jeh, Halang **joh** *to peck, [snake] to strike*; ~ (? , *jrjuəh by metathesis >) Biat **jrɔh** *to dig with a spade*.

Cf. 1987 *[ʔ]cɔh (also for semantics); 1988 *[k]cuh *to pierce*.

(SMITH 1972 384.)

1994 *juuh; *jəh; *juu? to stay, linger.

A: (Palaungic) Palaung **juh** to stay; ~ Riang-Lang **təkcū** to perch, rest.

B: (Bahnaric) Bahnar **jəh** to rest, stay (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Biat **njəh** to stay, take refuge.

C: (Kuy, South Bahnaric) Kuy with secondary lengthening **chà:u** to stop, Bru **càw** (!), Sre **jou** to visit.

Cf. Old Mon **jūl** /**jul**/ to cease from activity, Modern Mon **cū** to rest.

†1995 *[r]njuh; *[r]njuuh; *[r]nj(u)əh to shake.

A, B: (Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **kəpəcūh kañjuh** to shake (v.t.) (TANDART 1935), Kuy (A) **(kh)chūh** to shake (out), West Bahnar **rəyuh** to shake (v.t.) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese **(b) giũ** to shake [dust, water] off; → Cham **yuh** to tremble, to shake (v.t.), Jarai **rəyuh** to shake violently, Rōglai **ayuh** to shake.

C: (Mon) Mon **kəyòh layah** to shake off.

Cf. 1898 ***jas** to shiver. Connect Nancowry **kumcéh** to shake, Bru **?ayèh**.

(~) Sora **ju:-** to shake (v.i.t.). Cf. Kharia **jur-**, &c., PINNOW 1959 138.

(***nah** see 60 ***ja?** person.)

1996 *t₁ih large.

A: (Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Chrau **tih** wide, spacious, Biat **teh**, Stieng, Bahnar **tih**, Jeh, Halang **tih**, South Nicobarese **[om]tē** large.

(SMITH 1972 337; cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 205 (a).)

(***t₁ih**, ***t₁iəh** see (also) 64 ***t₁i?** earth, ground.)

1997 *t₁eh to hit, strike, beat, kick.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Mon **teh** to kick backwards, Kuy **teh** to strike [e.g. flint on steel], Sre (→ Rōglai) **teh** to hit with downward movement, Bahnar **teh** to hit with small stick, to beat flat, beat out, Kammu-Yuan **tés** to strike fire, Lawa Bo Luang **təih** to kick; ~ Sre **tərneh**, Bahnar **təneh**, Kammu-Yuan **tərnès** tinder-box.

Separate Riang-Lang **ti** to strike, hit, beat, ← Shan **tí** to strike lightly ← Burmese **tī**.

1998 *t₁ah; (*t₁ah-s >) *t₁aas; *t₁a? level.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Mon **[təp] tah** to be level, West Bahnar **tah** **[ta:ŋ]** flat, level (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Riang-Lang (***təkta** by secondary expansion >) **tak ta** scraper for threshing-floor.

B: (Mon) Middle Mon **tah**, Modern Mon **tah** to level.

C: (Khmer, Khasi, Nicobaric) Khmer **da: t̃ā** stone slab, Central Nicobarese **tə:** flat, level, Nancowry **té** level; ~ Khasi **pynthā** plain.

(SCHMIDT 1905 12, 18.)

‡1999 *t₁ɔh *breast, mamma*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *tohh* /tɔh/, Modern Mon *tɔh*, Old Khmer *toh*, Modern Khmer *dɔh*, Kuy, Stieng *tɔh*, Sre *toh breast*, Chrau [da:ʔ] *tɔh milk*, Biat, Bahnar *tɔh*, Jeh, Halang *tuh*, Praok *tu*, Lawa Umphai *taus*, Mae Sariang *tauh* (!), Semelai *tuh*, Central Nicobarese *toəh breast*, Nancowry *tuáh*; ~ Stieng *kətoh*, Chrau *gətoh breast*. Waic suggests a variant *t₁uus; by expressive deformation? Cf. 2005 *kt₁əh *chest*. (SCHMIDT 1905 12; SHAFFER 1965 19; BLOOD 1966 264; SMITH 1972 372; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 387 (a).)

Santali *toa*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 263).

(?) Proto-Austronesian *t'u(S)t'uS: Cham *tathow*, &c., Malay *susu*, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158-9, *t'ut'u; SHORTO 1975 97, contra DAHL 1973 § 16.1). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 35.)

2000 *toh *to remove*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer *dɔh toh to take [clothes] off, to free, release* (→ Stieng *dɔh to untie, untether, free, redeem*), Kuy *tah to take [clothes] off*, Sre *toh to recover [property]*, Biat *toh to remove [honey from nest]*, Bahnar *tɔh to take out, remove*.

2000a *t₁uh *to regenerate* (?), *re-cultivated land*.

A: (Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khmer) Khmer *doh tuh to grow, sprout, bud* (?), Kammu-Yuan *túh fallow in year after cultivation*; ~ (*t₁npuh >) Sre *mpuh field cultivated for two years*, Biat [neh] *mpoh cultivated [land]*, Bahnar [mir] *təpuh* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) (East Bahnar; West Bahnar *puh*) *[field] cultivated for three years*.

2001 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh *to beat esp. with implement*.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) Literary Mon *toh, tuh to raze, level, smooth, beat down* (by attraction 1998 *t₁ah-s), Bahnar *toh to hit (violently), beat* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Thin *təh to hit with stick*.

B: (Palaungic) Palaung *toh* (or A?), Riang-Lang *tu*, Lawa Bo Luang *tauh*, Lawa Umphai *toh to pound*.

2002 *t₁uh; *t₁uuh; *t₁uəh; *t₁əh *bean*.

A, B: (South Bahnaric) Biat *toh* (A), *tuh*, Stieng *tu?* (!; BLOOD 1966 *to:h*), Chrau *tu:h* (B).

C, D: (North Bahnaric) Jeh, Halang *toh* (C), Bahnar *təh* (D).

Cf. Vietnamese *đậu, đỗ*.

(BLOOD 1966 30; SMITH 1972 355.)

2003 *tuh; *tuəh; *təh to pour out.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, ?Palaungic) Biat **toh** to pour [paddy] out, Sre, Bahnar **tuh** to pour out, Mường **tố** (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **đổ** id., to spill; (?) ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ndauh**, Lawa Umphai **ndoh**, Mae Sarian **ndoh**, **nduh** to fall, let fall, put in.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **tuəh** to draw, transfer, sprinkle [liquid].

C: (South Bahnaric, ?North & Central Aslian) Sre **təh** to put [cooked rice] into individual bags (DOURNES 1950), Biat **təh** to decant, (?) Lanoh Jengjeng **təh**, Temiar **tə:h** rain. If Lawa is cognate, *t₁-.

2004 *t₁uu[h]; *t₁uəh; *t₁uu? to rub, clean by rubbing.

A: (Mon, Khmer) Mon **taoh tuh**, **toh** to rub, scrub, scour, Khmer **doh tus!** to rub, scrub, polish; → Cham **ḍauḥ**; Thai **t^hūu**.

B: (Khmuic) ~ Kammu-Yuan **həntəh** to rub.

C: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Chrau **tu:** to wash [face]; ~ Biat **rtu:** to wash [face]; ~ (*t₂pt₁uu? > ?) Riang-Lang **səktu?** to launder; ~ (*[t₂]nt₁uu? >) Praok **sidaə** to launder.

Thai appears to confirm *-h. Perhaps construct *t₁uu? to wash; *t₁uuḥ &c. to rub, with contamination. Note also A158 *ktuul ...to whet. (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 34.)

2005 *kt₁əh chest, thorax.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Biat [**ta:ŋ**] **təh**, (merging *breast* < 1999 *t₁əh, which compare.) Praok **tu:**; ~ (*knt₁əh >) Sre **ntəh**, Bahnar **kətəh**, Central Sakai **'ntöh**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 380 (b).)

2006 *[c]t[ɔ]h to spit.

A: (Khmer, Aslian) Khmer **sdəh stoḥ**, Bateg Deq **gətəf**, Temiar **gətəh**, (~) Semelai **tahtəh**.

Cf. 2090 *ksəh; contamination is likely.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 390.)

2007 *trtuh to shake.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **rətuḥ** to shake (v.t.) (& **rətəs**, → Röglai, to shake up and down, by arbitrary deformation?), Chrau **rətuḥ** to shake (out), scatter, Biat **rtoḥ** to shake down, Bahnar **tətuḥ** to shake.

***2008 *bt₁uh; *bt₁uəh; *bt₁[i]h; *bt₁iəh to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.**

A: (Mon, Khmer) Khmer **phtùḥ phduḥ** to crackle, to burst, explode; → Thai **pat^hú?** to explode; Jarai **tuh** to explode; ~ Mon **hətəh batoh**, **batuih** to suppurate, fester, to burst, break out.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **təh** *spark, to give off sparks; (in compounds) eruptive infection*, Sre **toh** *eruption*, Chrau **təh** *pimple*; ~ Chrau **ntəh** *to crackle, explode*; ~ Sre **bərtəh**, Biat **rtəh** *to explode*.

(**C**; or ***-əh?**; Kuy) ~ Kuy **ntəh** *parched rice*.

D: (Palaungic) Palaung **təh** [*lightning*] *to strike, [gun] to go off*.

Connect variously Khmer **khtəh khduh** *pus*; 2015a ***pduh** &c.; 74 ***[b]tuu?** *to burst, pustulate*; (***bti?** > ?) Khasi **bthei** *to explode, to burst*; & cf. following.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; BLOOD 1966 261.)

Sora **'patui-** *to burst*.

Proto-Austronesian (i) ***b[a][ɣ]ətiq**: Malay **bərteh** *parched rice*, &c., perhaps Cebuano Bisayan **bagtì** *bone-dry, parched with heat* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 28, ***bə[t]ih**; Proto-Western-Indonesian or Proto-Hesperonesian); (ii) ***[b]ətuʔ**: Acehese **b/ör/ötoih**, Malay **m/əl/ētus** *to burst, explode*, Javanese **m/1/ětus**, **m/1/ětus** *to spring apart*, (or Mon-Khmer → ?) Cham **patuh**, Röglai **bətu** *to explode*, North Röglai **patuh** *to crackle, explode* (so Proto-Aceh-Cham/Proto-Malayo-Javanese).

2009 ***rt₁ah**; (***rt₁ah-s** >) ***rt₁as**; ***rt₁aas** *to explode*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, ?Kuy) Biat **rtah** *to burst* (& **tah** [**tər**] *(to) thunder*, by phrasal assonance); ~ (***rnt₁ah** >) Mon **hətah** *to burst, explode*, (with secondary lengthening; or **C**?) Kuy **nthà:h** [**pəp**] [*lightning*] *to strike*; ~ Mon [**həkè**] **kətah**, Khmer **rùəntèəh** (& **?əntèəh**) *lightningbolt*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəltàh**, (by back-formation?) **pətáh** *to burst, split open*; ~ Khasi **pyrthat** *thunder*.

B: (Palaungic) Praok **tu** *to flash*, (~?) Lawa Bo Luang [**ta?**] **təuh**, Lawa Umphai **təs** [**ta?**], Mae Sariang **toih** [**ta?**] *lightning*.

C: (North Bahnaric, Katuic) Bahnar **tayh** [*lightning*] *to strike*, Bru **təyh** *thunderbolt*.

Cf. preceding. Sakai (i.e. Semelai) **kərentəh** *thunder*, SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 119, is rather connected to 1622 ***gtər**.

(***dih** see 76 ***di?** *to hit, come in contact with*.)

2010 ***dah** (& ***da?**) *to hit, to meet*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Nicobaric) Late Old Mon **dah** /**dah**/ *to be contiguous with*, Modern Mon **təh** *to hit (mark), meet with, be correct, to fit*, Khmer **təəh dah** *to slap*, Kuy **thà:h** *to slap, to beat [drum] with hands*, Bru **tà:h** (so ***-aah?** or secondary lengthening?), Stieng **dah** *to hit, attack*, (***da?** > ?) Central Nicobarese **tə:-**, **də:-[hətə]** *to touch*, Nancowry **tə?**; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **ndah**, Lawa Umphai **nduah** *to slap, hit*, Praok **de** *to strike, beat*; ~ Khmer **prətəəh** *to encounter, meet by chance*.

Cf. 76 ***di?** &c.

(SCHMIDT 1905 38.)

(***dəh** see 78 ***dəə?** *to stop... .*; ***[d][ɔ]h** see 79 ***[d][ɔ]?** *this, here*.)

2011 *rdeh *cart*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **rətèh radeh**, Kuy **rthèh**, Stieng, Kontum Bahnar **rədeh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Cham **ratè:h**, **ritè:h**, Jarai **r^ade:h**, North Rōglai **radeh**; Thai **rat^hé**; ~ Sre (→ Rōglai) **rəndeh**, Chrau **ndeh**; → Biat **rundeh**.

Sre, & Cham &c., exclude *-d-.

(BLOOD 1966 248.)

2012 *[s][d]i[h] *low, below*.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic). Stieng **dèh**, **dhèh** *under (neath); low*, Biat **dèh**, Kammu-Yuan **tis** *low*; ~ Thin **(h)nde** *low*, Praok **dè** *to be low, (at) the bottom*.

Connect Chrau **ateh** *below*. Note also Nancowry **mi?ihsi** *low*, **mi?ihla** *shallow*, referred **?ih** *near*; **ha?ēhhasi** *to lower*, **la?ēssi** *beneath*, and further **kalóh** *beneath*. For Bahnar **kədəh** *short*, ... see 202 *Gliəh.

2013 *dèh *to be born, to give birth*.

A: (& *to move*, contaminated by 2062 *leh *to go down, out*; Bahnaric, Central Aslian) Stieng, Biat **dèh** *v.i.t.*, Sre **dèh** *to give birth to, lay [egg], put down*, Chrau **dèh** *to give birth*, Sakai **dē** *to lay down* (i.e. Semai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 153 (b)); apparently → Mường **tě** *to be born* (BARKER & BARKER 1976), Vietnamese **đẻ** *to be born*, **đẻ** *to put down*; ~ (*[l]ndeh >) Sre **dèh** *to move (v.i.)*, Bahnar **rəneh** *to be born*; (probably) ~ Biat **ndeh [ntok]** *to move, displace*.

Sora **de:-** *to become* is not connected, cf. PINNOW 1959 333.

(BLOOD 1966 245.)

2013a *đuəh; *đuəh *to stumble*.

A: (Katuic, Palaungic) Kuy **thùh** *to trip over*, Bru **kutòh!**; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkəndo** *to stumble*.

B: (South Bahnaric, ?Khmuic; ~ *kđuəh by secondary derivation ~) Chrau **dəjəh** *to stub toe*, (?) Kammu-Yuan **cəklúah** *slipping up*.

Kuy appears to exclude *kd- in root. But separate? or *gd-.

2014 *t₂dih; *t₂dəh; *t₂dī? *near*.

A: (Khmuic, North Aslian, ?South Bahnaric) Sre (DOURNES 1950), Biat **dih** *outside* (?), Kammu-Yuan **les**, Khmu' **leh**, Kensiu **tədeh** *near*.

B: (South Bahnaric, North & Central Aslian) Stieng **də:h** *near*; ~ (*t₂pďəh >) Mendriq **pəďəh**; ~ Stieng **ndə:h**, (~?) Lanoh **pələndəh**.

C: (Palaungic; ~ *t₂ndī? >) Praok **də** *near, to be about, to be about to, to pertain to*, Lawa Bo Luang **sandai?**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **sandi?** *near*.

Note also Nancowry **?ih**, **?ēh**, **tin?ēh**.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 19.)

2015 *[**ɲ**][**d**]ah; *[**ɲ**][**d**]aah; *[**ɲ**][**d**]aʔ *one of two sides.*

A, B: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **dah** *one of a pair (A)*, Sre, Biat **ḍah**, Jeh **nah** *side* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), *one of two sides*, (**B**) Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese *nửa* *half*; ~ (**A/B**) Bahnar **məʔnah** *part, some...others...*

C: (Katuic) Kuy **na:** *side, direction.*

(BLOOD 1966 289.)

2015a ***p**ḍuh; ***p**ḍuəh; (***p**ḍiəh-s > ?) ***p**ḍiəs *to burst, explode, spark, pustulate.*

A: (North Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Bahnar **ḍoh** *to explode*, **ḍuh** *pus, to suppurate*, Vietnamese **nổ** *to explode*, Nancowry **ʔuróh** *to hatch eggs*; → Jarai **ḍuh** *to explode*; ~ Kammu-Yuan **pəltòh** *to explode*; ~ Palaung **pəḍoh** *parched rice.*

B: (Kuy) Kuy **dah** *to burst, explode*; ~ **bdah** *parched rice.*

C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **dəh** [*sparks*] *to fly*, West Bahnar **dəh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Lawa Bo Luang **teh**, Lawa Umphai **thias** *to give off sparks.*

Connect **2008** ***bt**₁**uh** &c.

2016 *[**s**]ḍuh *to leap, jump.*

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Khmer **stùh** **sduh** *to leap up, spring forward* (with chest register by levelling on derivation); ~ **səmtùh**, **səntùh** *bound, leap*; ~ Sre **səḍoh** *to jump*; ~ Biat **rdoh** *to spring, rush upon, to swoop.*

Sre establishes *-**d**-. Note Bru **badayh** < *-**as** *to leap, jump.*

(***nih** see **91** ***ni**? *this.*)

2017 ***neh** *finished, over.*

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **neh** *to be finished; past auxiliary*, Rōngao **neh** (& **ney**) *formerly, recently* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(***nəh** see **92** ***nə**? *this.*)

2018 ***j**nah *victorious.*

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy) Old Mon **jnah** /**jnah**/, Modern Mon **hnèh**, Old Khmer **jnah**, Modern Khmer **chnèəh**, Kuy **nàh** *to be victorious (over)*; → Cham **canṛh**; ~ Literary Mon **jamnah** *victor*, Khmer **cùmnèəh** *victory.*

2019 ***t**[**rn**]əh *other.*

A: (Mon, Katuic) Middle Mon **tanah**, **tanoh** /**tənh**/, Modern Mon **kənh**, Kuy **nah**, Bru **kanah**.

Katuic probably confirms *-**rn**-.

2020 ***t**₁**n**₁**əh** *mouth.*

A: (Katuic, Khmuic) Kuy **nəh**, Kammu-Yuan **tənh**.

(***[b]nah** see 96 ***[b]na?** *you*.)

2021 *piih to wash [clothes].

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **piih** (!; BLOOD 1966 **peh**), Sre, Chrau **pi:h**, Biat, Bahnar **pih**.
connected 2026 ***puh** *to wash*.
(SHAFER 1965 97; BLOOD 1966 49.)

***2022 *pah; *puh; *puəh to slap, hit.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) (Sre **pah** *to clap, slap, punch* perhaps ← Röglai, below; as Khmer **pah** *to hit* ← Cham) Chrau **pah** *to hit*, Praok **pa** *to strike*, Lawa Bo Luang **poh**, (!) Lawa Umphai **phoh**, Mae Sariang **p(h)oh** (by attraction 2026 ***puh** *to wash*) *to hit, beat, launder*; ~ Vietnamese **vả** *to slap*.
B: (Khmer, North Aslian, Nicobaric) Khmer **boh puh** *to hit with stick*, Lebir, Kerbat **puh** *to strike* (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 496 (c)), Nancowry **ʔufóh** *to stir, beat drum*.
C: (Khmer, Kuy, Palaungic) Khmer **bəh poh**, Kuy **pah** *to hammer, drive in*, Palaung **pəh** *to slap*.
Back vocalism secondary.
Proto-Austronesian ***p[ɣ]pəq**: Malay **pěpah** *to strike, beat*, &c. (NOTHOFFER 1975 75, Proto-Malayo-Javanese ***pəppəh**. Tagalic reflects variants ***paqpaq**, ***piqpiq**; see PRELIMINARY STUDIES...). Cham, North Röglai **pah** *to slap*, Jarai **pah** *to slap, to beat drum*, Röglai **pah** *to slap, clap, punch* are < ***pəqpəq** or ← Mon-Khmer; separate Acehnese **ömpaih** *to beat*, < *-t'.

(***pah** see also 100 ***pa?** *shoulder*.)

2023 *p[ɔ]h (to) flower.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **poh** (to) *flower*, Riang-Lang **ṽpɔ** *bud; to open, flower*, Proto-Semai ***pɣ(ɣ)h** *to blossom* (DIFFLOTH 1977).
= 2029 ***puh** &c. *to open*? Then rather ***pə(ə)h**. (Cf. SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 189.)

2024 *pooh to use a bow.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **poh** /**poh**/, Modern Mon **puh** *to shoot with pellet-bow*, Khmer **bəh poh** *to gin [cotton]*, Praok **[ak] po** *bow*; ~ Mon **nuh pnoh** *pellet-bow*, Khmer **phnəh** *bow for beating cotton*, Vietnamese **nỏ** *crossbow*.
= following? Pangan **puh** *to shoot with blowpipe* is < 2028 ***puh**.
(SCHMIDT 1905 14.)

2025 *p[oo]h to throw (away).

A: (Khmer, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Khmer **bəh poḥ** to throw, (— **baol** &c.) throw away, abandon (→ Kuy **bah** throw away, abandon), Lawa Bo Luang **pəuh**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **peuh** to throw away, Vietnamese **bỏ** to put, cast, to leave, abandon.

= preceding?

***2026 *puh to wash.**

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan **puh** to wash [clothes, hair]; ~ Biat **rpoh** to wash [face].

Connect **2021 *piih** to wash [clothes].

Proto-Austronesian ***puqpuq**: Kelabit **pupuq** to wash clothes, Bikol **puqpuq** to wash anus, &c. (BLUST 1970 no. 310; Proto-Hesperonesian).

***2027 *puh; *puuh reed, split bamboo.**

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric) ~ (***mpuh** >) Mon (k)əpəh **lapuih** kinds of reed used for matting; ~ Khmer **bəboh**, **pəboh papos**! *Aira arundinacea*, used for matting; → Cham **papə**: *Saccharum arundinaceum*; ~ Khmer **prəboh prapos**! reed, by metathesis Sre **proh** rush; → Röglai **bərboh** rush.

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **pu:h** split bamboo used in fields.

(SCHMIDT 1905 24.)

Proto-Austronesian ***palu[]puq**: Malay **pəlupoh**, Javanese **plupuh** split bamboo for flooring, (?) Tagalog **palupoq** rack (DEMPWOLFF 1938 113; Proto-Malayo-Javanese or Proto-Hesperonesian). Perhaps Mon-Khmer → Indonesian Cf. BENEDICT 1975 325-6, leaf; but connected Proto-Austronesian with ***p/al/aqpaq** frond, midrib (DEMPWOLFF 1938 112-13; DYEN 1965) not certain.

***2028 *puh; (*puh-s >) *puus to blow.**

A: (South Bahnaric, North Aslian) Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **puh**, Central Rölöm **pəh** to blow, Biat **pəh** to operate [bellows], pump, Pangan **puh** to shoot with blowpipe (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 256 (a)); ~ Sre **gəpuh** [leaf in wind] to tremble, [flag &c.] to blow in wind.

B: (North Bahnaric, North Aslian, ?Central Aslian) Bahnar **puyh** north-east monsoon, dry season, Jehai **pəhos** to blow, (?) Semai II **pəs** wind.

By dissimilation < ***phu(h-s)** < ***bhuh(-s)**, cf. Jehai, Austronesian? Cf. **616 *lpuŋ** &c.; **1023 *puut** &c.

(BLOOD 1966 29.)

(?) Proto-Austronesian ***[qS]ə(N)but'**: Cham **pù:h** to blow up [fire], Malay (h)əmbus to blow furnace..., &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 63, ***həmbut'**). See BENEDICT 1975 236-7.

2029 *puh; *puuh; *puəh; *pəh; (*pəh-s >) *pəəs to open.

A, B: (Palaungic) Palaung **puh** (A), (B) Praok **paw**, Lawa Bo Luang **pauh**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **poh**.

C: (North Bahnaric, Nicobaric) Bahnar **pəh** to open, uncover (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & Rōngao **poh**), Central Nicobarese **ofəh**-[hələ &c.] to open, Nancowry **fuáh** open, **ʔufuáh** to open; → North Röglai **puəh**.

D: (?) → Cham **pəh**, Röglai **pəh** to open.

E: (North Bahnaric) Gölar Bahnar **pəyh** to open, uncover.

= **2023 *p[ɔ]h** (to) flower? Cf. also **2036 *ɓ[ə]h** &c.; **346 *pək** &c.

(***[kr]puh** see **103 *krpiʔ** buffalo.)

2030 *lpiəh; by metathesis *pliəh to separate, pick.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Kuy, North Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **pəh** to be displaced, Khmer **beh** **pəh** to pick, pluck, Kuy **pəh** to break off piece [of edible], East Bahnar **pəh**, West Bahnar **pəʔ** to pick, pluck, to cut and gather, to strip, peel, scale (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **pəh**, Praok **pə**, Lawa Bo Luang **pəih**, Vietnamese **bẻ** to pick, pluck; (Vietnamese or Khmer) → Chrau **beh** to pick or break off; ~ Middle Mon **lapah** [ket] to pick up, Modern Mon **həpəh** to pick up, **kəpəh** to pick up, (kə —) to be broken off.

B: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, ?Nicobaric) Stieng **pləh** to pick [fruit], to change [garment], to take the place of [person], Bahnar **pləh** to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off; ~ (***pnliəh** >?) Kuy **mpleh** to pick, pull stalks off; ~ Mon **pələh** to pull, pluck, pull apart, cut into bits, Khmer **prələh** to pick carefully, (TANDART 1935) pull to pieces; by back-formation ~ Mon **ləh** to pick up, Bahnar **ləh** to pick, pluck; [weapon, trap] to go off (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), (?)Nancowry **léh** (to be) separate, to break or cut off.

Note variously Jeh **piayh** (< ***[l]piəs**) to break off; Biat **pəih** (< ***[l]pəəs**) to pick up; Lawa Bo Luang **pah** to be broken off; Bahnar **pləh** to pull loose, strip ear, to take out, extract; [snare] to be set off (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; Jölong); **gləh** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63) to come out of place, be dislocated.

(SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

(***lpah** see **2063 *p-lah** to cut up, divide, split.)

2030a *lp[ɔ]h waves in water.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pəh** [yaʔ]; ~ Old Mon **lam̐poh** /ləmpəh/ [caloh], Modern Mon **kəpəh**.

‡2031 *[s]rpah to insult.

A: (Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Sre **sərpah** to impugn the paternity of, insult (→ Röglai), Central Rölöm **pah** to put a curse on, Bahnar dialects **səpah** &c. to insult grossly (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Vietnamese [si] **vả** to insult.

(BLOOD 1966 322.)

Proto-Austronesian *t'uNpaq: Malay *sumpah* oath, imprecation, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 158; DYEN 1953 § 62; Proto-Hesperonesian). Mon-Khmer not obviously ← Indonesian given morphological & semantic divergence.

*2032 *bah; *baas to flow out.

A: (North Bahnaric, ?Mon) Literary Mon [hah] *bah* to overflow (or B); ~ Bahnar *bəbah* to flow into.

B: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Mường) Khmer *pì:əh bās* spreading right through, Kuy *phìah* ready to overflow; ~ Vietnamese *vãi* to spill, to be spilled, to strew.

Proto-Austronesian *baSaq: Malay *bah* flood, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 17, *ba^cah; DYEN 1953 § 54). See BENEDICT 1975 349.

2033 *b[ɔ]h mindful, to hold in mind.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, Khasi) Mon *pòh bah* to remember, call to mind (& Middle Mon *bah sanā* to bear in mind by popular etymology ← Sanskrit/Pali *vāsanā* recollection), Chrau *vəh* [vənɔh] wise, Khasi [buh]bot to be mindful (with b- by phrasal alliteration).

*2034 *buh; *buuh; *buəh ash, powdery dust.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric, ?North Bahnaric) Stieng *buh* ash; ~ (*brb- >) Mon *həpəh babuih* dust, powder, spoil, (or B) Jölong *bəbu:ih* dust (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; apparently contaminated by other dialects *bruyh*); ~ Stieng *nbuh* ash, Sre *kəmbuh* powder, dust, waste from first pounding of paddy.

B: (South Bahnaric) Chrau *vu:h* dust, ash, Sre *bu:h*, Biat *buh* ash.

C: (Khmuic) Kammu-Yuan *pəh* ash.

Connect Semang *sibó* (i.e. Semnam; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 23), Sakai *sābor* dust (i.e. Semai; ib. S₂₆); but connection dubious Khmer *pheh pheh* ashes, cited at POU & JENNER 1975 no. 18; as Khasi *dpei* hearth, ashes. Cf. 359 *[]bu(u)k dust; 1483a *buuy? &c. dust; 2044 *t₁[l]booh flour, dust.

(SHAFFER 1965 134.)

(~) Proto-Austronesian *qabu: Malay *abu* ashes, dust, powder, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 11, *^cabu^c; DAHL 1973 § 8.3, 12.2, contra DYEN 1953 § 112; cf. SHORTO 1975 90 n. 25); → Besis *abo'* ashes (i.e. Mah Meri), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 A 160. For *qabuk see 359 *[]bu(u)k. See BENEDICT 1975 221-2.

2035 *buuh to split.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Nicobaric) Khmer *pùh buh* to split wood, Stieng *buh* to split wood; finished part of task, Biat *buh* part, half, lamina, Vietnamese *bổ* to split [wood], cut [fruit] open (!; contaminated by 2029 *puh to open?), Nancowry *tapúh* to split; ~ Stieng *mbuh* split wood; finished part of task.

(**beh* see 1963 *bV[?]eh to abuse.)

2036 *ḡ[ə]h; *ḡah to open.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Palaung [baŋ] **boh** (!) *doorway*, Mường **bở** (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **mở** to open.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **bah** *ajar*.

Palaung vocalism contextual? Cf. 2029 *puh &c.

2037 *ḡəh salt.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy **phà:h**, Chrau **vəh**, Biat **bəh**, Sre, Jeh, Halang **boh**, Bahnar **ḡəh**; → Cham **bōh**.

Cf. 1770 *[m]ḡil.

(BLOOD 1966 259; SMITH 1972 379.)

†‡2038 *ḡuh; *ḡuuh; (*ḡu(u)h-s >) *ḡus; *ḡuus; *ḡi[]s to bubble, boil.

A: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Central Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **pùh buh** to boil, Bahnar **buh** *welling up* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B); (~) → Iban **amboh** /**ambuh**/ *scum, slime*; ~ Khmer **pəpùh** *foam, scum*, Central Sakai **buboh** *foam, froth*; ~ (*brḡuh >) Mon **həbəh baḡuih** &c. *foam, froth* (or : last); → Cham **parapə:h** *froth*; ~ Khmer **rùmpùh** *boiling-point*, Stieng **rəmuḡ** to boil (v.i.); ~ Kuy **mpoh** *foam, bubbles*, Stieng **səmbuh**, (or B; ~?) Bahnar **kəmuḡ** *froth*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường, Katuic) ~ Biat **mbuh** *froth*, Vietnamese **mủ** *pus*, Kuy **phùh** to boil over.

C: (Mon; rather than A) Mon **bəh** to boil (v.t.).

D: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung **bur**, Riang-Lang **ḡbus** *foam, foam*, Temiar **bus** *bubbles* (DIFFLOTH 1976); (probably) ~ Sakai **rəbus** to boil (i.e. Temiar, Lanoh; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 334); → Malay **rəbus**, Acehnese **röboih**.

E: (Palaungic) Palaung **bir** to boil [rice].

Connected further Central Nicobarese **fəih** *bubble* (< *p-); Praok **bay** *foam, froth* (< *bnḡii??); 372 *[c]ḡuk *froth*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56.)

Sora **əbu'bu:n** *foam*.

~ (Proto-Austronesian *[t']əbu) Bikol **sabó**, **sobo** *foam, foam*, Pangasinan **sabó** *foam*, Ilocano **sibo** *bubble*. Note also Malay **bueh** *froth* (< *bu[]iq, or ← Mon-Khmer?; with Nicobaric, & Mon-Khmer vowel variation, suggesting Proto-Austroasiatic *buih or the like); Sanskrit **budbuda-**, **budbuḍa-** *bubble*, **buḍabuḍa-** *bubblingly* (TURNER 1962-66 9278). (Cf. POU & JENNER 1975 no. 17.)

†‡2039 *ḡuh; *ḡəh to pour, sprinkle.

A: (Mon, North & Central Aslian) Mon **bəh** to sprinkle; ~ Temiar **muḡ** to bathe; ~ Che' Wong, Semai **mamuh** to bathe; ~ Middle Mon **laḡoh** /**ləḡuḡ**/, Modern Mon **həbəh** to pour or sprinkle water over.

B: (Khasi, North & South Aslian, Nicobaric) Khasi *bet* to scatter, sow, sprinkle, Pangan [ya]-bö' to pour (i.e. Bateg Deq; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 204); ~ Nancowry kapúahpi to pour out (< *ḡuəh?); ~ Semaq Beri mahme:h to bathe.

(SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 81.)

Kharia bi'b to pour out water (PINNOW 1959 319).

Proto-Austronesian *buqbuq: Acehnese boh to place, put, Malay bubuh to put, set, affix, &c., Cebuano Bisayan búbù to pour out into, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 31, *bubuh Hinzufigen + *bubu[h] Giessen; SHORTO 1975 97). The same semantics in 986 *cuut &c.

2040 *[k]ḡ[ə]h to love, like.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) ~ Sre ḡəboh to like; ~ Praok mo to love, like.

Or *-oh. Note Nancowry ʔuáh to admire.

2041 *[k]ḡuh to burn, grill.

A: (Katuic, Bahnaric) Kuy buh to burn, Sre buh to grill, Chrau vuh, Jeh, Halang buh to roast, Bahnar ḡuh to singe, grill.

Earlier *[k]bʔuh, causative formation? Then connected perhaps (i) Nyah Kur lʔuh cooked [rice], Bahnar hʔuh to reheat roast and mix with freshly cooked rice...

(GUILLEMINET 1959-63); (→) Cham uh to cook in ashes; (ii) A193 *[d]uh hot; (iii)

1872 *[]ʔus &c. fire, firewood.

(SMITH 1972 341.)

2041a *jḡuəh (& *jḡuuh?); *jḡuu? beak.

A: (Khmer, Kuy, Viet-Muong) Kuy cbah hooked tip of beak; ~ Khmer cəmpùh cambuh, (TANDART 1935) cùmpùh (< *-uuh?), Vietnamese mǝ beak.

B: (Mon; ~ *jḡuu? >) Mon həmao camhau &c. beak, bill, muzzle.

Connect Cham caḡuac, Röglai təbu:y, North Röglai tuḡuai?

2042 *tḡ[e]h to turn edge.

A: (Mon, North Bahnaric) Old Mon tḡeḡh /tḡeh/ to turn, blunt [edge of weapon], Bahnar beh slightly jagged (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

2043 *tḡ[ə]h (& *tḡəəh?); *tḡuh to appear, be seen.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) ~ Old Mon tuḡbah /təḡbah/ (!) to appear (& Modern Mon həmah s(a)maḡ to resemble, contaminated by 149 *sməh equal, alike); ~

(*tḡ[ə]h >) Old Mon tuḡbah, Modern Mon həbah to show, (~, or by analogy, cf. South Bahnaric *tn- causative) Stieng (tə)mbə:h to inform, warn, confess, accuse (< *-əəh?), Biat mbəh to tell, inform.

B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar ḡoh to see; ~ təḡoh to show.

Khmer cbah clear, evident... is < 1920 *c[b]as.

(SCHMIDT 1905 16, 18.)

†2044 *t₁[l]b^{oo}h *flour, dust*.

A: (Mon, Palaungic) Middle Mon *thaḃoh* /təḃoh/ *cake of rice-flour*, Modern Mon [kwaɪŋ] *həbuh rice-flour*, Palaung *kərboh airborne dust, to be dusty* (MILNE 1931); → Malay *lēbu dust*, probably → Javanese *lēbu dust*, → Sundanese *ləbuq ashes, dust* (cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 94, *ləbu; NOTHOFFER 1975 43).

Cf. 2034 *buh &c. *ash, powdery dust*.

Santali *lobo?* *husk, bran, meal, flour*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 245; Proto-Munda *lobo[?]- & *lopo[?]).

2044a *mih *parent's elder sibling*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau *mih parent's elder sibling*, Bahnar *mih parent's elder brother*. (SMITH 1972 334.)

(*mih see also 127 *mi? (to) *rain*; *miih see 128 *mi[i]? *you (singular)*; *m[o]h see 136 *m[o]? *what*.)

†2045 *muh; *muuh; *muus *nose*.

A: (Mon, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Khasi, Aslian, Nicobaric) Old Mon *moḥ* /muuh/, Modern Mon, Kuy *mùh*, Biat *moh*, Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bahnar *muh*, Jeh, Halang, Kammu-Yuan *mùh*, Khasi *'mut* (~ *khmut*), Kensiu, Semai *məh*, Semelai *muh*, Central Nicobarese *moəh*, *moəh*, Nancowry *muáh* (< *muəh); ~ Khmer *crəmoḥ cramuḥ nose*, Stieng *trəmuḥ nose, muzzle*.

B: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muh* (MILNE 1931), Temiar *mə:h*, Semnam *mu:h nose*.

C: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Lawa Bo Luang, Mae Sariang *mauh*, Lawa Umphai *maus*, Mường (WILSON 1966, BARKER 1966 205), Vietnamese *mũi nose*.

(SCHMIDT 1905 56; SHAFER 1965 184, 427; BLOOD 1966 28; SMITH 1972 343; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 N 98.)

Sora *m?u:-n*, compounding form *mu:-n*, Mundari *mu(hu)*, &c. (PINNOW 1959 387).

2046 *muh; *muəh; *mu? *to be*.

A: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Palaung *muuh*, Sakai *moh* (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 88).

B: (Khmer, Palaungic, North Aslian) Archaic Khmer *mùəh moḥ that is*, Praok *mə*, Semang *moah to be* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906).

C: (Palaungic, Central Aslian) Riang-Lang *_mo? to remain, stay*, Temiar *mə? there is* (BENJAMIN 1976B 178).

Connect Lawa *mah to be*; < weak form?

(*kmu(ə)h see 138 *kmu? *mouldy, rotten*.)

2047 **ermah* generous, kind.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre *sərmah*, Chrau *səmah*, Bahnar *hamah* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Jarai *cəma:h*, Röglai *sərmah*, North Röglai *caramah*.

Note Literary Mon *pamah* [*slah*] *to give up, yield*, ~ [*salah*] *pawah* &c. *to renounce, be generous* < Middle Mon *trawah* *to renounce*; conceivably ~ **cwah*, Bahnaric by secondary derivation ~ **cmah* < **cmwah*.

(**sməh* see 149 **smə*[]? *equal, alike*.)

2048 **yah*; **ya?* to damage; waste, residue.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic, Viet-Mường) Sre *yah* *waste product* (→ Röglai), Palaung *yah*, Riang-Lang *ya*, Praok *ye* *to destroy, ruin*, Bru *yiah* *to pull down, tear down*; ~ (*[c][r]yah >) Bahnar *hiah* *torn, spoiled, damaged* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*[c]nyah >) Biat *njah* *residue*, Jeh *jah* *chaff* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979), (~?) *kajah* *chips from chopping tree*; → Jarai *ʔjah* *residue*; ~ Vietnamese *nhả* *to let fall from mouth, emit from aperture*.

B: (North Bahnaric; ~ **cya?* >?) Bahnar *ʔia?* *residue of sugar-cane*.

2049 **syuu*[h] damp, wet.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau *su:h*, Biat *chuh*; ~ Bahnar *həʔnyuh*, (Kontum; ~?) *həyuyh* (with *-s by assimilation?); ~ Chrau [*da:ʔ*] *yu:h* *dew*.

SMITH 1972 498 suggests North Bahnaric *-j-, probably regular in context.

2050 **reh* to raise up, to exalt.

A: (Mon, Khmuic) Old Mon *reh* /*reh*/ *to do honour to*, Modern Mon *rèh* [*seh*] *to hold in respect or reverence*, Thin *reh* *to lift up*.

Connect 2061 **[s]r[ɔ]h* *to rise, ascend*.

(**r[ɔ]h* see 2061 **[s]r[ɔ]h* *to rise, ascend*.)

†2051 *ruh; *ruuh; *ruəh; *rəh; *rah; *raah; *rih; (*-h-s >) *rus; *ruəs; *rəs; *rəəs; *raas (& *ras?); *ris; *ru?; *ruu?; *ruə?; *ra? to fall, be shed.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **rùh ruh** to fall down, fall off, Stieng **ruh** (& **aruh**) to come off handle, come loose, (or B?) Bahnar **ruh** to fall (down), Jeh **ruh** [rain] to fall, Halang **ruh** [water] to fall; ~ Middle Mon **croh** /**cruh**/ [rain] to fall on, Modern Mon **səh** to extinguish, Khmer **crùh** to fall, (~?) Stieng **jəruh** [flowers, fruit] to fall, Bahnar **cəruh** to fall on, flow on, pour on (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; or B?), Vietnamese **rỏ** to drip, ooze; ~ (***cbru**h >) Old Mon **-curoh** to shed scatter, Modern Mon **kəroh** to pour out, let fall, Khmer **cùmrùh** to cause to fall, Kuy **sroh, rhoh** [clothes] to come down, to remove [clothes] (v.i. perhaps < ***cr-**); ~ Old Mon **sruh** to pour water on, (merging ***c-ruh**) Modern Mon **səh** to extinguish, (or B) Bahnar **sruh** to let fall, throw away; ~ Mon **prəh** to burst, leak, Sre **pruh** to spurt out, to squirt out, Chrau **pruh** [fruit, leaves] to fall, Bahnar **prəh** to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63; & West Bahnar **pruh** to squirt from mouth); → Cham **pruh** to squirt from mouth; ~ Stieng **bru**h to sprinkle water on, Sre **bru**h to spit, dribble; ~ (***.nr**uh >) Kuy **nthrùh** to fall, Biat **ndroh** shower (quantifier); ~ Biat **ŋkroh** to shake [contents of sack] down.

B: (South Bahnaric) ~ (***sru**uh >) Chrau **suh** to sprinkle; ~ (***bru**uh >) **vrùh** to squirt, spit.

C: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Palaungic) ~ Bahnar **crəh diarrhoea** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **prəh prəh** to sprinkle, Bahnar **prəh** outflow (quantifier) (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Khmer **prəh** to sow, scatter, Kuy **phrà:h** to strew, sow, scatter, sprinkle, Chrau **vrəh** to scatter, sprinkle; ~ Kammu-Yuan **krəh** to flake off, peel off, (~? ***.nr-** >; or variant final) Praok **grua** to drop, fall away; ~ Sre **səkrəh** to shake down, (?) Praok **khrua** to shake off.

D: (South Bahnaric, Khasi, Central Aslian, ?Mon) Stieng **rə:h** to dismantle, demolish; ~ Jah Hut **cərah** to fall; ~ Middle Mon **prah**, Modern Mon **prəh** to fall, be shed (or C); ~ Stieng **brəh** to scatter, to sow broadcast, Khasi **bret** to throw away.

E, F: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Kuy **rəh** to asperge, Sre **[mi:w] rah** mango showers, Biat **rah** to asperge, to strew, scatter, Vietnamese **rã** to be dispersed; ~ Mon **prah** to be scattered about, Kuy **prah [praŋ]** to be separated and scattered, Sre **prah [preŋ]** all over the place (DOURNES 1950), Biat **prah** to fall (down), Bahnar **prah** scattered, sparse (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Thai **prà?** to sprinkle, spray; ~ Bahnar **təprah** to splash by secondary derivation; ~ Vietnamese **[đi] rửa** to have diarrhoea (F).

G: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Lawa Umphai **reh** to pour; ~ Khmer **preh** **preh prih prih** onomatopoeic for fine rain, Sre **prih** to spurt out, Biat **prih** [boil] to burst.

H: (Bahnaric) Sre **ros** to strip grains [of hill paddy] by hand, Bahnar dialect **ru:h** [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ East Bahnar **pru:h** to squirt from mouth (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

- I: (Mon, Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, North Aslian) Che' Wong **rəwas** to fall; ~ Mon **pruh proh** to squirt from mouth or trunk, Proto-Nyah Kur ***pruuy** (DIFFLOTH 1984 V258), Palaung **pruər** fine ash; → Shan **phóε, phōε** to scatter in fine particles; ~ Khmer **prù:əh bruəs** to squirt from mouth, Biat **brə:ih [ra:ɔ]** to exorcize (by squirting water).
- J, K: (Khmer, Kuy, South Bahnaric) Sre (→ Röglai) **rə:s** to trim leaves and bark from [branch], Biat **rə:ih** to demolish (K); ~ Khmer **prə:h pras!** to sprinkle gently (TANDART 1935; **pras'** GUESDON 1930; J, lengthening secondary), (K) Kuy **prə:h** dishevelled, [bees] disturbed, Biat **prə:ih** unravelled; ~ (J; or M or G?) Biat **mbreh** to sow [paddy].
- L: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Sre **ra:s** to spread out fanwise, rake apart (→ Röglai) (by attraction 1928 ***raas** to retreat), Palaung **rar** [leaves] to fall; ~ Chrau **jra:ih** to asperge; ~ Khmer **pra:h prās** to throw away, leave, separate, Riang-Lang **pras** to leave, to be apart, (probably) Praok **pra** to leave; ~ Mường (BARKER 1966 19), Vietnamese **rãi** to scatter (& Vietnamese **rảy** to sprinkle with water; < *-as?).
- M: (Khmer, North Aslian) Mendriq **rəs** to fall; ~ Khmer **prəh pris** fine [rain], to sprinkle lightly.
- N: (North Bahnaric, ?South Bahnaric) ~ Biat **[cra:i] pru:** to scatter, disperse (v.i.) (or O), Bahnar **pro?** to gush out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- O: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) Bahnar **ru:** [cereals] to shatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ Bahnar **[?mi:] pru:** to shower; ~ Khasi **khru** sound of falling or tumbling.
- P: (Bahnaric, Khmuic) Biat **rwə:** to scatter, Kammu-Yuan **rùə?-rùə?** [water] running out continuously; ~ Bahnar **prə?** to spurt out (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).
- Q: (North Bahnaric, Khasi) ~ West Bahnar **pra?** to scatter (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Khasi **pra** to fall to pieces, scatter, separate.
- Add as derivative 2058 ***truh** to seep? Connected further 843 ***ruc** &c. to fall, drip; 837 ***ra(a)c** to sprinkle, scatter; & Vietnamese **[xê] ra** to separate, scatter. (SCHMIDT 1905 56, 66; SMITH 1972 354; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 F 19.)
- Sora (i) **ru-[ida:-]** to pour [water]; (ii) '**sira:-** to extinguish; (iii) Kharia **rə** to be scattered (PINNOW 1959 400; Proto-Munda ***rə?**).
- Proto-Austronesian (i) ***luɣuq:** Malay **luroh** to fall, be shed, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 98-9, *-h); (ii) ***d_{1/2}iɣuq:** Tagalog **lígoq** bathing, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 166; Proto-Hesperonesian); (iii) ***d_{1/2}iɣut'**: Malay **dirus** to irrigate, water, Javanese **dus**, Hiligaynon Bisayan **digus** to bathe (Proto-Hesperonesian; cf. DEMPWOLFF 1938 40, ***d-**); (iv; Mon-Khmer →?) Malay **těmpěras** scattered (referred at DEMPWOLFF 1938 116 to ***pəyət'** —rather ***pəyəqət'**, see DAHL 1973 § 17.6, 9— to squeeze out). Cf. also BENEDICT 1975 395, *sprinkle*.

2052 ***ruh**; ***ruuh**; ***rus** young girl, virgin.

- A, B: (Bahnaric) (Sre **aruh** virgin, young girl =?) Sre **[?ur:] ruh** young woman (BLOOD 1966) (A), Chrau **ru:h** sister (B); ~ (***rnr-** >?; A) Stieng **druh** nubile girl, animal on heat, **[ko:n du: u:r]** **ndruh** nubile girl, Chrau **[u:r]** **druh** young woman, Biat **[bu:]**

droh *young girl*, (A/B) Bahnar **adruh**, Gölar Bahnar **hədruh** *girl, young woman still childless*, (~?) Jeh **drudruh** *unmarried woman*, Halang **dədruh** *young, unmarried woman, fruitful*.

C: (Palaungic) ~ Riang-Lang ʔcəɾəs *virgin, unmarried girl*.

Connection uncertain Praok [bon] **kri**, Lawa Bo Luang [pi]-**khreih**, Lawa Umphai [pa-, kuan] **kreh**, Mae Sariang [pa]-**khyeih** (< *krih?).

(BLOOD 1966 25; SMITH 1972 352.)

†2053 ***ruuh** *to wash [clothes]*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Rōngao **rùh**, Vietnamese **rũ**.

Cf. 1841 ***r[]aawh** *to wash* (SMITH 1972 348.)

Sora **ro:-[ka:b-]**.

(***[k]ra[]h** see 164 ***kra[]?** *old, aged*.)

2054 ***[k]ruh** *kind of basket*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric) Khmer **krùh gruh**, Kuy **khruh** (!) *kind of basket coated with resin* (→ Biat **gruh** *bucket?*), Sre **kruh** *small kind of carrying-basket*, Bahnar **kroh** *special large kind of carrying-basket*; → Jarai **krɔ:h**, Rōglai **kruh** *small kind of carrying-basket*.

(SMITH 1972 376.)

2055 ***cr[ii]h** *rust*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **creh creh**, Kuy (!) **thrẽh**, Stieng **cəreh**, Vietnamese **rỉ**.

Khmer &c. vocalism post-dental?

(***jruh** see 172 ***jruu?** *deep*.)

2056 ***jruəh**; ***jr[ə]h**; ***jriəh** *clean*.

A: (Bahnaric) Chrau **jrəh** *clean*, Bahnar **hʔrəh** *clean, pure* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer) Khmer **crəəh** *clean, pure*.

C: (Katuic) Kuy **thri:h** *smooth, clean, licked clean*.

C secondary; Khmer vocalism post-dental?

2057 ***tr[e]h** *(to draw a) line*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **treh** *to draw a line* (↔ Rōglai), Bahnar **trih** *line, row* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

2057a ***[t]rrah** *kind of citrus*.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Mon **[pərak]** **kərah tarah** *kind of citrus*, Biat **[krɔ:c]** **rlah** *lemon, mandarin orange*.

2058 *truh to seep.

A: (Mon, South Bahnaric) Biat **troh** to seep, trickle, drip; ~ Mon **kəroh** [daik] filter.
 ~ 2051 *ruh to fall, be shed? Note there Vietnamese **rỏ** to drip, ooze.

2059 *prah; *pra? to make offerings.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre, Bahnar dialects **prah** to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak
 (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*p[n]rah >) Chrau **mvrah** offering-table.
 B: (North Bahnaric) Bahnar **pra?** to make a minor sacrifice to *kyaak.

2060 *brah divine being.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric) Old Khmer **vrah**, Modern Khmer **prèəh** god, sacred being or thing, Stieng **brah** spirit (diable, démon), Sre **brah** mythic hero (DOURNES 1950), Biat **brah** spirit (génie); → Thai **p^hrá?**.
 Connect ultimately Old Burmese **purhā**, Modern Burmese **bhurā**; Old Javanese **bhra** lord, Modern Javanese **bra** prince.

2061 *r[ə]h to rise, ascend.

A: (Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **sah** to rise, to raise; Kammu-Yuan **rəh** to rise, wake, to grow, to go up, Riang-Lang **rɔ** to rise, to go up; ~ Kammu-Yuan **prəh** to raise, to wake (v.t.), (~?; by secondary derivation) Riang-Lang **phrɔ** to rise.
 Or *r- ~ *sr-? Separate Kuy, Bru **sah** to ascend (?). Connect 2050 *reh to rise up... .

2062 *leh to go down, go out.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic) East Bahnar **lih** to abort (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **leh**, Praok **li** to go down, out, Riang-Lang **lɛ** to go out, away, Lawa Bo Luang **laih** to go down; ~ Sre **pleh** to make way, step back, aside, Biat **pleh** to move house, Palaung **pleh** to put down, to set free, to discharge [gun] (MILNE 1931), Riang-Lang **plɛ** to cuase to go out, drive out, to publish, show, to set free, Lawa Bo Luang **pləih**, Lawa Umphai **pleh** to show; ~ (*.nleh >) Biat **ŋkleh** to lower [blind], Kontum Bahnar **haŋləh** to put down [load], to reduce [price] (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **klès** to hatch out; by secondary derivation ~ Khasi **pyngklit** to go round, avoid.

Add as derivative 2073 *kleh to fall? Cf. 2013 *dəh to be born..., with mutual contamination; & 190 *le? to leave, depart; 2068 *loh to go out; 2064 *lah to leave; 2072 *luəh to abandon; 1514 *ləəy &c. to leave... .

(SHAFFER 1965 127.)

***2063 *lah** to cut up, divide, split.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic) Khmer **lèəh** (→ Biat **leh**) to cut up, (~?) Lawa Umphai **lah** to cut, slice; → Cham **lah** to open wide, (—lɛ) with legs apart; ~ Stieng **plah** to gut, cut up, skin, Bunör, Biat **plah** to split, by metathesis (*lpah >) Chrau, Halang **pah** to cut, chop, Bahnar, Jeh **pah** to split; ~ Kuy **klah** to split [e.g. nut] open; ~ Stieng **kənlah** half, (by attraction 2074 *klah to break,

which compare) Kammu-Yuan **tənlàh** to split, to break or burst suddenly; ~ Khmer **phlèəh** to divide up, cut up, Stieng **blah** to clear undergrowth, Chrau **vlah** to split, Sre, Bahnar **blah** to split, to divide up, Palaung **blah** to strip [skin] off, (MILNE 1931) to slice.

(BLOOD 1966 320; SMITH 1972 363.)

Proto-Austronesian ***bəlaq**: Malay **bělāh** to split lengthwise, &c. (DEMPWOLFF 1938 27, ***-h**; DAHL 1973 § 8.4). See BENEDICT 1975 391-2.

†2064 ***lah**; (***lah-s** >) ***las**; ***laas** to leave.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic, ?Khasi) Khmer **lèəh**; → Thai **lá?**; ~ Bahnar **plah** to separate; ~ Old Mon **blah** /**blah**/, Modern Mon **plèh** to escape, win free, Thin **[kham]blah** to pass, (or B; ~?) Khasi **palat** to exceed; ~ Mon **həlah** to be free, open, Khmer **srəlah** clear, free, Stieng **sərlah** clear, distinct.

B: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Khmuic) ~ Sre **klas** to change status, resign, discharge duty &c., to fail to obtain, (or A?) Kammu-Yuan **kláh** to exceed, [time] to pass; ~ Kuy **(c)lēh** to change, exchange; ~ Khmer **phlah phlās'** to replace, change (clothes), to be transferred, Biat **plēh** to change, Bahnar **plēh**, (so rather than A) Kammu-Yuan **pláh** to release, Bru **làyh** [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off.

C: (Bahnaric, Khasi; ~ ***klaas** >) Bunör **klai:h**, Central Rölöm **tlē:h** [trap] to be sprung, [gun] to go off, Biat **klai:h** escaped, Bahnar **klayh** to escape, Khasi **khlad** to separate, part, to depart.

Cf. 2062 ***lēh** ...to go out; 1514 ***ləəy** &c. to leave... .

(BLOOD 1966 188, 339.)

Sora **sə'la-**, **'sa'la:-** to have leisure.

2065 ***lah** or.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, ?Palaungic) Old Mon **lah** /**lah**/, Old Khmer **lah**, **loh**, Stieng, Sre, Biat **lah**, Bahnar **dah**; ~ Old Khmer **klah** some, Modern Khmer **khlah... khlah... some... others...**; ~ (***[k]mlah** >) Praok **[ti] bla** some, some... others... (& Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **mblah** part; or ~ 2063 ***lah** ...to divide...?).

2066 ***lah**; (***lah-s** >) ***las**; ***laas** finished.

A: (Mon) ~ Old Mon **blah** /**blah**/ after [that], then (contaminated by 2080 ***bl[ɔ]h?**).

B: (South Bahnaric) Stieng **lēh** finished; ~ **klēh** to finish, use up, finish [doing].

C: (North Bahnaric) ~ Bahnar **klayh** to have finished [doing]; then.

(SMITH 1972 505; cf. ib. 340.)

(***lah** see also 191 ***la?** to spread, extend.)

*2067 *loh; *läh; (*-h-s >) *lo[]s; *lās to *unravel, unfold*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Bahnaric, Khmuic, Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Mon **lāh** to *come unwound*, Old Khmer **loh** to *free*, Modern Khmer **lūəh** to *redeem, ransom*, Jeh **lūh** to *untie* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); ~ Old Mon **pluh** /**pluh**/ to *attain Buddhahood*, Modern Mon **plōh** to *come unwound, to unwind*, Stieng **plōh** to *peel off, skin*, Sre **plōh** [bəs] [snake's] *slough*, Bahnar dialects **plōh**, **plōh** to *open, undo, undress* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Kammu-Yuan **plōh** *vacant, free*, Praok **plo** to *rise in baking*, Vietnamese **trở** to *shoot forth, sprout*.
- B: (Viet-Mường, ?Khasi) → Cham **l̥h** to *undo, untie, take off*; ~ Khasi **plied** to *o., unfold* (or D?), Vietnamese **giở, trở** to *untie, unwrap, to change*.
- C: (Kuy, North Bahnaric, Nicobaric, ?Mon) Middle Mon **loh** /**luh**/ to *uncoil* (v.t.) (probably, rather than A; then *los), Central Nicobarese **lo:h** to *remove headgear*, **olo:h**-[həŋə] to *take off clothes*; ~ Kuy **plō:h** to *swell* (or A?), Bahnar dialect **plō:h** to *open, undo, undress* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); → Acehnese **plōih** to *unfasten, unroll, take off*; ~ (*rlo[]s >) Kuy **rò:h** to *slip away, get loose, escape*.
- D: (Khmer, ?Palaungic) Lawa Bo Luang **ləuh**, Lawa Umphai **lās**, Mae Sariang **loih** to *answer* (probably; cf. semantically 2085 *səh); ~ Khmer **pralas** to *separate* (GUESDON 1930).

Vowel alternance unusual. = following? Connection dubious 1666 *[]luur &c. to *slip, come loose*.

Proto-Austronesian *Səluq: Acehnese **loh** *bald, leafless, stripped*, Karo Batak **me-luh** *falling [hair], easily shed*, Cebuano Bisayan **hulu** to *moult, to shed skin or shell* (so Proto-Hesperonesian).

2068 *loh to *go out*.

- A: (Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic) Kuy **lā:h**, Bru **lāh**, Chrau **luh** (!; contaminated by 2071 *luh to *appear?*), Biat, Jeh, Halang **loh** to *go out*, Palaung **lōh** to *go, come*.
= preceding, perhaps by attraction 2062 *leh? Cf. A200 *[]rəh to *send out, drive out*; & note Stieng **luh** to *come, go, give, budge*; Bahnar **hlōh** (under the entry 2072 *luəh) (to go) *beyond*.
(SMITH 1972 386.)

2069 *luh (& *luəh?) to *pierce*.

- A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, Bahnaric, Palaungic, Khasi, Aslian) Khasi **lot** (& **lod**; < variant?) to *go into a hole (in games)*, Central Sakai **loh** *perforated*, (~?) Semelai **ʔəluh** *sharp*; ~ Mon **klōh** to *penetrate, to be penetrated, to understand*, Khmer **khloh** **khluh**, Stieng **kluh** to *pierce bullock's nose*; ~ Old Mon **kirloh** /**kərluh**/ to *penetrate*; ~ Kuy **thluh** to *pierce, penetrate*; ~ Sre **bluh** *hole, perforation*, Biat **bloh** *having a hole in*; ~ Bahnar **bəloh** *hole, perforation; to make a hole in*; ~ (*sluh >) Kuy **lhoh** to *pass rope through nose of bullock*, Bahnar **hloh** *perforated, open*, Rieng-Lang **lo** to *pierce, penetrate*, Kensiu **həluh**, Temiar **səluh** to *shoot with blowpipe*; ~ (*srluh >) East Bahnar **səluh** to *bore through [knots of bamboo]* (GUILLEMINET

1959-63; & West Bahnar **rəluh?**), Khasi [**pei**] *syllut clean through*; (variant?) by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **kərləh** *to penetrate*.

= following &/or **2071 *luh** &c. *to appear (through)?* Add perhaps as derivative **2079 *t₁luuh** &c. *to come, arrive*. Cf. also (i; ***klu?** > ?) Sre **klo** *to hear, understand*; (ii) Sora **ro:-** *to pierce, penetrate...*, Kharia **ru?** *to open*, &c., PINNOW 1959 359 (Proto-Munda ***ro[?]**); (iii) 430 ***lu(u)k** *to have, make, a hole in*. But connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***tərut'** *to penetrate*, DEMPWOLFF 1938 135 (Proto-Hesperonesian).

(SCHMIDT 1905 58; SMITH 1972 356; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 257 (a).)

2070 ***luh** *hole*.

A: (Palaungic, Viet-Mường) Riang-Lang **_lu** *hole, pit*, Vietnamese **lỗ** *hole*.

= preceding?

2071 ***luh**; ***luuh**; ***luəh**; ***lu?** *to appear (through)*.

A, B: (Bahnaric) Stieng **lo:h** (BLOOD 1966), Sre **lu:h** (BLOOD 1966) (B), Bunör **luh**, Central Rölöm **loh** (A); ~ (A/B) Bahnar **bluh** *to appear (through), to burst (in)*.

C: (Mon, ?Khmer) ~ Khmer **chloh chluh** *shining, polished, to shine* (or A, B); ~ Old Mon **-cinloh /cənləh/** *to appear*.

D: (Viet-Mường) Vietnamese **lộ** *to appear*; ~ Mường **trộ** *to appear* (BARKER 1966 24).

= **2069 *luh** *to pierce?* Connect perhaps (by secondary derivation ~ ***lnluh?**) Riang-Lang **_səkno** *to point to, point at*.

(BLOOD 1966 27.)

2072 ***luəh** *to abandon*.

A: (Mon, Khmer, North Aslian, ?North Bahnaric) Khmer **lùəh loh** *to omit*, Semang **luəh** *to throw away* (SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 T 106); ~ (***cluəh** >) Mon **kləh** *to abandon* (merging **1948 *cl[ɔ]s** *to throw*), Khmer **jhloh** *to leave behind, to go beyond* (GUESDON 1930), (or ad **2068 *loh** *to go out?*) Bahnar **hləh** *(to go) beyond*. Cf. **2062 *leh** ...*to go out*; **2064 *lah** &c. *to leave*.

2072a ***.ləh** *door, window*.

A: (Bahnaric) Biat [**mpo:ŋ**] **ləh** *window*; ~ (or =?) Chrau [**ləpo:ŋ**] **mhləh** *window*, Jeh **ploh**, Halang **pə?loh** *door*.

2073 ***kleh** *to fall*.

A: (Bahnaric, Palaungic, Katuic) Halang **klih** *to fall down*, Bahnar dialects **klih** (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); by secondary derivation ~ (i) Bahnar **hələh** [*fruit, sky*] *to fall*; (ii) Chrau **təlih** *to fall, collapse*, Jeh **taklih** *to fall*, Riang-Lang **kle** *to fall*, (by secondary derivation) Bru **raplèh** [*fruit, leaves*] *to drop*.

Connect Temiar **kəlu?** [*fruit, leaves*] *to drop*; but not Sre **tələ(:)** *to push over*, ⇔ Röglai **tələ(:)** *to push over*, Cham **talə?** *to expel*. ~ **2062 *leh** *to go down...*?

(SMITH 1972 350.)

2074 *klah to break.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Stieng **klah** to break [*stock of crossbow*], Biat **klah** [*branches &c.*] to break; ~ Palaung **kənlah** to break (v.i.).

Perhaps by metathesis (derivative of) 1972 *[d]kah; or ~ 2063 *lah to cut up, divide, split.

2074a *[k]lɔh clean, clear.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **klɔh** clearly, distinctly, Sre **kloh**, Biat **klɔh** clean, Chrau **khloḥ** pale, faded, Bahnar **klɔh** to fade (in washing), to become clean.

Or *tl-.

2075 *glah cooking-pot.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Khmer **khlēəh** (TANDART 1935), Sre, Chrau, Biat **glah**, Vietnamese *trǎ*.

Cf. 195 *lɔʔ &c. kind of jar or pot.

(BLOOD 1966 292.)

(*Gliəh see 202 *Gliʔ short.)

2076 *trleh woodpecker.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **tərleh**, Chrau **tələh**, Bahnar [sɛ:m] **tələh**; (by back-formation?) → Röglai **kleh**.

Connect perhaps by taboo deformation Cham *paplaiḥ*; North Röglai **dadəh**; Khmer **trəseh traseḥ**.

2077 *tlah; *tlaʔ clear.

A: (Mon, Kuy, North Bahnaric) Middle Mon [jɲok] **clah**, **tlah** /**klah**/ to be refulgent, Modern Mon **klah** to be clear, Bahnar **klah** [kla:ŋ] sparkling, dazzling (GUILLEMINET 1959-63); ~ (*trlah >) Kuy **lləh** clear(ly), Bahnar **tədáh** &c. clear, transparent (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (Khmer, North Bahnaric) Khmer **thla**: clear, pure, Bahnar **klaʔ** [kla:ŋ] sparkling, dazzling.

Middle Mon **cl-** by scribal hypercorrection. Connection uncertain Khmer **chlah chlās'** variegated [colours], (TANDART 1935) to iridesce.

(*tnləh see 2019 *t[ɾn]əh other.)

2078 *t₁l[ɔ]h (& *t₁lɔḥ?) testicles.

A: (South Bahnaric, Khmuic) Stieng **klɔh** testicles [of boar]; ~ (*t₁pl- >) Sre **ploh**, (variant?) Chrau [cap] **plɔ:h** testicles; (probably ~) Kammu-Yuan **təlóh** male [animal].

Cf. Riang-Lang **ˈtam ˈkla**. Rōglai **boʔ kluh** is < Proto-Austronesian ***buaq qət₂əluɣ**, probably contaminated by Sre.

2079 *t₁luuh; *t₁ləh *to come, arrive*.

A: (North Bahnaric, Palaungic, South Aslian) Bahnar **truh** *to arrive at, reach*, Jeh **trùh** *to come, arrive*, Halang **trùh**, Palaung **hluh** *to arrive*, Riang-Lang **ˈtru** *to come*, Sakai **děloh** *to go* (i.e. Semelai; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 G 49).

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường; ~ ***t₁pləh** >) Stieng **plə:h**, (or simplex >?) Mường (BARKER 1966 20), Vietnamese **trở** *to return*.

Palaung **hl-** by regressive assimilation; or contaminated by etymon of Kammu-Yuan **səlóh** *to walk, to go to see*, perhaps ~ **2068 *loh** *to go out*. ~ **2069 *luh** *to pierce?* Add perhaps (***t₁luh** >) Praok **kro** *to become*; & cf. Old Mon **tlūn** /**tluŋ**/, Modern Mon **klɔŋ** *to come*, North Bahnaric **tr-** contextual; Jarai **tru:h**, Rōglai, North Rōglai **truh** *to arrive, reach* may show attraction of Mon-Khmer, but are < Proto-Austronesian ***tərut'** *to penetrate*.

(SMITH 1972 344.)

(***pliəh** see **2030 *lpiəh** *to separate, pick*.)

2080 *bl[ɔ]h *finished*.

A: (Bahnaric) Sre **bloh** *marker of completed action*, Bahnar **bloh** *to succeed* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Jeh **bloh** *already* (GRADIN & GRADIN 1979); → Cham **plò:h** *finished*.

Cf. **2066 *b-lah**. (Cf. SHAFER 1965 141.)

(***rlu[u]h** see **226 *rluu?** *to rest*.)

2080a *wiəh; *wah *to dip up*.

A: (Palaungic) Riang-Lang **ˌvɛ** *to scoop out [of pot]*.

B: (South Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Stieng **uah** *to dip up*, Sre **wah** *to empty [fishpond &c.] with bucket* (DOURNES 1950), Biat **wah [mbuh]** *to skim*, Vietnamese **vã** *to throw [water] on one's face*; ~ Stieng **kua:h** *dipper*.

Add Bahnar **wah** *to fish with rod and line?*

(***weh** see **235 *wee?** *...to twist*.)

2081 *wah** (originally noun?); (wah-s** >) ***waas** *(to make an) opening, (clear a) path*.

A: (Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Khmer **hvaḥ**, Modern Khmer **vəəh** *to cut open*, Kuy with secondary lengthening **wà:h [diaʔ]** *to breach paddy-bund and admit [water]*, Sre **wah** *passage, narrow path*, Biat **wah [wa:ŋ]** *space*, Bahnar **wah** *breach, river-mouth* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Palaung **vah** *clearing*; ~ (***waas wah** by contraction > ***swah** >) Bahnar **tsəah** *to clear a path* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

B: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic) Sre **wa:s** *to clear a path*, Lawa Umphai **wu:as** *to open*;
 ~ Stieng **kua:ɿh** *to clear a path, remove [obstacles]*.

Proto-Austronesian ***ua[ɟ]uaq**: Tagalog **wawaq** *river-mouth*, &c., Cebuano Bisayan **wàwà** *wide opening, straits, to make a wide opening*, (or Mon-Khmer →?) Cham **vaḥ** *passage*, Rōglai **wa:** *narrow passage* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 164, ***vavah**).

2082 *cweh arrow-poison.

A: (Khmer, South Bahnaric, South Aslian) Khmer **chveh chveh** *creeper yielding arrow-poison*, Chrau **chweh**, Besis **cheh** *arrow-poison* (i.e. Mah Meri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 P 164 (a)).

(***cwah** see 2047 ***crmah** *generous*... .)

***2083 *[l]wah; (*[l]wah-s >) *[l]waas wide.**

A: (Khmer, Katuic, Khmuic, Palaungic) Kuy **thwà:h** (with secondary lengthening), Kammu-Yuan **wàh**, Palaung **vah**, Praok **ve**, Lawa **wuah**; ~ Khmer **trəvèəh** *large, wide, long [mouth, slit]*.

B: (Palaungic, ?North & Central Aslian) Riang-Lang **_vas**, **_was**, Sakai **lěwas** (i.e. Temiar; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 BLOOD 1966 404; or ← Malay, below).

With Khmer, Kuy initials cf. 924 ***l/m/əp**.

Acehnese **luaih**, Malay **luas** *broad, wide*, Cham **liwah**, Rōglai **luah** *space* (DEMPWOLFF 1938 100 refers Malay to **luvat** *to issue, emerge*, = ***luat'**, DYEN 1953 § 56).

2084 *[s]a[]h carrying-basket.

A: (Bahnaric) Stieng **sa:h**, Sre **sah**, Chrau **sah** (BLOOD 1966 **sa:h**), Biat **chah**; ~ East Bahnar **[brōŋ] səmah** *carrying-baskets used for bringing in rice harvest* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(SHAFFER 1965 511; BLOOD 1966 328.)

2085 *səh to untie.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Palaungic, Central Aslian) Old Mon **soḥ /səh/** *to answer [question]*, Middle Mon **sah**, Modern Mon **səh** also *to untie*, Central Sakai **sōh** *to untie*; ~ Khmer **səsəh sasoh** *to comb, to untangle*; ~ **rəsəh** *to become loose*; ~ Riang-Lang **ṭkhə** *to be loose, to loosen, untie*.

2086 *s[ɔ]h; *səh dry.

A: (South Bahnaric, Palaungic, ?Khmer) Khmer **səh soḥ** *having a dry throat, limp*, (— - **kəkrəh**) *dried up* or **B?**), Stieng **səh** *dry*; ~ Lawa Bo Luang **saʔah**, Lawa Umphai, Mae Sariang **saʔəh** *dry, to dry*.

B: (South Bahnaric) Sre, Chrau **səh**, Biat **chəh** *dry*.

Lawa obscure (but cf. 937 ***[b]saŋʔ**)? Connect Nancowry **hiáh** *(to) dry*, **hiás** *to dry*.

Cf. 1970 ***ckəh**; 160 ***rəʔ** &c.

2087 *suh to make sibilant sound.

A: (Mon, Palaungic, Central Asian) Palaung **huh** to *gulp in [air]* (rather than < 1958 ***huh** to *blow*); ~ (***snsuh** >) Mon **kəsoh** to *make sibilant noise, hush, hiss, blow nose*, Central Sakai **h'ngchô**'s *hiss*; ~ Palaung **kənhuh** to *sigh*; (?) ~ → Iban **kesoh** to *give a single sharp puff*. Cf. Nancowry **hīh** to *blow nose*.

2088 *suəh; (***suəh suəh** > ?) ***suəs** empty.

A: (Khmer, Bahnaric, Katuic) Khmer **soh suh** (TANDART 1935), Sre **soh** empty, East Bahnar **səh** empty, *stripped* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63), Bru **sanh** empty; → Cham **thəh**, Röglai **soh**, Jarai, Acehnese **səh**; ~ Jeh **sasoh** idle, (?) Halang **səsoh** only.

B: (South Bahnaric) Biat **chə:ih** empty, vacant.

? Connect Nancowry **hiah** empty.

(SHAFFER 1965 577.)

2089 *ʔseh horse.

A: (Mon, Khmer, Katuic, North Bahnaric, Palaungic) Old Mon **kʰseh** /kseh/, Modern Mon **cheh**, Old Khmer **seh**, Modern Khmer **seh**, Kuy (ʔa:) **səh**, Chrau **əseh**, Biat **chəh**, Sre, Jeh **aseh**, Bahnar **asəh**, Gölar Bahnar **həsəh**, Halang **kəseh**, Danaw **əe**; → Cham **athəh**, Jarai **asə:h**, Röglai, North Röglai **aseh**.

Mon, Halang **k-** perhaps reflect animal prefix. Connection obscure Central Rölöm **dəh**. (SCHMIDT 1905 28; SHAFFER 1965 251; BLOOD 1966 253; SMITH 1972 358.)

(***ksih** see 246 ***ks[i]ʔ** string... .)

2090 *ksəh to spit.

A: (Mon, Kuy, Bahnaric, Viet-Mường) Old Mon **ksas** /ksəs/!, Modern Mon **chəh**, Kuy (k)**ch!**, Stieng **cəh**, Sre **choh**, Chrau, Biat **chəh**, Mường **chủ [xək]** (WILSON 1966; BARKER 1966 207); ~ (***krsəh** >) Biat **rchəh**, Bahnar **kəsəh**, !Jeh **kacuh**, Halang **kəcuh**; → Cham **kacuh**, Röglai **kətiuʔ**, North Röglai **kacueʔ**; ~ Mon [daik] **kəsəh** (& Nyah Kur **ncəh**) *spittle*; ~ Stieng [dà:k] **krəsəh** *spittle*.

Connect Kammu-Yuan **kəcúh**, (~) Rieng-Lang **təkchu**. Onomatopoeic; Old Mon **-s**, Kuy, Jeh &c. **-c-** by expressive deformation, or contaminated by 1894 ***k[m]cas** to *sneeze*? Cf. also 2006 ***[c]t[ɔ]h** (contamination is likely).

(SCHMIDT 1905 40; SMITH 1972 374.)

(***tsəh** see 247 ***tsəʔ** lung; ***hah** see 251 ***haʔ** to open [mouth]; ***ha** [ɪh], ***hu(u)h**, ***huəh** see 1958 ***ʔuh** to blow; ***chuuh** see 1875 ***cʔu[s]** to rot; ***m[h][wə]h** see 264 ***m[h][wə]ʔ** ...night.)

Appendix A South Bahnaric Comparisons¹

A1 *bɲ[ɯə]ʔ *yesterday*.

A: Stieng [mɔ]bɲɲɯ:u, Chrau [nar] ndaw, Bunör n'nia:ə, Central Rölöm dɔ:.
Connect 6 *ʔ[ɯə]ʔ *this?* Cf. also Palaung hu former time, (— *din* that yonder)
yesterday.
(BLOOD 1966 205.)

A1a *k[u(u)]ʔ *cobra*.

A: Sre [bəs] ku large kind of snake with eyes like cat (DOURNES 1950), Biat [bɛh] ku:
cobra.

A2 *g[ɔɔ]ʔ *rhinoceros horn*.

A: Sre gou [rəmis], Biat gɔ:u.

A3 *j[n]ɲɔʔ *dark*.

A: Stieng jəɲɔ:u, Sre jəɲɔ, Chrau jəɲɔ:, Central Rölöm ɲaw, ɲɔ:, Bunör, Biat ɲɔ:.
(BLOOD 1966 189.)

(*tiəʔ see 182 *tiəs *blind*.)

A4 *[c]n[d]ə[ə]ʔ *thing*.

A: Chrau sənlə:, Biat ndə:.

A5 [r]ya[]ʔ *to be named*.

A: ~ (*[r]nya[]ʔ >) Biat rɲa: *name*; ~ Sre pria *to name, to call (by a name)*; ~
Chrau tənhyɑ: *to name* (tən— causative).

Note Hre yineʔ, Sedang inay *name*, SMITH 1972 303; suggesting *-aaʔ.

A6 reʔ *to swim*.

A: Stieng re:i, Sre [a]re (& DOURNES 1950 re), Central Rölöm ray, Chrau (BLOOD
1966), Bunör, Biat rɛ:.
(SHAFER 1965 525; BLOOD 1966 179.)

¹ Originally this appendix was titled “Stiengan Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.

A7 *[]r[uu]? *to be at leisure.*

A: Sre **ru**, Biat **ru**.

Perhaps ***rluu?**, by metathesis. **226** ***rluu?** *to rest* (so Kharia **le'ru?**).

A7a ***pnrɔ?** *to arrange.*

A: Sre **pənro** *to install with care*, Biat [**ndrap**] **ndrɔ:** *to arrange.*

Add Mon **pəɔ?** *to distribute, dispense*; Bahnar **pədrɔ:**, **mədrɔ:** *(to) trade* (&c. : SMITH 1972 564)?

A8 *[b]la? *wood chip.*

A: ~ (*[b]nla? >) Sre **pənha** (→ Röglai?); ~ Biat **rbla:**.

Cf. Jarai **tʰhla:**.

A9 ***blɔ?** *earring, ear-plug.*

A: Stieng **blɔu**; → Röglai **blo**; (***bnlɔ?** >) Sre **bəno**, Biat **mblo:** [**to:r**].

A9a *[]mlɔ? *stubble.*

A: Stieng **blɔ:u**, Biat **mlɔ:** [**ba:**] *stubble*, Chrau **mlɔ:** *straw*.

A10 *[s]wi[i]? *wide.*

A: Chrau **hwi:**, Biat **hui:**.

Connection uncertain West Bahnar **ho:i**, **hu:i**, East Bahnar **hu:i** *widely spaced* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

A11 ***jhuu?** *to set light to, burn.*

A: Stieng **chu:** (BLOOD 1966 **jhu:**), Sre **chu** (→ Röglai), Bunör **su:**, Central Rölöm **chu:**, **jhu:**, Biat **chu:**; (***jnhuu?** >; contaminated by **311** ***t₂uk?**) Stieng (rare) **ndhu:k** *smoke, mist*, Sre **jhu**, Chrau **ju?**, Biat **jhu:k** *smoke*.

Cf. (i) Jeh, Halang **ca:w**; perhaps, but improbably, with diphthongization as in **43** ***cuu?**, & compensatory lengthening following irregular loss of ***h**; (ii) Biat **chuj** [**uj**], by phrasal deformation (cf. **885** ***?uj** *fire*); (iii) **1546** ***chu(u)y** *to emit smoke or steam*.

Cham &c. **cu**h is < Proto-Austronesian ***k'uqk'uq** (under the entry **1984** ***cu(ə)h**). (BLOOD 1966 240.)

A12 ***?aak** *shoulder-blade.*

A: Sre (DOURNES 1950) **a:**, Biat [**nti:ŋ**] **a:k**.

Connect Kuy **mpa:**? (*tip of*) *shoulder*? Cf. also **265** ***iək** (*part of*) *arm*.

A13 *ʔuuk clay.

A: Sre **u:** *earth*, Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔu:k**, Chrau **u:ʔ**, Biat [neh] **u:k** *clay*.
(BLOOD 1966 243.)

A14 *ʔuək; *ʔək much, many.

A: Sre **oaʔ** *much*;
B: Stieng **ɒ:k** *much, many*, Bunör **ək**, Central Rölöm **ək** *many* (& **ʔək**, ← Biat?), Biat **ək** *much*.
(BLOOD 1966 127.)

A14a *[c]nʔ[ə]k hand of bananas.

A: Chrau **səʔaʔ**, Biat **nʔəʔ**.

A15 *lʔiik cold.

A: Stieng **li:k**, Central Rölöm **ʔi:k** *cold*, Chrau **ləʔi:ʔ** *cool*, (~?) Bunör **nʔni:k** *cold*, Biat **nʔi:k** *cool, coolness*.
(BLOOD 1966 220.)

A16 *k[o]k knot in wood.

A: Chrau **ko:ʔ**, Biat **koʔ**.

A17 *j[ɔ]k long in time.

A: Stieng **jɔ:k**, Sre **joʔ**, Chrau **jɔʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **jɔk** *long, a long time*, Biat **jɔʔ** ~ *a long time, (to be) late*.
(SHAFFER 1965 518; BLOOD 1966 267.)

(*tək see 21 *[d]ək *time (quantifier)*.)

A18 *[k]tuk place.

A: Stieng **tuk**, Central Rölöm **tuk**; ~ (*[k]ntuk >) Bunör **ntuk**, Biat **ntok**, (or next?) Stieng **kətu:k**; ~ (*[k][r]tuk >) Chrau **gətuʔ**.
(BLOOD 1966 168.)

A19 *tntək to cover oneself.

A: Sre **ntə!**, Biat **ntək** (→ Chrau **ntɔʔ**) *to cover oneself with [blanket]*, Chrau **təŋtəʔ** (!) *to cover over*.

Sre -əʔ, Chrau -nt- are expected; with Sre cf. 367 *fək. Connect 1252 t₁əp &c.

A20 *[s]rtuk lid.

A: Sre **rətu** (!), Chrau **sətuʔ**.

Sre -uʔ is expected. Connect (via Cham **hatuʔ** *lid*?) 1252 *t₁up ...*to cover*.

A21 *[d]ək; *tək *time (quantifier)*.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) **ɗuɐʔ**, Sre, Chrau **ɗəʔ**, Central Rölöm **ɗə:ʔ**, **ɗə:ʔ**;

B: Bunör **tə:ʔ** Biat **təʔ**.

(BLOOD 1966 421.)

A22 *[d]ɔk *to wear round small part of body*.

A: Stieng **ɗo:k** *to put on, put round neck*, Sre **ɗo:**, Bunör **ɗo:k**, Central Rölöm **ɗo:k** *to wear on finger or wrist*, Biat **ɗo:k** *to wear [ring]*, perhaps Chrau **ɗə:ʔ** *to put in*.

Cf. 80 ***ɗɔɔʔ** *to cover head*.

(BLOOD 1966 71.)

A23 *[]n[]ak *hearth*.

A: Stieng, Biat **nak**, Chrau **naʔ**.

Connection uncertain Khmer **phnùək** *ready-laid fire, pile of combustible materials*. For Sre **bənha** see 231 ***slaʔ**.

A24 *tɔn[ɔ]k *body hair, feathers*.

A: Stieng **pənɔ:k**, Sre **təno:**.

Cf. Chrau **sənɔ:ʔ**, ad 467 ***suək**.

A25 *[c]piik *kinds of small mammal*.

A: Stieng **pi:k** *group of small mammals of fox family*, Sre **pi** (!) *class of mammals including civet cats, flying squirrels, paradoxure, binturong, &c.*; ~ (*[c]mpiiik >) Chrau **səpi:ʔ** *weasel*, Biat **mpi:k** *class of mammals*

Cf. Khmer **səmpò:c** *civet cat*, conceivably ***jp-**, Khmer ~ ***jpuuk**, with -c by assimilation. But note also Khasi **ksih** *beaver, otter*, (**kynja** —) *marten*, perhaps < ***pciik** by metathesis, with animal prefix.

(SHAFER 1965 331.)

A26 *[b]ɔk *mud*.

A: Stieng **bɔ:k**, Sre **boʔ**, Chrau **vɔʔ**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bɔk**, Biat **[ɗa:k]** **bɔk**.

Khmer **phùək** is rather ~ 482 ***lhək** *mud*.

(BLOOD 1966 266.)

A27 *yak *to accuse*.

A: Sre, Chrau **yaʔ**.

A27a *yuk *square fishing-net, clap-net*.

A: Sre, Biat **yuʔ** (→ Stieng **iuʔ**) *id.*, Chrau **yuʔ** *large conical net*; ↔ Cham, Röglai **yuʔ**.

Cf. Jarai **ʔrɯʔ**, **ʔriʔ**.

A28 *yuuk mountain.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966) **yo:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **yɔ:k**, Bunör, Biat **yo:k**.

Connect uncertain Sakai **chök**ⁿ (i.e. Semai), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 H 90; Cham **cəʔ**, &c., are < Proto-Aceh-Chamic ***cət** (cf. Acehnese **cət**) & not connected. (BLOOD 1966 21.)

A28a *r[ɔɔ]k to stretch out [legs &c.].

A: Sre **ro:**, Biat **rɔ:k**.

A28b *ruuk to pull up.

A: Sre **rou** to remove [e.g. stumps from field], Biat **ro:k** to pull up [plants].

Cf. 1058 ***ru(u)t** &c.

A29 *truuk sky.

A: Stieng **tru:k**, Sre **tru:**, Chrau **tro:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **trɔ:k**, Bunör, Biat **tro:k**.

(SHAFFER 1965 324; BLOOD 1966 19.)

A30 *kla[a]k the day after tomorrow.

A: Chrau **[nar] kla:ʔ**, Bunör **[na:r] kla:k**, Central Rölöm **[ta:ŋ] tla:k**, Biat **kla:k**.

(BLOOD 1966 301.)

A31 *sl[uu]k naked.

A: Bunör **ləho:k**, Biat **lho:k**; ~ (***srl[uu]k** >) Chrau **səro:ʔ**, Central Rölöm **[sak] ro:k**.

By metathesis 1707 ***kuulh**?

(BLOOD 1966 p. 37.)

A32 *wak to receive, welcome.

A: Stieng **uak** to receive [visitor], fetch home, Sre **waʔ** to receive [visitor] (→Röglai); ~ Biat **cuaʔ** to receive [visitor], fetch home.

(***wa[a]k** see following)

A33 *[k]wa[a]k armpit.

A: Stieng **[bu:k] kua:k**, Chrau **kwa:ʔ**; ~ (***kpwa[a]k** >?) Biat **[plɛ:] wa:k**.

Perhaps ***wa[a]k**, ***wa[a]k wa[a]k** > ***kwa[a]k**. Connect Sre **pənoaʔ**?

A34 *kəŋ shell of ear.

A: Sre **kəŋ** ear-lobe (DOURNES 1950), (**e[:]** —) ear-wax, Stieng **[ɛ:c] kəŋ**, Chrau **[ac] kəŋ** ear-wax.

A34a *kuəŋ chief.

A: Sre kuaŋ *chief (general term)*, Biat kwəŋ [ra:n ɓə:n] *major chief*.

A35 *[c]a[a]ŋ clear, limpid.

A: Sre sa:ŋ, Biat cha:ŋ.

Connection uncertain 523 *caŋ *to glitter*; 535 *scaŋ *to shine*. Stieng has a:ŋ, contaminated by 489 *cʔaŋ *to shine, be light*.

A36 *[c]oŋ straight.

A: Stieng soŋ, Bunör səŋ *straight* (→ Chrau?), Sre soŋ *straight, right, true*, Biat chəŋ *straight, direct, fair*.

Cf. 530 *kcəŋ *stretched...*

A36a *.ceəŋ to carry.

A: Stieng ce:ŋ *to carry slung over shoulder* (& ce:ŋ *sling of bag &c.*), Sre ce:ŋ *to take, bring*, Chrau ce:ŋ *to carry under arm*, Biat ce:ŋ *to carry slung across body, carry [child] on hip*.

A36b *.c[ɔ]ŋ [lightning] to strike.

A: Sre coŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat cə:ŋ.

Perhaps *pcoŋ *causative* ~ 524 cəŋ *to set light to*.

A36b *juŋ; *juuŋ noose, snare.

A: Sre juŋ *snare*;

B: Biat njū:ŋ *to snare using a decoy*.

A37 *[p]əŋ; *[p]əəŋ beads, necklace.

A: Sre poŋ (*necklace of*) beads.

B: Stieng po:ŋ, Biat pə:ŋ *beads*.

If conceivably *cn-, cf. B 49 *[c]na[a]ŋ.

A37a *tuŋ kind of lizard.

A: Sre [ŋoŋ] tuŋ *kind of large lizard*, Biat [kwai] toŋ *kind of large lizard or monitor*.

Add perhaps (*t₁uəŋ >) Palaung təŋ [bleət] *large kind of lizard*.

A37b *[s]teəŋ to elbow.

A: Biat [gəh] tə:ŋ; ~ Sre sante:ŋ.

A38 *[d]əŋ equivalent quantity.

A: Stieng də:ŋ *like, equal*, Sre dəŋ *in accordance with, as much as* (DOURNES 1950), Chrau dəŋ *to, as much as*.

A39 *[ɲdəŋ] *pus*.

A: Stieng (n)ɲdɔːŋ, ɲdɔːŋ, ~ Sre ɲdəŋ, Biat ɲdɔŋ.

Connect perhaps (i; *smduŋ > ?) Kuy mɲoŋ, Kammu Yuan plúŋ; (ii; duəŋ > ?) Central Nicobarese tɔŋ.

A40 *k[r][dʰ]ii[ŋ] *to hide*.A: Sre k[r][dʰ]iiŋ v.i., Biat rdiŋ *to hide, obscure*.

Or *-ɲ?

A41 *ɲpuuŋ *door, window*.A: Stieng ɲpoːŋ, Sre mpuuŋ *door, window*, Chrau ɲpoːŋ *door*, (— mhlɔh) *window*, [voːʔ] poːŋ *door[way]*, Biat mpoːŋ *door*, (— ɔh) *window*.Connect by metathesis Kammu Yuan pərləŋ *entrance, gate?* Cf. also 608a *pɔɔŋ *window*.A41a *kb[ɔ]ŋ *beak*.A: Stieng bɔːŋ; ~ Sre kəmbəŋ *bill of hornbill &c.* (DOURNES 1950), Stieng kənbɔːŋ, Biat mbəŋ *beak*.Separate Bahnar təbɔːŋ *muzzle, snout*, (Kontum Bahnar) *beak*.A42 *məŋ *stick*.

A: Bunör, Central Rölöm məŋ, Biat mɔŋ.

Connect perhaps Khmer mɔːŋ, thmaoŋ *large stick* (< *muuŋ with vocalism levelled on derivation?).

(BLOOD 1966 123.)

A43 *yaŋ *kind of jar*.A: Sre yaŋ *squat type of jar*, Bunör, Central Rölöm yaŋ *wine-jar*, Biat yaŋ *jar*.

(BLOOD 1966 377.)

A44 *[c]nraŋ *mad*.

A: Sre sənraŋ (→ Röglai), Biat ndraŋ.

A45 *sr[o]ŋ *to temper [metal]*.

A: Stieng səɔːŋ, Sre sroŋ (→ Röglai), Biat chrəŋ.

A45a *liŋ *joint*.A: Stieng liːŋ *joint of body*, Biat luŋ *finger- joint, joint of bamboo &c.*A46 *kliŋ *kite (toy)*.

A: Stieng kliːŋ, Sre kliŋ.

Probable variant of 714 *laŋ &c. *large raptor*; for the toy Khmer has khlaeŋ, Bahnar klaːŋ. (Cf. SCHMIDT 1905 62.)

A47 *gl[ee]ŋ [*animal*] to carry in mouth.

A: Sre glɛŋ (DOURNES 1950), Biat glɛ:ŋ.

A48 *gləŋ (*kind of*) pheasant.

A: Stieng glɔ:ŋ pheasant, Sre gləŋ *Polyplectron bicalcaratum germaini*, Chrau gləŋ *kind of bird with blue plumage*.

A48a *[s]u[]ŋ; *[s]əŋ *projecting hair*.

A: Stieng so:ŋ [mat] eyelash;

B: Sre [təno:] səŋ down; ~ Biat rchəŋ *erectile hair, [eye]lash, [porcupine] quills*.

A49 *khiə[ŋ] to chew the cud.

A: Sre khiəŋ (→ Röglai); ~ Biat nchiəŋ [ka:ŋ].

Cf. Khmer ʔiəŋ *cud*.

A50 *[b]hii[ŋ] (&*[b]hi[ŋ]?) otter.

A: Sre phiŋ (< variant?), Biat phi:ŋ.

Connect 260 *bhe??

A51 *gic; *giəc to break off.

A: Chrau giʔ to snap [branch &c.] by bending, Biat gic to break.

B: Chrau giət to break (off).

Add Khmer kəc gec to avoid, evade? Cf. also 804 *gac to pluck, harvest; 800 *kac to pluck, break off, cut.

A52 *ŋac active, well.

A: Sre ŋac to be well, Biat ŋac lively, quick (& mai — ɔ:i mai bæ:ʔ how are you?).

A53 *[c]əc to diverge.

A: Sre seʔ to branch, to move aside (→ Röglai), Biat cheʔ to avoid.

By assimilation < 291 *c[ə]k to separate, split?

A53a *[s]ndac to go round.

A: Sre səndac to go round, to surround, Biat ndac to avoid, to turn round (v.t.).

A54 *puəc flesh, meat.

A: Sre poac, Biat puəc.

Add *pu(u)c > Stieng pu:ic lineage?

A55 *rac to pray, invoke.

A: Sre rac to pray to, invoke, Biat rac [thɔ:u, ɡɔm] to curse.

A56 *kləc to hook.

A: Chrau **khleʔ** (to pull with) *hook*; ~ (***knləc** >) Sre **kəneʔ**, Biat **ŋleʔ** *hook*.

A57 *w[i]c side.

A: Sre **weʔ**, Biat **[poŋ] weʔ**.

Or ***wəc**; but hardly = 865 ***wəc** *stomach*.

A58 *[s]ac to choose, select.

A: Stieng **se:c** to choose, pick out, sort out, pick up, Chrau **sac** to pick out, Sre **sac**, Biat **chac** to choose.

Connect by metathesis (or assimilation if rather ***cac**) 1889 ***cuus** &c.?

A59 *ʔaəŋ to carry on back.

A: Stieng, Sre, Biat **a:ŋ**, Chrau (BLOOD 1966), Bunör, Central Rölöm **ʔa:ŋ**.
(BLOOD 1966 274.)

A60 *kəəŋ (& *kəŋ?) to want.

A: Sre **kəŋ** (< variant?; beside **kəŋ**), Chrau **kə:ŋ**.

A61 *g[i]ŋ to chew.

A: Biat **giŋ**; ~ Sre **tərgiŋ**.

Connect 597 ***gnaiŋ** &c. *tusk, eye-tooth?* Note also Lawa Bo Luang **pianŋ**, &c., *tooth*, under the entry 924 ***ləŋ**.

A62 *[b]uŋ; *[b]uəŋ courgettes.

A: Bunör **būŋ**.

B: Chrau **[pa:y] vu:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **bu:ŋ**.

(BLOOD 1966 229.)

A63 *[]rmaəŋ wound.

A: Stieng **rəma:ŋ**, Biat **rma:ŋ** *wound*, Chrau **[rəwəʔ] rəma:ŋ** *mange*.

A64 *raəŋ old.

A: Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **ra:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **[u:]ra:ŋ** *old person*, Biat **ra:ŋ** *old*.

Cf. 918 ***knraəŋ** *elder, functionary*.

(BLOOD 1966 325.)

A65 *truŋ; *truəŋ; *truəy waistcloth.

A: ~ Sre **ntroŋ**.

B: Chrau **trə:ŋ** *waistcloth*, Stieng **trə:e:ŋ** (BLOOD 1966 **trə:ŋ**), Central Rölöm **trəəŋ** *waistcloth, to wear waistcloth*.

C: Bunör **trə:y** *waistcloth, to wear waistcloth*, Biat **trə:i** *man's waistcloth*.

(BLOOD 1966 67.)

A66 *pr[ii]ŋ *ashamed.*

A: Stieng **pre:ŋ**, **pre:ŋ** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau **pre:ŋ**, Bunör **pre:ŋ**, Central Rölöm **pru:ŋ** *ashamed, embarrassed*, Biat **pre:ŋ** *ashamed*.

Connect Khasi **raiñ** *shame, self-respect?*

(BLOOD 1966 37.)

A67 *liiŋ *sea.*

A: Sre **[da:] li:ŋ**, Chrau **[da:ʔ] le:ŋ**.

Connect 854 ***ləc** &c. *to be flooded...?*

A67a *ʔuut; *ʔuət *to embrace, put arms round.*

A: Chrau, Biat **u:t**.

B: Stieng **ʔuət**.

A68 *tʔi[]t; *tʔiət *little finger.*

A: Stieng **[ko:n] te:t**, Sre **et**.

B: Chrau **[kə:n] tiət** (— **ti:**) *little finger*, (— **jəŋ**) *little toe*, Biat **[lau] ɛ:t** *little finger*.

Earlier ***ʔi[] ʔi[]t** &c. ad 939 &c. ***ʔit** &c. *small in quantity?*

A69 *[s]rʔiət *bed-bug.*

A: Stieng **səriət**, Biat **rʔiət**.

A70 *kuət *to seize in talons.*

A: Stieng **kuət**, Sre **kuat** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **kwat**.

A71 *caat; *ciit *torn.*

A: Stieng **ca:t** *to get one's clothes torn*, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sə:t**, Biat **cha:t** *torn, worn*.

B: Sre **sə:t** *torn, worn*.

Cf. 291 ***caak** &c. *to separate, split*, with similar fronting in Sre; & cross-references there.

A72 *[c]uut *wound, lesion.*

A: Sre **sout** *wound*, Chrau **so:t** *to ache*, Bunör **so:t**, Central Rölöm **sə:t** *wound, cut*, Biat **cho:t** *wound, sore*.

(BLOOD 1966 17.)

A73 *[k]cuut *to stumble, fall.*

A: Sre **cout** *to stumble, trip over*, Biat **co:t** *to fall over, fall down*.

A74 *jɔ̌t to trample.

A: Chrau, Bunör, Biat jɔ̌t, Central Rölöm jəat; ~ Sre pəɾjot to thresh by driving buffaloes over.
(BLOOD 1966 54.)

A75 *tiət agreeably flavoured.

A: Stieng, Central Rölöm tiət, Bunör cyat sweet, Biat ciat [bɔ̌h] salted; Chrau ntiət salty.
Connect perhaps Sora bə'seɪd-, bə'sud- (to season with) salt (c.f. bud-ən n., so to be separate from forms at PINNOW 1959 277c); then *t₂-.
(BLOOD 1966 109.)

A76 *tət to arrive (at).

A: Stieng tət to arrive (at), reach, Chrau tət to arrive at; to, Biat tət to arrive; up to.

A77 *piit to dispute possession of.

A: Sre piit to covet, (tam —) quarrel over possession of, Chrau [tam]piit to compete, Biat [tɔ̌m] piit to quarrel over possession of.

A78 *[]put youngest of siblings.

A: Stieng put, Sre, Chrau put.
Hardly Sanskrit *putra-* son. Vocalism suggests voiced initial.

A79 *[b]ut lower part of back.

A: Stieng bu:t, Sre, Bunör but, Chrau vut, Central Rölöm but lower part of back, buttocks, Biat but waist.
Cf. Khmer kù:t buttocks, Kuy khù:t base of spine; constructed *gʷu(u)t? But note also (i) Mon put base of spine, with irregular vocalism; perhaps ← or contaminated by Sanskrit *puccha-* tail; (ii) Proto-Austronesian *pu[ə]t : Tagalog puwít buttocks, &c. (BLUST 1971 no. 309; Proto-Hesperonesian).
(BLOOD 1966 153.)

A80 *knbuət mouth-organ.

A: Sre kəmboat (→ Röglai), Chrau kəmvuət.
Connect Khasi put to blow [wind instrument], under the entry 1023 *puut &c.?

A80a *tmiit; *tmiət to watch, observe.

A: ~ *tmiit >) Sre təmi:t to watch, keep an eye on, Biat me:t to spy on.
B: ~ Biat rmiat to spy on.
Cf. Khasi khmih to observe.

A80b *rəət [rain] to stop.

A: Chrau **rəət** *end of rain*; ~ Biat **bru:t** [rain] *to stop*.

Connection dubious 943 *ʔəət ...*finished*...; *[]rʔ- should yield Chrau 1-.

A81 *grət (kind of) vulture.

A: Biat **grət** *vulture*; → Cham **krəʔ**, Jar. [ci:m] **gruʔ**, Northern Röglai [cip] **grəʔ**, → Bahnar **grəʔ**; ~ Sre **gərət** *bald vulture*, *Otogyps calvus*; → Röglai **gərəʔ** *vulture*.

A81a *[s]r[l][ee]t to pass.

A: Sre **sərlet** *to go past, exceed* (→ Röglai), Biat [tə:m] **rlət** *to pass in opposite directions*.

Or *-rr-, perhaps connect 1056 *riit &c. ...*to go round*...

A81b *[w]ət kind of bat.

A: Stieng **uət** *small kind of bat frequenting houses*, Biat **wət** *kind of bat*.

Or *ʔuət? Connection uncertain Semang **kāwed** *flying fox* (i.e. Kintaq Bong), &c., SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 B 76; which compare for similar forms in Andamanese.

A82 *[c]wiit narrow, confined.

A: Sre **wit**, Chrau **hwe:t**.

Connect 949 *cʔiit &c. *to confine*...? But perhaps *sw-.

A83 *cwaat to step.

A: Biat **cuat** *to step, pace*; ~ (*cnwaat >) Stieng **cəuat**, Biat **ɲuat** *step*.

Cf. 462 *swa[a]k *to walk*....

A83a *[s][ɔ]t (& *[s]ɔt?) to slight.

A: Sre **sot** *to slander*, Biat **chɔ:t** *disrespectful*; ~ Chrau **rəsɔ:t** *to scold*.

A84 *h[ɔ]t to eat away.

A: Chrau **hɔ:t** *termite-eaten*, Biat **hɔ:t** *to gnaw*.

A85 *ɲan certain(ly), really, very.

A: Stieng **ɲan** *certain(ly), truly, true*, Sre **ɲan** *true, certain*, Chrau **ɲan** *really, very, nothing but*, Bunör, Central Rölöm **ɲan** *very*, Biat **ɲan** *true, certain, very*.

(BLOOD 1966 366.)

A86 *[]tuun back of knife-blade.

A: Sre, Chrau **tu:n**.

A87 *[d]an (&*[d]aan?) to ask, beg.

A: Stieng **da:n** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 **dan**), Bunör, Central Rölöm **dan** to beg, Sre **dan** to ask for, Biat **dan** to ask, beg.
(BLOOD 1966 342.)

A88 *[d]un leprosy.

A: Sre, Biat **dun**.

A89 *rn[ɔɔ]n debt.

A: Bunör **rəɔɔ:n**, Central Rölöm **nəan**, Biat **rɔɔ:n**.
Perhaps ~ ***rɔɔn** > Mon **ròn** [təməʔ] to assign [money &c.] especially for charitable use.
(BLOOD_1966 66.)

A89a *[b]an; *[b]aan to meet, to overtake.

A: Sre **ban** to meet.
B: Stieng **ba:n** to follow, pursue, Biat **ba:n** equal, (təŋ —) to overtake.

A90 *[b]un pregnant.

A: Sre, Bunör, Biat **bun**, Chrau **vun**, Central Rölöm **bun**; Stieng **nbun**.
Connect 629 *[d]buŋ fetus?
(SHAFER 1965 133; BLOOD 1966 152.)

A91 *.n[ɔ]ɔn village.

A: Sre **ɔn**, Bunör, Biat **ɔ:n**, Central Rölöm [ɔ]əan.
Ultimately ← Khmer **təmbəɔn** locality, under the entry 1763 *təbəl?
(BLOOD 1966 51.)

A92 *məɔn; *məɔn to mould.

A: Sre **mon** to make, to mould; → Röglai **mon** to make.
A,B: Stieng **mɔ:n** to copy, make a model of.
B: Bunör **mɔ:n**, Central Rölöm **məan** to mould, to whittle, Biat **mɔ:n** to model, knead.
Connect 1184 ***maan** to work clay?
(BLOOD 1966 63.)

A93 *k[n]muən rhinoceros beetle.

A: Stieng **kəmuɔ:n** large kind of beetle, Sre **kəmuən** rhinoceros beetle (DOURNES 1950).

A94 *ran earthworm.

A: Sre **ran**; ~ Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bran**, Chrau **vran**.
Cf. Vietnamese **run**, **giun**.
(BLOOD 1966 340.)

A95 *raan to approach, go to meet.

A: Stieng **ra:n** to approach, Sre [lot] **ra:n** to visit, go to meet, Biat **ra:n** to welcome; → Röglai [nau] **ra:n** to visit, go to meet.

A95a *trəən to move (v.t.).

A: Sre **tron** (DOURNES 1950; correct to **trö(ö)n**) to move [grazing beast], Biat **trə:n** [ntok] to move.

A96 *[k]lən to impinge on violently.

A: Sre **klən** to collide (with), crash into, Biat **klan** to fall on and crush.

Cf. (i) Sre, Röglai **jələn** to squash, crush; (ii) Bahnar **jəlv:m**, **cəlv:m** to crash into... (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

A96a *[k]lən; *[k]ləən to joke, amuse people.

A: Chrau **khlən** for fun; diversion.

B: Biat **rlu:n** to amuse oneself; fun, joker, **rlə:n** to play about.

Connect perhaps (i) Jeh **lla:n**, Halang **rəla:n** to play; (ii) Khmer **kəmplaen** funny, to joke (contaminated by 712 *leŋ to sport, play?).

A97 *blən; *bli[i]n egg-plant.

A: Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm **blən**, Chrau **vlən**, Biat **blən**.

B: Stieng **ble:n** wild egg-plant.

(BLOOD 1966 113.)

A98 *wan to wear round neck, over shoulder.

A: Sre **wan** to wear round neck, Biat **wan** to wear slung across shoulder; ~ (*[]nwan >) Biat **ɲuan** to wear slung across shoulder.

= 1208 *wan coiled, to wind... (& *wən? to put, wear, round waist)?

A99 *han (& *haan?) to go.

A: Stieng **ha:n** (< variant? BLOOD 1966 **han**), Chrau, Bunör, Biat **han**.
(BLOOD 1966 349.)

A100 *[]rhiin thin in diameter.

A: Sre **rəhin** thin, small, Biat **rhi:n** thin, fine.

A101 *[l]ʔup; *[l]ʔuup; *[l]ʔuəp to ask, inquire.

A: Chrau **lup**.

B: Sre **lu:p**, Central Rölöm **lə:p** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **o:p**.

C: Stieng **uə:p**.

Perhaps *ʔ- ~ + []lʔ-.

A102 *kəp *to wait, lie in wait for.*

- A: Stieng **kəp** *to wait, lie in wait for*, Sre **kəp** *to lie in wait for*, (— **tənə**) *wait*, Chrau **kəp** *to wait*, Biat **kəp** *to wait*, (— **dəp**) *lie in wait for*.
 Conceivably = 1237 ***ckəp** *to cover* (, *catch by covering*).

A103 *kəp *to count.*

- A: Stieng, Sre, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kə:p**.
 (BLOOD 1966 398.)

A103a *k[ɔɔ]p *fever, sickness.*

- A: Sre **kə:p** *ill*, (in compounds) *disease, fever*, Biat **kə:p** *fever*.

A104 *tip; *tiip; *tiəp *facial hair.*

- A: Sre [təno:] **tip**.
 B: Biat **te:p**; ~ (***tpiip** >) Chrau [səno:ʔ] **pe:p** *moustache*.
 C: Stieng **tiəp** *facial hair*.

A105 *tiip; *təp *infectious.*

- A: Chrau **te:p**.
 B: Stieng [a]tə:p, Biat **tu:p**; ~ Sre **gətə:p** *infectious disease*.

A106 *tup *to fall.*

- A: Stieng **tup**, Biat **top** *to fall from a height*, Sre **tup** *to fall, trip over*.
 Cf. 1349 *[k]t₁uum &c. *to fall down*.

A107 *[d]nduup *hand's breadth.*

- A: Sre **ndoup** *hand's breadth*, Biat **ndo:p** [ti:] *back of hand*.

A107a *k[m]n[oo]p *hammer, anvil.*

- A: Stieng **kənɔ:p** [kənɔ:l] *smith's hammer*, Biat **no:p** (mɛ: —) *anvil*, (kɔ:n —) *hammer*.
 Connection dubious Khmer **trəndəp** *anvil*.

A107b *kraap *to hide, take shelter.*

- A: Stieng **kra:p** *to be bowed down, to hide*, Chrau **kra:p** *to take shelter*, Biat **kra:p** *to take shelter, to hide*.
 Connect 1273 ***rup** &c. *to cover*?

A108 *drap *large kind of jar.*

- A: Sre, Chrau **drap**.

A109 *gnləp *to pacify.*

- A: Chrau **gələp** *to pacify, cheer up*, Biat [tɔ:m o:p tɔ:m] **ɲləp** *to pacify*.

A110 *lʔəəm (& *lʔəm?) only.

A: Sre ləm (< variant?), Biat də:m.

A111 *k[uə]n kiim (& *kim?) butterfly.

A: Sre kuŋ kim (→ Röglai; < variant?), Chrau kum ki:m, Biat kom ki:m, by metathesis Stieng ku:mkɪ:n.

A112 *[]gəm to cook, boil.

A: Stieng go:m (BLOOD 1966 gəm), Chrau gəm to cook, boiling, Sre, Bunör gəm, Central Rölöm gam to cook, Biat gəm to boil.

Perhaps *pgəm, causative ~ (*gəm >) Mon kəm to be warm. Cf. also 513 *g(u)əŋ. (BLOOD 1966 117.)

A113 *gəəm to laugh, smile.

A: Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm gə:m to smile, laugh, Biat gə:m to laugh. (BLOOD 1966 392.)

A113a *jəm to block [road].

A: Sre jəm, Biat jəm; ~ (*[j]rjəm > by metathesis) Chrau jrəm to block [road], Stieng [a]jʔrə:m blocked road, fence round field.

A114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A: Sre, Chrau tam; weak form Chrau təm-, Stieng ta:, by secondary lengthening Biat tə:m.

Connect A 116 *təm to repay...; perhaps 1344 *t₁um &c. collection....

A115 *taam efficacious [medicine].

A: Stieng tà:m, Sre, Biat ta:m.

Stieng suggests *ʔt-.

A116 *təm to repay, make good.

A: Sre təm, Biat təm.

Connect A 114 *tam reciprocal preverb.

A116a *ktiim to keep.

A: Sre tim to keep, preserve, Biat te:m to keep, preserv, to husband; by secondary derivation ~ Chrau nce:m to set aside.

A117 *[g]n[ə]m granary.

A: Stieng (rare) nɔ:m, Sre dām (!), Chrau nəm.

Sre by arbitrary differentiation dām underneath, < 1362a *[]ndəm? Conceivably ~ 1320 *bgəm to collect together.

A118 *[s]nɔɔm *elephant's trunk.*

A: Biat nɔɔm; ~ (*[s]pnɔɔm >) Sre sɔnom trunk (→ Rōglai), Chrau pɔnɔɔm trunk, antennae.

A119 *[b]iəm *bad.*

A: Chrau viəm, Biat biam.

A120 *[k][b]am *flood.*

A: Sre bam, Biat [da:k] bam; ~ Sre gəbam (DOURNES 1950).

A121 *ram; *raam *warm.*

A: Sre ram warm, comfortable, Biat ram [nu:ih] happy.

B: Stieng ra:m warm; ~ Stieng mra:m, (~?) Chrau kəhra:m warm.

Connect perhaps (i) Khmer rùm ramya pleasant, if contaminated by rather than ← Sanskrit ramya-; (ii; then *rmram >) Mon pəròm [pərèa] to convalesce.

A122 *rəm *to tremble, shake.*

A: Sre, Chrau rəm, Biat rəm; ~ Stieng pəndra:m.

A123 *ruum; *ruəm *to like, desire.*

A: Central Rölöm ro:m to desire; desireable.

B: Stieng rɔ:m to desire; desireable (BLOOD 1966), Chrau rɔ:m beautiful. (BLOOD 1966 69.)

A123a *brəm *cord under tension.*

A: Sre brəm (che —) [crossbow] string (DOURNES 1950), (chi —) frame [of clap-net], Biat brəm [nda:r] fishing-line.

A124 *gləm (& *gluəm?) *to wolf down.*

A: Stieng gɭɔ:m [dog] to snap up and swallow (<variant?), Sre gləm to crush with teeth and swallow (DOURNES 1950), Biat [cha:] gləm to devour.

A125 *[p]r[l]iim *small bell, jingle.*

A: Sre bərlim (→ Rōglai), Biat rle:m.

Cf. Chrau nhle:n ankle bones. But perhaps *-rr-.

A126 *pr[l]am (&*pr[l]aam?) *to roll [log &c.].*

A: Stieng prəla:m (~ variant?), Chrau pəlam, Biat rlam.

Or *-rr-.

A127 *[]mləm *quantifier for things.*

A: Stieng, Bunör **mləm**, Sre **nəm**, Chrau **ləm**, Central Rölöm **mbləm** *quantifier for things*, Biat **mləm** *block, lump*.

(BLOOD 1966 122.)

A128 *huum *to remain; still, yet.*

A: Stieng **hu:m** *more, longer*, Sre **houm**, Chrau, Bunör **ho:m**, Central Rölöm **hō:m** *still*, Biat **ho:m** *still, to be left over*.

(BLOOD 1966 5.)

A129 *ʔuuy *morning.*

A: Stieng **u:i**, Chrau **o:y**, Bunör **ʔo:y**, Central Rölöm **ʔō:y**, Biat **o:i**.

(BLOOD 1966 12.)

A130 *t[n]ŋəy *maize.*

A: Sre, Chrau **təŋə:y**; → Cham **təŋə:y**, Röglai **təŋə:y**.

A131 *j[oo]y *to look for, search for.*

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Sre **jō:y**, Bunör **jō:y**, Central Rölöm **jōay**, Biat **jō:i**.

(BLOOD 1966 55.)

A132 *juuy *fringe.*

A: Biat **ju:i** *fringe, lace*; ~ Stieng **nju:i** *fringe*.

Cf. (i) Khmer **cì:əy** *hem, fringe, edge*; (ii) Palaung **kəsoy** *fringe* (MILNE 1931).

A133 *tuuy *to bend.*

A: Sre **touy** *bent into a hook*, Biat **to:i** *to bend (v.i.)*.

A134 *[b]uəy *to warn, forbid.*

A: Stieng **buəy** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **bway**, Central Rölöm **b[uə]y** *to warn*, Biat **buai**, **buəi** *to forbid*.

(BLOOD 1966 81.)

A135 *[k].[b]ay *gaur.*

A: Stieng **bei**, Sre **gəbay**, Biat **bai**; (probably →) Röglai **gəbay**, Northern Röglai **gabəi**.

Ultimately ← Khmer **krəbry** *buffalo*, < 103 ***krpi**?

A136 *gr[oo]y *to watch closely.*

A: Sre **gro:y** *to watch, be watchful*, Chrau **gro:y** *to discern, judge*.

(***truəy** see 65 ***truj** *waistcloth*.)

A137 *[m]nruuy *brewing-yeast*.

A: Sre mənruy, Biat ndrui.

A138 *kwaay *to scratch, dig*.

A: Sre koay *to scratch* (→ Röglai kəwe), Chrau khway, Biat kwa:i *to scratch, dig*.

1442 *kaay *to scratch* contaminated by 867 *kwaac *id.*? Cf. also 1541 *khaay &c. *to dig*.

A139 *[s]aay *spouse, to marry*.

A: Stieng sai *spouse, to marry*, Chrau say *to marry*, Bunör, Central Rölöm say, Biat chai *husband*.

(BLOOD 1966 329.)

A140 *huy *to be mistaken*.

A: Sre huy *to be mistaken about*, Biat hui *to be mistaken about; mistake*.

A141 *ʔuur *woman, female*.

A: Sre ur *woman*, Chrau ur *female*, Stieng (BLOOD 1966) [də:] ʔur, Bunör, Central Rölöm ʔur, Biat ur *female, wife*; ~ Chrau səʔur *wife*.

(BLOOD 1966 244.)

A142 *[c]kaar *kind of bamboo*.

A: Stieng ka:r *common thornless bamboo*; ~ (*[c]nkaar >) Sre səkar, Central Rölöm ka:r, Bunör, Biat ŋka:r *kind of bamboo*.

(BLOOD 1966 312.)

A143 *gir *to fish with fish-basket*.

A: Stieng gə:r, Sre, Bunör gir, Central Rölöm gur; ~ (*gnir >) Sre (BLOOD 1966) d̥ir, Bunör nir, Central Rölöm nur *fish-trap*.

(BLOOD 1966 136, 143.)

A144 *[]nguor *noise*.

A: Stieng ŋo:r, ɲur, Biat ŋgo:r *noise, sound*, Sre ɲgur *rustling of leaves, sound of running water*.

Connect 1584 *sgər (*kind of*) *drum*? Cf. also 1588 *t₂ɲuor &c. *to make a moaning or sighing sound*.

A144a *tar *female pudenda*.

A: Stieng tarh; ~ Biat ntar *vagina*.

A145 *k[d]aar to fish with a line.

A: Stieng **da:r**, Chrau **ja:r**; ~ Stieng, Chrau **kənda:r**, Sre, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **nda:r** fish-hook; → Röglai **kədar** fish-hook; ~ (by metathesis *dnaar > ?) Sre **da:r** to fish with a line = Sre (BLOOD 1966), Köho Chil **da:r** fish-hook.

If rather *kd-, Sre **da:r** < *kndaar, **nda:r** by interdialectal borrowing.

A146 *[]n[uə]r log.

A: Chrau, Biat **nə:r**.

Connect perhaps Khmer **dol tul**, if for **tur < *tur; then *tnuər.

A147 *piir wall, partition.

A: Sre **pi:r** (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **pe:r**, Central Rölöm **pə:r** fence, wall; ~ Stieng **pəni:r**, Sre **pəni:r** bamboo partition; ~ Bunör **mpi:r**, Central Rölöm (→ Chrau, BLOOD 1966?) **pi:r** wall, Biat **mpe:r** fence, stockade (& **mpi:r** wall, partition; ~ Bunör?). (BLOOD 1966 42, 218.)

A148 *p[o]r umbilical cord.

A: Sre **[kon] por** foetus, Biat **por** navel, umbilical cord.

A149 *buur (& *bur?) to stop up, block, channel.

A: Sre **bur** (!), Biat **bo:r** to stop up, block; ~ Sre **[da:] mbor** lade, weir, Biat **[bo:ŋ mbo:r [da:k]** gutter.

Sre < variant, or **bur** by levelling on derivation? (Cf. BLOOD 1966 62.)

A150 *kməər palate.

A: Stieng **kəmə:r [uiʰm]**, Biat **mə:r**.

A151 *bluur; *bluər stink-badger, *Mydaus meliceps*.

A: Sre **blur** stink-badger (DOURNES 1950), Biat **blo:r** hedgehog;

B: Stieng **bluər** stink-badger.

A152 *wiir fat, grease.

A: Stieng **(v)ui:r**, Biat **wi:r**.

Connect Mường **mợ** (BARKER 1966 22), Vietnamese **mỡ**?

A153 *[s]əər to unpack, unload.

A: Chrau **sə:r** to take out, take up, Biat **chə:r** to unload.

A154 *huur (& *hur?) to guess, solve.

A: Sre **hur!** to guess (→ Röglai), Biat **[ŋə:i] ho:r** [to speak] cryptically; Sre ~ **pənhur** (→ Röglai), Biat **nhor** riddle.

Sre < variant, or **hur** by levelling on derivation.

A155 *[**]****nhar**; *[**]****nhaar** (field) boundary.

A,B: Sre **nhar** field boundary.

A: Biat **nhar**,

B: Biat **nha:r** boundary, Stieng **nà:r** field division.

A155a ***k[ɔ]**l to hinder.

A: Sre **kol** to hamper, obstruct, clock, Biat **kɔ:l** to be hindered, prevented, to hinder.

A156 ***gəl** to change, exchange.

A: Stieng **gəl** to change, exchange, barter, [**ta**]**gəl**, Chrau **gəl** to exchange, barter, Sre [**tam**] **gəl** to change, transform, Biat (**tɔ:m**) **gəl** to change, exchange.

Connect dubious 1712 ***[b]kəl**[] to give, make over.

A157 *[**]****gəl** piece.

A: Sre **gəl** piece, part, Biat **gəl** piece [of cloth]; ~ Sre **tərgəl**, Biat **rgəl** to cut into pieces.

A158 ***ktuul** to sharpen, whet.

A: Stieng **tu:l** to grind down, sharpen, Sre **tu:l** to sharpe on a stone, Chrau **co:l** to whet; ~ (***kntuul** >) Biat **nto:l** whet stone; to sharpen.

Cf. 2004 ***t₁uu[h]** &c. to rub....

A158a ***[d]**il distaste, boredom.

A: Sre **dil** not to feel like doing something (DOURNES 1950), Biat **dil** boredom.

A159 ***[b]**[**ɔ**]l; ***[b]**[**ɔɔ**]l tired, weary, disheartened.

A: Stieng **bəl**.

B: Sre **bo:l** (↔ Röglai).

A160 ***[b]**uul to mend, patch.

A: Sre [**tam**] **boul**, Chrau [**tə**]**vo:l**; ~ (or =, by contraction?) Biat **mbo:l**.

A161 ***wil**; ***wiəl** spider.

A: Chrau, Biat **wuul**.

B: Stieng **uiəl** edible spider.

A162 ***wal** annoyingly persistent.

A: Sre **wal** importunate (DOURNES 1950), Biat **wal** to vociferate, threaten.

Cf. 1804 ***hul** ...to threaten.

A163 ***kwaal** to bore a hole.

Sre **kua:l**; ~ (***tnkwaal** causative by contraction > ***tkwaal** >) Chrau **cwa:l**.

A164 *[jh]ul; *[jh]uul *to push*.A: Chrau **chul**.B: Sre **choul**; ↔ Cham **chùl**, Röglai **choul**; ~ (causative →?) Northern Röglai **tichün**.**A165** *[d]h[əə]l *shallow*.A: Stieng **thə:l** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **thə:l**.Khmer has **rəhael** *very shallow* (< ***drhail**?); so perhaps connect 1747 ***kdail** &c. *low, shallow, short*, which compare.But in view of *-l connection dubious Proto-Austronesian ***tuqu[r]**: Acehnese **tho** *dry, withered*, Cham **thu:** *dry, dried up*, Toba Batak **tur** *dry land*, Malay **tohor** *shallow*, Iban **tor** /**tuur**/ *low [water]*, &c. (PROTO-WEST-INDONESIAN).

(BLOOD 1966 419.)

A166 ***brhaal** *(to) sweat*.A: Stieng **braha:l** *n.v.*, Sre **bəha:l** (BLOOD 1966), Chrau **vəha:l**, Bunör **rəha:l**, Central Rölöm **ha:l** *to sweat*, Biat **rha:l** *sweat*.Cf. Bahnar **hal** *to be panting with thirst* (GUILLEMINET 1959-63).

(BLOOD 1966 321.)

A166a ***kaw** *kind of hoe or adze*.A: Sre **kaw** *short-handled adze or hoe*, Biat **kau** [ja:] *hoe*.**A167** *[d]ng[əw] *tree-stump*.A: Sre **ngu**, **təngu** [chi], Biat **ngu:**.Variant of 1719 ***d₂gəl** &c. *stump, trunk*?**A168** *[d]iiw; *[d]iəw *saliva*.A: Chrau [da:] **ju:**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **di:w**, Biat [da:k] **di:u**.B: Sre [da:] **diau**.

(BLOOD 1966 p.36.)

A169 *[]naw? *elder brother*.A: Sre [oh] **naw** *kin (oh younger sibling)*, Biat **nə:u** *elder brother*.Conceivably ***jn-**, quantifier formation ~ (***jaw?** >) Central Nicobarese **cau-** *elder sibling*.**A170** ***jnaw**; ***jnaaw** *thing, matter*.A: (~ ***jnnaw** >) Sre **jənaw**, Biat **nau** *matter, story*.B: Bunör **na:w**, Central Rölöm **nə:** *thing*.

(BLOOD 1966 195.)

A171 *yaw *grandparent*.

A: Stieng **iəu** *uncle*, Sre (BLOOD 1966), Bunör **yaw**, Central Rölöm **yɔː** *grandparent*, probably Biat **yau** [**mor** &c.] *tiger, large felid* (→ Chrau **yaw** [**vrac**] *panther?*). (BLOOD 1966 198.)

A172 *kreew *ankus (elephant goad)*.

A: Sre **kreːw** (DOURNES 1950), Biat **kreːu**.

A173 *[s]rəwʔ *bush*.

A: ~ Stieng **səndruː**; ~ (*[s]rrəwʔ >) Sre **rələw** *scrub*, Biat **rlɔːu** [**briː**] *bush*.

A174 *plaw; ***plaaw** *callous, blister*.

A: Stieng **plɔːu** *blister from working with tools*.
B: Sre **plaːw** *callous* (DOURNES 1950).

A175 *k.waaw *whistle flute*.

A: Sre **kəwaːw** *six-hole flute*, Chrau **kəwaːw** *rice-stalk whistle*.

A176 *rhaw[ʔ]; ***rhaaw[]** *wild dog*.

A: Chrau **ləhoː** *wild dog, wolf*.
B: Sre [**so**] **rəhaːw** *wild dog*.
Connection uncertain Vietnamese **sói** *wolf*.

A177 *ʔiis *to spread out to dry*.

A: Sre **iːs** *to dry (v.t.)*, Stieng, Biat **ih**, Chrau **iːh**, Bunör **ʔih** *to spread out to dry* (→ Central Rölöm?). (BLOOD 1966 45.)

A178 *ʔəəs *accustomed, usual*.

A: Stieng **əːeh** *accustomed (to)*, Sre **əːs** [**as**] *usual*, Biat **əːih** *accustomed, usual custom*.

A179 *[k]cəs *to kick*.

A: Stieng **ceh** *to stub one's toe*, Biat **ceh** *to kick*; ~ Sre **gəcəs** *to kick* (DOURNES 1950; → Röglai **gəcos**).
Cf. 1989 ***[t]c[ɔ]h**.

A180 *jus [*pig*] *to root*.

A: Sre **jus** (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **juih**, Biat **juih**.
Connect Stieng **ieːh**.

A181 *tiis (&*tis?) to make a mistake.

A: Stieng **ti:h** to (make a) mistake; wrong, Sre **ti:s** (& **tis**; < variant?) to be mistaken, make a mistake, Chrau **ti:h** to miss [target], Bunör **teh**, Central Rölöm **ti:h** mistake, Biat **ti:h** mistake, fault; wrong.

(BLOOD 1966 46.)

A182 *tiəs; *tiəʔ blind.

A: Sre **tias** [mat], Central Rölöm **tiəh** (BLOOD 1966), Biat **cəh** [mat].

B: Stieng **tia**.

A183 *ləəs easy.

A: Central Rölöm **ləih**; ~ (*[l]nləəs >) Bunör **nəih**.

Cf. Stieng **sərləh**. Sre **ləy** (DOURNES 1950) is < 1515 *l[oo]y.

(BLOOD 1966 406.)

A184 *lɔəs iron.

A: Sre **lo:s**, **los**, Chrau, Biat **ləih**.

Cf. Theng **dro**, **təndro**, **cəntro**, Kammu Yuan **centroh**.

A185 *ʔəh to answer.

A: Chrau, Biat **əh**.

A186 *rnʔəh to lament.

A: Sre **rəndəh**, Biat **rdəh**, Chrau **rəndi:h** (contaminated by Vietnamese *rèn-rĩ?*) to whimper, groan.

Connect perhaps (i) 1959 *ʔuuh to ululate; (ii) Bahnar **uih uih** groaning sound ~ **təŋuih** to moan, groan (< *-əəs).

A187 *[]keh to strip [branch].

A: Stieng **keh** to strip leaves from branch (merging to scrape, scale < 1880 *kais) Sre **keh** to trim, strip leaves from; Stieng **rəkəh** id., Sre **rəkəh** to strip leaves or bark from branch with dah, trim joints of bamboo.

Or Stieng < *l(r)kis by metathesis < 1946 *klis, *k/r/lis, → Sre?

A188 *[]keh pleasant-tasting.

A: Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **kah**; ~ Sre **bəkah** pleasant [taste, smell].

(BLOOD 1966 284.)

A189 *kah to wake up (v.i.).

A: Stieng, Sre **kah**, Biat **kah** [bic] to wake up, Chrau **kah** awake.

A190 *kuuh shingles, herpes.

A: Sre **ku:h**, Biat **kuh**.

A191 *tah to cut up.

A: Stieng, Sre **tah** to cut up [meat], Chrau, Biat **tah** to slit open, cut up.

If Hre **sah**, Sedang **sa** to cut up meat (SMITH 1972 371) are cognate, ***t₂ah**. Cf. also Central Nicobarese **taih**-[həŋə &c.] to cut with knife.

A192 *təh to split [wood].

A: Stieng **təh** to split [firewood], Sre **toh** to split (DOURNES 1950), Chrau **təh** to chop, cut [wood].

A193 *[ɗ]uh hot.

A: Stieng (BLOOD 1966), Biat **doh**, Sre, Chrau, Bunör **duh**, Central Rölöm **doh**.

Connect perhaps 2041 ***[k]duh** to burn, grill, which compare.

(BLOOD 1966 26.)

A194 *[p]npəh to leap over, throw leg across.

A: Chrau **mpəh** to leap over, Biat **mpəh** [**chəh**] to leap into the saddle, mount.

A195 *[b]a[a]h recovered, healed.

A: Stieng **bah** healed, recovered, over; to stop, disappear, Chrau **vah** recovered, Bunör, Central Rölöm **bah** to heal, be well, Biat **bah** healed, recovered.

Cf. Malay **bebas** free from, Cham **papà:h** purification ritual; so ← Indonesian?

(BLOOD 1966 278.)

A196 *yəh bad.

A: Sre **yəh**, Biat **iəh**.

A197 *riəh rattan.

A: Sre **riah**, Stieng, Chrau, Bunör, Biat **reh**, Central Rölöm **riəh**.

Perhaps by arbitrary differentiation (or if Sre is loanword =) 1927 ***riəs** root; cf.

semantically e.g. Malay **akar**. Note Khasi **thri**, Sakai **děre** (i.e. Semaq Beri; SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 R 38(a)); but Bahnar **hre:** & other forms are < 249 ***rsi?**.

(SHAFER 1965 558; BLOOD 1966 257.)

A198 *reh to cut.

A: Sre **reh** to cut open; ~ Biat **kreh** to cut [hair], shave, ~ Stieng **səreh**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **sreh** to cut, Sre **sreh** id., to slash with dah, Chrau **chre:h** (!) to split, Biat **chreh** to cut, slash.

(BLOOD 1966 254)

A199 *rah young male.

A: Sre **rah** yearling [buffalo] (→ Röglai?), Biat [**ndam**] **rah** young male.

A200 ***[]rəh** *to send out, drive out.*

A: Stieng **rə:h** *to drive [cattle], to drive out, eject*; ~ Köho Chil **prah** *to send out*; ~ Bunör **mprəh**, Biat **mprəh** [**lə:i**] *to send out*; ~ (***pnrəh** > ?) Sre **bətrəh** (BLOOD 1966), Central Rölöm **trəh**, **trəh** *to send out*.

Cr ***prəh**, Stieng by back-formation? Connection obscure **2068** ***loh** *to go out*. (BLOOD 1966 409.)

A201 ***rəh** *to lose, mislay.*

A: Sre **roh**, Biat **rəh**.

A202 ***[c]rah** *grasshopper.*

A: Sre **srah** *class of insects including grasshoppers and praying mantis*, Stieng, Bunör, Central Rölöm, Biat **krah** *grasshopper*. (BLOOD 1966 302.)

A202a ***truh** [*cocks*] *to fight.*

A: Sre [**tam**] **truh**, Biat [**tə:m**] **troh**.

Add Khasi **trud** *to scratch*?

A203 ***pr[i][h]** *tall.*

A: Chrau **prih** *tall*, Stieng **prəh**, Biat **preh** *tall, high*.

Or *-[i,ə]s.

(***prəh** see **200** ***[]rəh** *to send out*....)

A204 ***leh** *kidney.*

A: Sre [**play**] **leh** *kidney*, Biat **leh** *kidney, heart*; ↔ Röglai [**boh**] **leh** *kidney*; ~ ↔ Jarai [**bə:h**] **lēh** *kidney*.

Connect **229** ***srli?** (*spleen, kidney*)?

A205 ***lah** *to scold.*

A: Sre **lah** *to be offended with, scold*, Chrau **lah** *to scold*, (?) Biat **lah** *to lay claim to*.

A206 ***[s]əh** *to put on [clothes].*

A: Stieng **səh** (BLOOD 1966; AZÉMAR 1886 **sə:k!**), Sre **soh**, Bunör, Central Rölöm **səh**, Biat **chəh**.

(BLOOD 1966 263.)

A207 ***khīh** (*to*) *poison.*

A: Stieng **kih** *n.v.*, Sre **khīh** *n.*, Biat **kheh** *poisoned*, (**chi:** —) *poison*.

A208 *[k]huh; *[k]huuh *to boil (v.i.)*.

A: Sre **khuh**, Biat **khoh**; ~ (*[k]lhuh >) Chrau **khluh** *boiling*.

B: Sre **khu:h** (BLOOD 1966, variant), Bunör **khoh**, Central Rölöm **khuh**.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang **kəuh**, Lawa Umphai **kas**, Lawa Mae Sariang **koih** *to cook [rice]*.

(BLOOD 1966 31.)

Appendix B Palaungic Comparisons¹

B1 *[kə]ʔ *the day after tomorrow*.

A: (∼?) Palaung əkɯ; ∼ Praok sikaw.

Connection dubious Sakai kâl *tomorrow* (i.e. Semai), SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 M 178.

B2 *[g[ee]ʔ *pine tree*.

A: Palaung ge; ∼ Lawa Bo Luang ŋgəiʔ; Umphai ŋjiʔ, Mae Sariang ŋgiʔ.

Or *-əyʔ?

B3 *k.[c]eʔ *ashamed*.

A: Palaung kəse *to be ashamed*, Rieng Lang ʔkəseʔ *to be shy, coy, ashamed*.

B4 *t₁aʔ; *t₁ah *place*.

A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931, songs).

B: ∼ *[nt₁ah >) Praok da, Lawa Umphai ndoh *quantifier*.

Cf. 67 *t₁uuʔ *in, at*; & Kammu Yuan tà: *bathing- place, resting- place*.

B5 *t₁aaʔ *eight*.

A: Palaung ta (MILNE 1931), Rieng Lang ʔtaʔ.

Cf. Lawa Bo Luang sataiʔ, Umphai, Mae Sariang sateʔ, Praok siday (< [c](n)t₁iiʔ?).

B6 *t₁[ɔ]ʔ *to be few*.

A: Palaung tɔ (MILNE 1931), Praok tu.

B7 *[t₁uuʔ *edible leaf*.

A: Palaung tu *id.*, Praok taə *herb*, Lawa Bo Luang tauʔ [klauʔ], Umphai, Mae Sariang toʔ [kioʔ] *white radish*; ∼ Rieng Lang ʔsətuʔ *edible leaf*.

¹ Originally this appendix was titled “Northern Mon-Khmer Comparisons”. Note that reconstructions are Proto-Mon-Khmer.

B8 **[c].d₁uu?* silk.

A: Riang Lang *sətu?* silk, silkworm, Lawa Bo Luang *sato?*, Umphai *satho?* silk.
 Connection dubious Mường *tho* (BARKER 1966 14), Vietnamese *to*, (Sino-Vietnamese)
ti, Cham *thav* silk thread.

B9 **k.dɔ?* plantain.

A: Palaung *kədo* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *kədo?* (& *kəduak*; by arbitrary deformation?).
 Cf. 82 **kdɔ?* plantain bud.

B10 **n₁[ee]?* thing.

A: Palaung *nə* thing, Riang Lang *ˀnə?* what, anything, (?) Praok *n-* manner (in *n-an* thus, *n-in* in this way).

B11 **paa?* butterfly.

A: Palaung *[paŋ] pa* (MILNE 1931, songs), Riang Lang *[ˀpuŋ] ˀpa?*.
 Perhaps ← Tai, cf. Dìoi *bɔŋ ba*, Mak *ɬum ba* (BENEDICT 1975 245).

B12 **t₁rbe?* upper garment.

A: Riang Lang *tərbe?* woman's upper garment, Praok *sibe*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔape?*,
 Umphai *raphi?*, Mae Sarian *yapi?*, *lapi?* upper garment.

B13 **m[o?]* noisy, turbulent.

A: Palaung *mɔ* to be noisy (MILNE 1931), Praok *mɔ* to be in turmoil.

B14 **[g]m[i]?* male.

A: Palaung *[i]me* male, Praok *me* husband; ~ Riang Lang *kərme?*, Praok *sime*,
 Lawa Bo Luang *ʔamai?*, Umphai *rami?*, Mae Sarian *yame?*, *lame?* male.
 Connect Khmer *mè*: penis (TANDART 1935)?

B15 **d₁ma?* to borrow.

A: ~ (**d₁rma?* >) Lawa Bo Luang *ʔama?*, Umphai *rama?*, Mae Sarian *yama?* to
 borrow; ~ (**d₁pma?* >) Riang Lang *təkma?* debt.

B16 **ya?* large kind of snake.

A: Palaung *[hiŋ] ya* hamadryad (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *[ˀhəŋ] ˀya?* python.

B17 **r[u]?* village.

A: Palaung *ru* village, Praok *ru* clan; ~ Riang Lang *ˀpru?* village.
 Connect 182 **bruu?* hill?

B18 **[k]r[ii?]* to apply liquid &c.

A: Palaung *kri* to apply [paint], Praok *kray* to smear on.

B19 *bre? *witch, wizard.*

A: Palaung **bre** (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang **_pre?**.

B20 *bra? *meal.*

A: Palaung **bra**, Praok **pre**.

B21 *[l]uu? *damaged, destroyed.*

A: Palaung **lu** *to be ruined, damaged, destroyed, to destroy*, Riang Lang **lu?**, Praok **laə** *to be destroyed*; → Shan **lù** Praok **plaə** *to destroy*.

B22 *[c][l]aa? *among, between.*

A: ~ (*[c][n][l]aa? >) Palaung **səna** *between, among*, Praok **sina**, Lawa Umphai **[to?] sa?na?** *among*; by secondary der. Riang Lang **_pərla?** *among*.

B23 *[j][] [l]aa? *slave, servant.*

A: Riang Lang **_cəla?**, Praok **sile**.

Connect 1522 *jləy *prisoner of war?*

B24 *grwaa? *door.*

A: Riang Lang **_kərwa?**, Praok **siwe**, Lawa Bo Luang **?awua?**, Umphai **rawua?**, Mae Sarian **yawua?**, **lawua?**,

Connection dubious Burmese **'awa** *opening*.

B25 *kiək *to appoint.*

A: Praok **ciak** **[ti də]**; ~ Palaung **kərkiə?** (**kər-** reciprocal) (MILNE 1931).

B26 *[c]a[a]k *sated.*

A: Riang Lang **ˉsak**, Praok, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **sak**.

B27 *[c]uək *salt.*

A: Palaung **sə?**, Riang Lang **ˉsuak**.

Separate Kensiu **siya?**, &c., = SKEAT & BLAGDEN 1906 S 15, ← (Acehnese **sira** <?)

Proto-Austronesian ***t'ira(S)** (DEMPWOLFF 1938 153, ***-a[h]**).

B28 *t₁[u]k *to take by force.*

A: Palaung **tok** *to take* (MILNE 1931), Praok **tok** *to take or carry off [person] by force*.

B29 *[k][t₂][a]k *seed, kernel.*

A: Riang Lang **ˉcak**, Praok **[simɛ] sok**.

Or ***-ək**.

B30 *d₁a[a]k *uncultivated land.*

A: Riang Lang *tak* grass, grassland, Praok *tək* forest.

Add conceivably Chrau *da:ʔ* district, region, homophone of water < 274 **ḍaak* < **ḍiʔaak*; Vietnamese *nước* district, region then by borrowing calque.

B31 *ḍək *to stop, halt.*

A: Palaung *ḍəʔ* v.i., Riang Lang *ḍək* v.i.t.

Cf. Khmer *tùəc*. But connection dubious 78 **ḍəəʔ* &c.

B32 *[j].[n₁]a[a]k *sinew, vein.*

A: Palaung *sənaʔ* sinew, vein, artery, Praok *sinek*, Lawa Bo Luang *sanak* sinew.

B33 *pəək *to break, be broken.*

A: Riang Lang *pək*; ~ Palaung *kərpətuʔ* [green branch] to break (MILNE 1931).

Connect 352 **lpək* &c. to be broken...?

B34 *[]p[ɔ]k *quiver.*

A: Palaung *pəʔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *pək*.

Perhaps **lpək*, ~ 426 **lək*.

B35 *p[u]k *lame, crippled.*

A: Riang Lang *pək*; ~ (*[p]np[u]k >) Praok *bok* to be bent, crippled.

Cf. 458 **wək* bent round.

B36 *[t₁]rpuuk *bridge.*

A: Palaung *kərpək*, Lawa Bo Luang *ʔapaɯk*, (Umphei *rapaɯʔ* ←?) Mae Sariang *ɣapaɯk*, *lapaɯk*.

B37 *[s]yuk; *[s]yuək *ear.*

A: Praok *yaok*.

B: Palaung *hyəʔ*, (probably) Lawa *suak*.

(SHAFFER 1965 347.)

B38 *jriək *fish-scales.*

A: Palaung *greəʔ*, *griəʔ* (MILNE 1931); ~ (**jmriək* >) Praok *sibriak*.

(**l*)[a[a]k see 66 **l*)[a[a]k to lie abed.)

B39 *[s][l]iək *hoarse.*

A: Palaung *hleəʔ* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang *riək*.

Cf. Bahnar *hrək* [to cough] continually.

B40 *ʔiəŋ; *ʔiiŋ faeces.

A: Palaung iəŋ, Riang Lang ʔyaŋ *id.*, Praok ɛŋ *privy*, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai *ʔiaŋ *waste matter*.

B: ~ Palaung, Riang Lang rəʔiŋ *privy*.

Connection obscure 794 ʔic &c.

B41 *ʔuŋ (& *ʔuəŋ?) [rain] to stop.

A: Palaung uŋ, (variant >?) Lawa Bo Luang ʔuŋ.

B42 *[]rʔa[a]ŋ rock.

A: Riang Lang rəʔaŋ *stone, rock*, Praok raŋ, Lawa Bo Luang laʔaŋ *rock*, perhaps Palaung rəʔaŋ *precipice*.

Connection uncertain Kammu Yuan klà:ŋ *stone, rock, cliff*.

(*rʔ[ə]ŋ see 48 *[d][ə]ŋ *previous (to)*.)

B43 *g[uə]ŋ larva.

A: Palaung [vaʔ] gəŋ *edible grub*, Praok kəŋ *worm*.

Connection uncertain Vietnamese *con quăng* *dragonfly larva*.

B44 *[t₂]ŋg[ɔ]ŋ pillow.

A: Riang Lang _səŋkoŋ, Praok [mɔŋ] gaŋ.

B45 *[ŋ]iə[ŋ] quantifier for long things.

A: Palaung ŋiəŋ, Praok ɲaŋ.

B46 *t₁iəŋ to drink.

A: Palaung teəŋ, Riang Lang ʔtieŋ.

By metathesis (*ŋiəŋ <) 806 *[]ŋiəc? (SHAFFER 1965 83, 318a.)

B47 *dīŋ; *diiŋ parent's elder sibling.

A: Riang Lang _deŋ (!) *uncle*.

B: Lawa Bo Luang tiŋ, Umphai thiŋ *parent's elder sibling same sex*.

B48 *[d][ə]ŋ previous (to).

A: Palaung (MILNE 1931) dəŋ *before, while*; ~ Riang Lang ʔnəŋ *before, formerly*.

Or *r(n)ʔ-? Palaung perhaps < *-uəŋ.

B49 *[c]na[a]ŋ beads, necklace.

A: Palaung hnaŋ *small glass beads* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔnaŋ *necklace*, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai hnaŋ *necklet*.

Cf. A37 *[p]ɔ(ɔ)ŋ (or *cɔ(ɔ)ŋ?).

B50 *[j][n₁əŋ] *to lean, recline.*

A: Praok nŋ; (or =? *[j]pn₁-) Riang Lang cəkneəŋ.

Or *d₂-. Connect 596 *[g]n₁iŋ &c. *to lean, incline?*

B51 *[]piəŋ *wing.*

A: Palaung piəŋ *wing* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang piəŋ (— sim) *wing*, (— ka?) *fin*.

Or *sp-, ~ 601 *sn₁iəŋ? Note also Khmer cəmʔe:ŋ (< *cmʔiiŋ?).

B52 *[k]rpuuŋ *to bury.*

A: Palaung kərpuŋ, Praok sipaəŋ, Lawa Bo Luang ʔapauŋ, Umphai rapauŋ.

B53 *buuŋ *flying insect.*

A: Riang Lang buŋ [ʔbay] *flying ant*, Praok puŋ[pəŋ], Lawa Bo Luang mbuŋ[mbaŋ], Umphai mboŋ[mbuaŋ] *butterfly*.

631 *ʃa[a]ŋ *butterfly* contaminated by 609 *puuŋ *butterfly*? But perhaps ← Tai, cf. Dioi bəŋ ba, Mak ʃum ba *id.* (& Ahom, *silkworm*; BENEDICT 1975 245).

B54 *[n₁]ʃa[a]ŋ *to patch, mend.*

A: ~ Palaung kənbəŋ *patch, to patch* (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang ʔəkbaŋ *to patch*.

Or *d₁-; but connection dubious Vietnamese mặŋ *to darn* in view of tone.

B55 *[g]ma[a]ŋ *ghost.*

A: Praok mēŋ; ~ Palaung kərmaŋ (MILNE 1931).

B56 *.riəŋ *straw.*

A: Palaung hrəəŋ, Riang Lang riəŋ.

Distinguish 693 *t₁riəŋ (&c.) *kind of reed*.

B57 *bra[a]ŋ *sour, acid, rancid.*

A: Palaung braŋ, Riang Lang praŋ.

B58 *br[uə]ŋ *to arrange, settle.*

A: Palaung brəŋ *to direct, arrange* (MILNE 1931), Praok prəŋ *to judge*.

Connect 659 *riəŋ *to form a row* (Old Mon *to arrange*)?

B59 *[l]a[a]ŋ *to swing, sway.*

A: Palaung [luŋ] laŋ *to swing* (MILNE 1931), Praok [puk plək luŋ] liəŋ *to sway*.

Cf. 728 *luuŋ.

B60 *[l][u]ŋ *to throw.*

A: Palaung luŋ *to throw [spear]*; ~ Riang Lang ʔpləŋ *to throw without effort, toss*.

Or *luəŋ? Cf. Vietnamese liệŋ; Central Rölöm lə:ŋ (BLOOD 1966)

B61 *[s]luəŋ; *[s]ləŋ *to wall*.

A: Praok [tap] ləŋ *rampart*; ~ (*[s]rluəŋ >) Palaung rəŋ *wall, to wall*;

B: ~ Riang Lang sərləŋ *wall*.

Add perhaps to B Khmer sləŋ *to block, obstruct*. Connect 738 *gluəŋ *enclosure*?

B62 *[t₂]huŋ *light in weight*.

A: Praok chaŋ, Lawa Bo Luang thoŋ, Umphai, Mae Sariang chaŋ; ~ Riang Lang ṭəŋ.

B63 *ʔaac *in front, before*.

A: Palaung at *before* (MILNE 1931 also aiʔ), Riang Lang ṭac *(to go) in front, (at) first*.

B64 *kn₂uc; *kn₂uuc *heel*.

A: Praok loc [caŋ].

B: ~ Palaung kərnuit [juŋ].

Connect Vietnamese gót?

B65 *[t₁]pəc *pointed*.

A: Palaung pəʔ *point* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ṭpac *sharp-pointed*; ~ Danaw ṭəŋ ṭp'yak, ṭəŋ ṭp'yak *sharp-pointed*.

Add Jeh pek *to pierce*, Halang pek *to pierce [nose, ear]*?

B66 *[l]aac; *[l]a[a]k *to lie abed*.

A: Riang Lang ṭac *to be lazy*, Praok lac [it] *[to sleep] late*.

B: Praok lek [it] *[to be] fast [asleep]*.

Cf. 424 *lək &c. *to sleep*; originally probably *laac ≠ *lək, with mutual contamination. Connect 1512 *laay ...*idle*?

B67 *[c]aiŋ *to meet*.

A: Riang Lang ṭsaŋ *to meet (by chance), encounter*; ~ Palaung kərsəŋ *to meet* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ṭərsaŋ *to meet; junction*.

Connection dubious Mon can [cah] *to be contrary, opposed to*.

B68 *briiŋ; (?) *br[a]ŋ *(kind of) ant*.

A: Palaung briŋ *ant*, Riang Lang ṭpriŋ *kind of ant of medium size*.

B: by arbitrary deformation?) Palaung breŋ *termite*.

B perhaps rather *gmrəŋ, ad 919 *gruuj, ...*termite*. Connect perhaps 729a *kli(i)[ŋ] *black ant*; but connection dubious Tai *phriŋ &c. *bee*, BENEDICT 1975 229; whence probably Theng brüŋ, prüŋ.

B69 *[t₂]kat; *[t₂]kaat *thorn*.

A: ~ Riang Lang ṭərkət.

B: Praok kat (& Lava Umphai [ʔəʔ] kat *kind of bamboo?*).

B70 *gət *very*.

A: Palaung gət, Praok kət.

B71 *guut *to force in*.

A: Palaung gut *to ram in* (MILNE 1931); ~ (*[]nguut >) Praok [khuum] gut *to choke*.
Or *pguut causative ~ 968 *guut *to enter*?

B72 *yut; *yuət *to see, look at*.

A: Riang Lang yət *to look (at), see, watch*.
B: Palaung yuət *to see* (MILNE 1931, songs).

B73 *wiət *to repay*.

A: Palaung viət *to repay, give back*, Praok viat *to pay*.
Or *to return*, = 1090 *wiət (&c.) ...*to turn*?

B74 *wət *to shake*.

A: Palaung vət, Praok. [vuk] vet.

B75 *kan *mother's brother's wife*.

A: Palaung kən *mother's brother's wife, wife's mother* (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang ʔkən *parent's or wife's younger sister, mother-in-law*.
Distinguish 1126 *ka(a)n *woman, female*.

B76 *ɲən *to put arms round*.

A: Palaung ɲən *to hold firmly*, Riang Lang ɲan [leʔ] *to embrace*, Praok [kya] ɲen *to protect*.

B77 *[g]n[c]aan *sickle*.

A: Palaung kəncan [rəvəʔ] *sickle*, Riang Lang ʔkəncan *sickle, scythe*.

B78 *b[əə]n *to pass, cross*.

A: Palaung bon *to pass, cross*, Riang Lang ʔpən *to exceed, pass, cross, to elapse*.
Vocalism obscure. Cf. Shan pùn *to exceed*.

B79 *riin *forbearing*.

A: Palaung rin *to be patient* (MILNE 1931, songs), Praok rin *to refrain [from]*.
Cf. Vietnamese nhịn *to abstain from, refrain from, suppress, fast*.

B80 *griən *to wind round*.

A: Palaung griən *to put [turban] on*, Riang Lang ʔkrien *to wind*.

B81 *[s]uun *yam*.

A: Palaung **hon** *cultivated yam* (with post-dental vocalism!), Lawa Bo Luang **hawŋ**, Umphai, Mae Sarian **haun**.

B82 *ʔɔp; *ʔɔm *poisonous*.

A: Praok **ɔp**, Lawa Umphai **ʔɔp**.

B: Riag Lang **ɔm** *to be poisonous, to be poisoned*.

B83 *t₁əp *fathom*.

A: Palaung **təp** (MILNE 1931), Riag Lang **ˈtap**, Praok **təp**.

Cf. Proto-Austronesian *dəpa(S), DEMPWOLFF 1938 39.

B84 *k[t₂]up; *k[t₂]uup *span from thumb to forefinger*.

A: Riag Lang **ˈcəp** *handful, taken from above*; ~ **kəncəp** *span ...*;

B: with post-dental vocalism!) Palaung **sop** *span ...*

B85 *ruup (& *r[ə,a]p?) *fishing-net*.

A: Riag Lang **_rup**, (variant >?) Praok **rup**, Lawa Bo Luang **rəup**, Umphai **reup**.

= 1275 *ruup &c. *to catch?* Cf. Kammu Yuan **rèp** *casting-net*.

(*ʔɔm see 82 *poisonous*.)

B86 *t₁aam *next in sequence*.

A: Palaung **tam** *younger [child] of two* (MILNE 1931), Riag Lang **ˈtam** *to be next (to), to be new*.

B87 *t₁əm (& *t₁əəm?) *to order, enjoin*.

A: Palaung **təm** *to send order to* (MILNE 1931, [tə:m]; or **tum**, < variant?), Praok **təm** *to command*, Lawa Bo Luang **tam**, Umphai **təm** *to order, command*.

B88 *t₁um *to have [done] on occasion*.

A: Palaung **tum** *ever*, Riag Lang **ˈtom** *to be wont to, to have habitually done*.

B89 *kt₁uəm *liver*.

A: Lawa Bo Luang **taum**, Umphai, Mae Sarian **tom**; ~ Palaung **kərtəm**, Riag Lang **kətuam**.

Originally perhaps *k- part-of-body prefix + *lt₁uəm < 1411 *t₁luəm by metathesis; Lawa by back-formation. (SHAFFER 1965 501.)

B90 *[k]rbum *enclosed cultivation*.

A: Palaung **kərbum**, Praok **sipum**, Lawa Mae Sarian **yaphum** *garden*, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔapum**, Umphai **raphum** *fence*.

*-b- in view of Praok vocalism.

B91 *m[iə]m *tea*.

A: Palaung **miəm**, Riang Lang **_mem**.

B92 *[s]m[əə]m *good, well-behaved*.

A: Palaung **hmum** *to be docile, good-tempered*, Praok **məm** *to be good*.

B93 *yuum; *yəm *to die*.

A: Praok, Lawa **yum**.

B: Palaung **yəm**, Riang Lang **_yam**; ~ (***pyəm** >) Palaung **piəm**, Riang Lang **̃piəm** *to kill*.

Add Sre **yəm** *to poison* (then → Rōglai)? Cf. 1266a ***ya(a)p** *to die*

(SHAFFER 1965 189.)

B94 *t₁huum; *t₁huəm *to be flooded, to flood*.

A: Palaung **thom** *to overflow, flood* (MILNE 1931).

B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **thuam** *to be flooded*.

***d₁h-** should yield NMK **h-**; ***t₁s-**, Lawa **c-**.

(***[]gəy?** see 2 ***[]g[ee]?** *pine tree*.)

B95 *juəy *waist*.

A: Palaung **juəy**, Praok **juay**.

Cf. (i) Lawa **jon**, Central Nicobarese **onju:əŋ**; (ii) Halang **tənoay**, perhaps : Jeh **ʔno:y** *flank*.

B96 *t₁uuy *to catch*.

A: Palaung **toy**, (merging 98 ***đuuy** *to take, bring*, which compare) Praok **tuay**.

B97 *[c].t₁uəy *pheasant*.

A: Palaung **sətuay** (MILNE 1931), Riang Lang **_səy ̃tuay** (by chiming expansion).

B98 *đuuy; *đuuy *to take, bring*.

A: Palaung **đuuy**.

B: Praok **tuay** *to take, take hold of, pick up, fetch* (merging 96 ***t₁uuy** *to catch*, which compare), Lawa Umphai **thui** *to take out*.

***d-** in view of Praok vocalism.

B99 *[]p[oo]y *shadow of living creature.*

A: Riang Lang ʔpoe *shadow of living creature*, Praok pꞑꞑ (& vꞑꞑ!) *shadow*; Lawa Bo Luang ʔapau, Umphai rapꞑi *shadow*.

Vocalism uncertain; conceivably *-uy (Lawa), *-uuy (Riang Lang), *-əy (Praok; with secondary lengthening); then *gp-, ~ 1447a *guuy? Cf. also 1543 *ghuuy &c. *spirit, soul*.

B100 *[y][əə]y *a little.*

A: Palaung yꞑꞑ, Praok cꞑꞑ; ↔ Shan yꞑꞑ *to be finely divided*.

B101 *[g]raay *to speak, tell.*

A: Palaung gray *to speak, tell*, Praok kray (!) *to say, tell*; ↔ Shan khài *to narrate*.

B102 *[g][l]aay *squirrel.*

A: Riang Lang k1ay, Lawa Bo Luang ʔdea, Umphai ʔlai.

Lawa *jl- by regressive assimilation? Connect perhaps Santali kuləi *hare*, &c., PINNOW 1959 L 146.

B103 *[t₁]rw[əyʔ] *to be concerned, troubled.*

A: Palaung kərve *to pity*, Praok sivi *to be worried*.

B104 *[][h]uy *to take out.*

A: Palaung hꞑꞑ, Lawa Bo Luang hau *to take out*, perhaps Praok hoy *to unfasten, open, reveal*.

B105 *kiər *moon, month.*

A: Palaung kiər *month*, Riang Lang ʔkiər *moon, month*.

B106 *gur *to help.*

A: Riang Lang kꞑꞑ, Praok [tꞑꞑ] ku.

Cf. 1705 *kəl[] &c. *to support, help*.

B107 *[bc]uur; *[bc]uər *water-bottle.*

A: Praok chuꞑ.

B: Palaung [om] suər.

B108 *k[t₂]aar *span from thumb to middle finger.*

A: Palaung sar (MILNE 1931); ~ Riang Lang kəncər.

B109 *[k]ruu[r] *granary*.

A: Palaung **kror** *paddy-storage basket*, Praok **kraw** *granary, storeroom*; Lawa Bo Luang **ŋgrau**, Umphai **krau** *granary*.

Or *t₁-; *-l.

B110 *siir; *siər *iron*.

A: Palaung **hir**, Riāng Lang **hir**.

B: Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **he** *ore*.

↔ Tibeto-Burman *s(y)i-r (BENEDICT 1972 80 no. 372; Dhimal, Garo, Dimasa Lushei); suspect on phonological grounds as loanword!

B111 *[s]iər *bee*.

A: Praok **hi:a**, Lawa **he**; ~ Palaung **phier**, Riāng Lang **phier**.

B112 *kul *ten*.

A: Palaung **kur**, Riāng Lang **kəl**, Praok **kaw**, Lawa Bo Luang **koa**, Umphai, Mae Sariang **kau**.

← Tibeto-Burman *(m-)kul *score*, BENEDICT 1972 83 no. 397? Connection dubious Kharia **ghəl**, &c., PINNOW 1959 249 (Proto-Munda *(-)gəl); as Mường **mư̄l** (BARKER 1966 13), Vietnamese **mười**.

B113 *t₁iəl *to copulate*.

A: Riāng Lang **tiəl**, Lawa Bo Luang, Umphai **te**.

Cf. Sre **tir**, Biat **ta:m tar**.

B114 *t₁uəl; *t₁əl *to find*.

A: Palaung **tuər**.

B: Riāng Lang **tal**.

(*[k]ruul see 109 *[k]ruu[r] *granary*.)

B115 *[s]raa[l] *veranda*.

A: ~ (*[s]nraa[l] >) Praok **gra** [pɛ]; by secondary derivation ~ Palaung **khrar** *veranda*.

B116 *kpaas *to laugh*.

A: Homau **kəpa:r** (Palaung dialect; MILNE 1931), White Striped Riāng **kṣpa:s** (LUCE 1965), Praok **pa**, Lawa Bo Luang, **puah**, Umphai **puas**, Mae Sariang **poiḥ**, **nwah**.

B117 *ḡ[a]s to carry [heavy object].

A: Palaung **bər** to carry on tumpline, Riang Lang **ˈbəs** to carry on head, Praok **pu** to support, bear, Lawa Bo Luang **puh**, Umphai **phus**, Mae Sariang **puh** to carry on back; (*[b]nḡ[a]s >) Praok **bui** [gləm] burden.

Waic vocalism post-labial? Connect **121 *ḡəʔ** to carry on back. Praok **pu** to carry on back is < **100a *puʔ**.

B118 *ruus tortoise, turtle.

A: Riang Lang **_rus**, Lawa Bo Luang **rauḥ**, Umphai **raus**, Mae Sariang **yaḥ**.

Cf. Vietnamese **rùa**. Khmer **kra:h krās** tortoiseshell is probably ← Indonesian.

(SHAFFER 1965 434.)

B119 *prəs to flower.

A: Palaung **prər** to flower, expand, swell (by attraction **2067 *ləsʔ**), Lawa Bo Luang **phrəuḥ**, Umphai **prəs**, Mae Sariang **phyoiḥ** to flower.

(*t₁ah see **4 *t₁aʔ** place.)

B120 *t₁rt₁uh; *t₁rt₁uuh to meet.

A: Palaung **kərtoḥ** (MILNE 1931).

B: Palaung **kərtuḥ**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔatauḥ**, Umphai **ratoh**.

B121 *n₁[]ah to get worse.

A: Riang Lang **na**, **na**, Praok **nə**.

Connection uncertain **1945 *ləs** &c. to weaken.

B122 *[m]ryah hundred.

A: Palaung **pəryah**, Riang Lang **_pərya**, Praok **siye**, Lawa Bo Luang **ʔayuaḥ**.

← Tibeto-Burman ***r-gya** (BENEDICT 1972 45 no. 164 & n. 148; Old Burmese **ryā**); by contraction ***muəy ryah** one hundred?

Appendix C Semantic Index to Part 3

and Appendices A, B

Note: Bold numerals show that the word indexed is used in the gloss of a reconstruction, ordinary numerals that it glosses one or more of the items compared.

A

Abandon *see* leave; (abandoned) **1397**; able (to) 1179, 1183, 1286, 1472; abort 1081, 2062; about, concerning 1845, (about to) 1472, 2014; above 194, **727**, 1207, **1533**, 1718; absorb 1106, 1283; abstracted **519**, **1589**; abuse, insult **1804**, **1963**, **2031**; accompany 1389, **1463**; according to **1346**; accuse **A 27**; accustomed, used to 643, **1286**, **A 178**, **B 88**; ache **A 72**; acquire **1980**; add **351**, **1257a**, (add to) **1430a**; adhere 309, **1245**; adjoin **1245**, **1264**; adze **A 166a**; affine *see* in-law; affix **986**, 1242, 1245; afraid *see* fear; after, afterwards 1505, 1844, 2066; afternoon 264; afterwards *see* after; again 765, 1156, **1511**, 1794; agree **1388**; aim 696, 1361a, **1572**; air **1782**, 1958; alarmed **1057**; alcohol, liquor 796; alight *see* perch; alike **149**; all **198**, 798, 875, 943, 1338, 1344, **1418**, 1943, (at all) 1943; alone 86; already 1539, 2080; also, too 1310; amaranth 1850; amass 1178; among **B 22**; ancestor 151, **192**; angry 1728, **1808**; ankus **A 172**; announce **1845**; answer **A 185**; ant 873, **1382**, 1562a, **B 68**, (black ant) **729a**, (flying ant) **1646b**, **B 53**, (red ant) **1866**, (white ant, termite) **391a**, **919**, **1619**, **B 68**, (flying white ant) **1290**, 1646b; anthill 1738; anus **961**, 1007; anvil **A 107a**; anxious, worried **1694**, **B 109**; any 136; anything **B 10**; appear **2043**, **2071**; appoint **B 25**; approach 1896, **A 95**; arch **1626a**; areca 230, **1815**; arm **66**, **244**, **265**, 1673; armpit **269**, **A 33**; army 1258; around 765, 966, 1208, **1333**, 1669; arouse 1575; arrange **1269a**, 1605, **A 7a**, **B 58**; arrive (at), reach 968, 1153, 1246, **1740**, **2079**, **A 76**; arrow 215, **1308**; arum 1850; ascend, go up **332**, **479**, **1153**, **1207**, **1869**, **2061**; ash **2034**; ashamed **1800**, **A 66**, **B 3**; ask **912**, **A 101**, (ask for) 1140, **A 87**; askew 494, **753**, **1764**; assemble, gather **1310**, **1338**, 1344, **1389**; assembly house 670; associate **1241**, **1310**; asthma **1215**; astringent **294**, **989**; at **3**, **67**, 85, 1217, 1342; attach 1245; attend on **531**, 1794; augury *see* divine; aunt 48, 132, (maternal aunt) 882, **1494**, (aunt older than parent) 236, 1531a, 2044a, **B 47**; avoid 765, 766, 1501, 1529, 1669, **A 53**, **A 53a**; await **493a**, 1773; awl **860**; axe **526**, **1499**, (counterbalance of axe) 1613.

B

Babbling **1847**; baby **285**; bachelor **1526**, **1832**; back **667**, 1446a, **1627**, **1844**, (lower part of back) **A 79**, (back of hand) 1639, **A 107**; bad **58**, 140, 801, **A 119**, **A 196** (*see also* immoral); bag **787**, **1677**, (bag for cooked rice) **14**; bake **544**; (hot-air) balloon

1316; bamboo 249, 782, 903, (kinds of bamboo) 83, 201, 207, 671, 995, 1587, A 142, (split bamboo) 2027, (bamboo fibre) 1802, (bamboo-joint) 903, (bamboo shoots) 636, (bamboo rat) 1129, 1154a, 1481; banana 1070, 1523, B 9, (wild banana) 51; bank 681; banyan 241 (*see also* Ficus); barb 1929; bare 1079, 1803a; bargain 1821a; bark (of tree) 203a, 347, 466, 1568, (v.) 1709; barter *see* exchange; basket 791, (kinds of basket) 6a, 53, 1482, 1558, 1730, 2054, (openwork basket) 1842, (paddy-storage basket) B 109; bat 237, 421a, (kind of bat) A 81b; bathe 1287, 1403, 1417, 1426, 2039; be 639, 643, 1117, 2046; beads A 37, B 49; beak 1655, 2041a, A 41a; beam 518; bean 1489, 2002; bear (n.) 1380, 1817, 1933; beard *see* (facial) hair; beat 318, 322, 355, 439, 558, 1010a, 1014, 1092, 1251, 1340, 1945a, 1978, 1997, 2001, 2010, (beat down) 2001, (beat out, beat flat) 1340, 1997; beautiful 950, A 123; beckon 868, 1267, 1950; become 538; bed 166, (bed of stream) 1557; bee, kinds of bee 240, 1065, 1099, 1537, 1560, B 111; beetle 682, (rhinoceros beetle) A 93; before 1446a, 1505, 1554, 1667, 1703, B 48, B 63; beg A 87; begin, beginning 562, 1343; behind 1446a, 1505, 1844; belch 9, 1559; bell 903 (*cf.* jingle); bellows 1984; belly 358, 624, 735, 844, 865, 1743; below 1887, 2012 (*cf.* under); bend, bent 286, 458, 500, 596, 765, 892, 1038, 1090, 1208, 1444, 1669, 1722, 1794, A 133, (bent down) 1985, (bent head back) 288, (bent knees) 938, 1149 (*see also* bow); betel 230, 1860, (betel-box) 1289, (tray of betel-box) 1116; between 85, B 22; bewitch 1823; bile *see* gall; bin for paddy 627; bind *see* tie; bird 1324, (noisy kind of bird) 754, (kind of small bird) 1243a; bird-lime 1659; birth (give birth) 2013 bite 282, 957, 964, 1231; bitter 554, 989 black 140, 653, 654, 717, 1337; blade 215; blame 58; Blanket 1550; blind 433, 1734b, A 182; blink *see* wink; blister 90, 348, A 174; block, obstruct 1003, 1039, 1260, 1739, 1745, A 113a, A 149, A 155a; blood 1430; blossom 1604; blow 345, 616, 1023, 1428, 1638, 1809, 1958, 1977, 1984, 2028, (blow nose) 1680, 2087; blue 1360, 1559b; blunt 1785, 1803a, 2042; boar (wild boar) 19; board, plank 1620; boat, canoe 336, 747; body 20, 290; boil 513, 1345, 2038, A 112, A 208; bold, brave 387, 512; Bombax 755; bone 488, 553; border *see* edge; bore hole 622, 724, 1329, 2069, A 163; boredom A 158a; be born 2013; borrow 713, 768a, 1141, 1390, 1531, 1755, B 15; bottle-gourd 587, 748; bottom 1078, 1735; boundary 1794, A 155 (*see also* edge); bow (n.; *see also* crossbow) 32, 266, 2024, (pellet-bow) 2024, (v.) 1238, 1644, (bow down) 1444, (bow head) 287; bowl 426, 743, 1331; box 426, 1289; boy 711, 1339; brace oneself 1143; bracelet 498; bracken 237a; brain 475, 551, 1981; bran 277 (*cf.* chaff); branch 496, 514, 789, 1223, (v.) 327, A 53; brave *see* bold; break, broken 331, 352, 364, 800, 812, 972, 999, 1028, 1702, 1903a, 1972, 1990, 2074, B 33, (broken off) 2030, A 51; breast 114, 1999; breath, breathe 1299; brick 940; bridge 565, 1174, B 36, (bridge of nose) 1578; bridle 282; bright 444a, 1920, 1978; bring, convey 84a, 1148, 1154, B 98; brittle 366; broil 544, 1571; broken *see* break; brother *see* sibling, (elder brother) 882, A 169, (brother-in-law) 27, 130; brown 653; brushwood 1676; bubble 2038; bucket, pail 791; bud 1362, 1377, 2023; buffalo 95, 103, 408; bug 964, 1423, A 69; bulge 108, 1523a; bunch 625, 1310, 1338, 1344, 1763; bundle 525, 1344, 1763; burn 231, 805, 858a, 978a, 1004, 1977, 2041, A 11, (burnt food) 1688, (smelling of burning) 1302; burst 74, 2008, 2009, 2015a, 2051; bury 1237, 1252, B 52; bush 1676, A 173; butt 1728; butterfly 111, 421a, 609, 631, A 111, B 11, B 53; buttocks 1007, 1377, A 79; buy 1062, 1729, (buy on credit) 1141.

C

Cackle, cluck **1008**; cage **697, 725** calculate **351**; calf of leg **82, 523a, 1377, 1913**; call **279, 1107, 1540, 1709, 1845**, (call out) **392, 1845**; callous (n.) **A 174**; calyx **1469**; camp **306**, (camp out) **1357**; canoe *see* boat; cap **1261** (*cf.* hat); careless **189, 1094** (*cf.* negligent); *Careya arborea* **1485**; carry **84a, 1154, A 36a, B 117**, (carry in arms) **1181**, (carry in hand) **746, 1657**, (carry in mouth) **1376, A 47**, (carry on back) **100a, 121, 374, A 59**, (carry on head) **1742, 1781**, (carry on pole between two) **548**, (carry on shoulder) **1406, 1464**, (carry on yoke) **746**, (carry slung over shoulder) **1486, A 36a**, (carry under arm) **1236, A 36a**, (carrying-basket) **2084**; cart **2011**, (v.) **590**; carve **808, 824, 981, 1675**; Caryota **245**; cast metal **1213**; castrate **1843**; cat **1838**, (wild cat) **1594a**; cataract **1734b**; catch **78, 675, 1237, 1243, 1261, 1275, B 96**, (get stuck) **471**, (catch up (with), overtake) **1254, A 89a**; caterpillar **457, 541, 684**; catfish **22**; cattle *see* ox; caw **270**; cease, stop, end, leave off **812, 943, 1113, 1514, 1903a, A 80b, A 195, B 41**; centipede **1226**; certain, certainly **A 85**; chaff **1313, 2048**; change **1518, 1615, A 156**; channel **668, 1597, (v.) 719**; charcoal **33, 1892**; charge, attack **1728**; chase **899**, (chase away) **766**; chebula *see* myrobalan; cheek **382, 1374a, 1769**; chest **1937, 2005**; chestnut **246a**; chew **1373, 1378, A 61**, (mumble) **1375**, (chew the cud) **A 49**; chief **639, A 34a**; child **1127, 1339**; chin **382, 497, 1233, 1318**; (wood) chip **A 8**; chisel **465, 808, 824, 1988**; choke **338, 441, 1695, B 71**; choose, select **1889, 1931, A 58**; chop **291, 371, 981, 1969, 1987, 2063, A 192**, (chop down) **1702**; cicada **1674**; circle round **1625, 1794**; citrus **846**, (kind of citrus) **2057a**; civet cat **1594a, A 25**; clamp **1242, 1279**; clan **1708, B 17**, (clan territory) **581**; clap **318, 1251**; claw (of crustacean &c.; *see also* nail) **1236, (v.) 460, 1881**; clay **948, 1076, A 13**; clean **7, 950, 1024, 1971, 2056, 2074a**, (clean rice by pounding) **1938**, (by tossing) **1267, 1317**; clear **7, 750, 1920, 2064, 2074a, 2077, A 35**, (clear forest) **1922, 2063**, (clear a path) **1500, 2081**; clearing **1714, 2081**, (new clearing) **1385**; cleave *see* split; clench **1042, 1209, 1366**; cliff **784**; climb **1175, 1869**; clod *see* lump; close v. *see* shut; close together **1067**; cloud **277a, 311, 945, 1255, 1305, 1479, 1811**; cluck *see* cackle; clump **1035, 1338, 1763**; cluster **309**, (fruit in clusters) **297**; (live) coal **33**; cobra **992, A 1a, B 16**; cockroach **1252a**; coconut (coconut palm) **1852**, coconut-shell measure **1750**; coffin **633**; coil **765, 1164, 1208, 1529, 1794**; coin (small coin) **1489**; cold **954, 962, 976, 1073, 1539a, A 15, (n.) 1420**; collapse *see* fall away; collect (collect together) **1320** (*see also* assemble); collection **625, 1338, 1344**; collide **76, 292, A 96**; comb **958b, 984, 1097, 1564, 1928** (comb of cock *see* crest); come **378, 1821, 2079**; command *see* order; companion **24, 1389, 1762, 1836**; company **24, 362, 1389**, (in company with) **258, 1389**; complete **335, 1326** completely, entirely **798, 875, 1691**; condense **716**; confine **675, 949** (*cf.* imprison, pen); confined **A 82**; confused **1548, 1796**; congeal **1221**; consider **1132**; constrained **1224**; contain **573**; container **426, 903, 1289**; contend **921**; continuously **659**; contrary *see* opposite; convey *see* bring; cook **583, 1345, 1478, 1559a, A 112**, (cook in bamboo tube) **704**, (cook over fire) **1571**, (cooked) **1137**, (cooking-pot) **195, 624a, 2075**; copper **499**; copulate **310, B 113**; cord **143, 205a, 246, 302, 1605**; cormorant **278**; corner **272, 689, 1379**; corpse **20, 388, 835, 1218, 1266a, 1543**; cotton **1904, 1915**, (dressed cotton) **228**; coucal **941**; cough **271, 298, 338, 1215**; count **1271, 1877, A 103**, (count on fingers) **1951**; country **181, 394**; courgettes **A 62**; cousin **27, 48, 1187**; cover **80, 1039, 1237, 1252, 1261, 1273, 1289, 1592, 1745, A 20**, (cover oneself) **A 19**, (cover head) **80**; crab **1348**; crack **352, 484, 589, 1972**; cradle **701, 1780a**; cram in **395, 1067, 1197**; crane **1788**; crave, craving **786**,

975, 1682; crawl **1672**, (crawl like leech) 89 (*cf.* creep); creak **1064**; creep **1664** (*of* crawl); creeper **143**, **302**, 1605, **1827**, (kinds of creeper; *see also* Willoughbeia) **1085**, (creeper yielding arrow-poison) 2082; crest, comb **1624**; cricket **1068**, **1662**; crippled **1208a** (*see also* lame); crocodile **115**; crooked **235**, **286**, 458, 862, 892, 1208a, 1794; cross **739**, **1130**, **878**, (cross out) 1890; crossbow 32, **97**, 266, 2024; crossroads **1979**; crouch 1149; crow (n.) **270**, (v.) **12**, 1840; crowd, crowded 395, 949, **1105**, (in a crowd) 1846a; cruel 1071; crush(ed), pulverize(d) 422, **818**, **952**, **977**, 1279, 1746, 1909, (fall on and crush) A 96; cry 392, 1057, 1840, (cry out) 1622, 1845; cubit **1734**; cucumber 468a, **614**, **1710**; cud *see* chew; cudgel **328**; cup 426, **620**, 826, **1806**; Curcuina **1052**; cure *see* heal; curl, curly 286, 862, 1208, (curled up) 1653; current 1597; curse 392, 2031, A 55; curve, curved 458, 765, 966, **1090**, 1208, 1529, **1626a**, 1794; cut 291, 364, **800**, 804, 812, **866**, 957, **958**, **972**, 1026, 1028, **1500**, **1969**, A 192, A **198**, (cut down) **1707a**, **1969**, (cut into) 1250, (cut off *see* sever; cut short *see* interrupt) (cut through) **824a**, **839**, (cut up) **981**, **1594**, **1786**, **2063**, A **191**.

D

Dab on 1262; dah *see* matchet; dam 681, 1003, **1260**, (dam to catch fish) **1902**; damage, damaged 876, **2048**, B **21**; dangle **1473**, **1487**; dark **653**, **974**, **1225**, **1268**, 1328, **1337**, **1360**, **1647**, A **3**, (dark place) 1273; dash against **355**; daughter-in-law 43, **248a**, 1180, 1187, 1497; dawn 660, 1242a, 1873; day **31**, 180, **1630**; dazed 519, **761**, **900**, 1589; deaf 303, **1089**; dear, beloved **391**; debt 1755, A **89**, B 15; decay **171**, **876**, 1304, **1386**, 1875; deceitful **1198**; deceive(d) **1404**, **1798**; decline 190, 532, 1268, **1528**; decrease **876** (*see also* diminish); deep **172**, 763, (deep place in river) 733; (kinds of) deer **645**, **647**, **1150**, **1508**, (barking deer) **1780**, **1911**, (sambhur deer) **389**; deficient in quantity **816**; delicious 702; delirious 239; deliver *see* save; demarcate **496a**; demolish 2051; dense **1408**, **1608**; depart **190**, 2064; descend **1528**, **1606**, **1887**, **1985**, **2062**; deserted **36**, **1397**; destroy, destroyed **718**, **861a**, 876, **927**, 1386, 2048, B **21**; dew **94**, 311, **1136**, 1255, 1419, 1600, 2049; diarrhoea 843, 2051; dibble **1329**, 1457a, **1777**; die **987**, **1218**, **1266a**, 1945, B **93**; different 190, **263**; diffuse 1991; dig 300, 371, 418, **503**, **802a**, 1329, **1541**, **1565**, **1593**, A 138, (dig out, dig up) 718, **802a**; dim **1411a**; diminish, dwindle 1118, 1190 (*cf.* decrease); dip *see* scoop; dipper **414**, **1490**; direction **1483**, **1974**; dirt, dirty **140**, **340**, **382a**, **442**, 1076, 1399; disappear 1386, 1501; dish **1331**, (pedestal dish) **1170**; disheartened A **159**; dispute possession A **77**; dissolve **422**, **1512**; distant *see* far; distaste A **158a**; distil **1345**; distribute **1112**; ditch 72, 557, **637**, 1541 (*cf.* channel); dive **834**, 1403; divide *see* split; divine, take augury **1753**; dizzy, giddy 234, **239**, 765, 1090, 1529, 1796; do **550**, **1965**; dog **41**, **1449**, (wild dog) A **176**; door **2072a**, A **41**, B **24**, (doorway) 2036; dove **1256**, **1476**, (emerald dove) 1766; down 1606; drag **1872a**; drain off 986, 1606; draw (*see also* pull) (draw designs) **1890**, (draw line) 403, 1880, **2057**, (draw out, draw sword) 831, **1084**, (draw tight *see* tighten; draw water) 315, **367**, **546**, 570; dream **105**; dribble 2051; drift **1868**; drink **63**, 107, **268**, **780**, **806**, **1106**, **1283**, 1375, B **46**, (drinking-tube) 693; drip **314**, **406**, **814**, **843**, 852, **996**, 1600, 1606, 2051; drive A 200, (drive in, drive home) **322**, 607, (drive out) A **200**; drizzle 872, 1504, 1606, 1839; droop 1190, 1657; drown 360, 423, 721, 854, 1287, 1403; drowsy 1861; drum 558, **1584**; drunk, intoxicated **796**, **1765**; dry **160**, 487, **493**, 588, **913**, 1000, **1561**, **1970**, **2086**, A 177, (dry season) **588**, 2028, (dry up, run dry)

980, 990, 1101, 1106a; duck **77**, 1216, 1266, (duck under v.) **1652**; dust **359**, 1399, **1483a, 2034, 2044**; dwarf **892**; dwell **283**; dye **428**, 1337; dysentery **960**.

E

Each **1700**; eagle **714**; ear **319**, 555, 1621, **B 37**, (shell of ear) **A 34**, (ear ornament) **A 9**, (ear of paddy) **212, 1577**; early **893a**, 1242a, 1724; earth **64**, **A 13**; earthworm **1926, A 94**; easy **386, 1515, A 183**; eat **8**, 107, **1295, 1327, 1373**, (eat away) **A 84**, (eat rice) **527**; echo **722**; eddy **765, 863, 1090, 1208, 1669, 1794**; edge, border, rim **504, 656, 1242, 1383, 1669, 1974**; eel **579**; efficacious (medicine) **A 115**; egg **751, 1253, 1348a**; egg-plant **587, 748, A 97**; egret **280**; eight **1431, B 5**; elbow **650, 891**, (v.) **A 37b** elder **918**; elephant **520, 1930**; embankment **619, 681**; embrace, put arms round **1372, A 67a, B 76**; emerge, go out **378, 852, 986a, 998, 1207, 2062, 2068** empty **790, 2088**, (v.) **267, 872, 2080a**; enclosure **738, 765, 767, 1794**; end, termination **798, 958a** (see also tip; cease); endure, suffer **883, 1151**; enduring **1131**; engrave, incise **403, 419, 824, 1675**; enmity **145**; enough, sufficient **1240, 1292a**; enter **853, 968, 1046, 1288**; equal **149, 655, 1394**; eruption **74, 2008**; escape **842, 1108, 2064**; eunuch **1474**; evening **264, 638, 1268, 1337**; ever **B 88**; every **1700**; evident, clear **1185, 1873, 2064**; exact(ly) **1326**; exceed **1200, 1854, 2064, A 81a, B 78**; excessively **1110**; exchange, barter **1612, 1822, A 156**; excrement, faeces **794, B 40**; expect **638, 1773**; explode **2008, 2009, 2015a**; express (juice) **971**; extend **191, 544a, 1402, 1538, 1629a, 1660**; extinguish, extinguished **973, 1053, 1077, 1266a, 1288, 2051**; eye **1045, 1453**; eyelash **A 48a**.

F

Face **1045**; faded **1416, 2074a**; faint **979, 1094, 1796**; fall **400, 669, 843, 996, 1081, 1504, 1579, 1606, 2051, 2073, A 73, A 106**, (fall down) **1281, 1349, 2051**, (fall in, fall into) **1081**, (fall into ruin, fall away, collapse) **422, 861a, 1414**, (fall off) **1081, 2051**, (fall prone) **1081, 1238**; false, untrue **214, 1122**; family, lineage **1708, 1799**; fan **345, 1037, 1090, 1267**; fan-palm **461**; far, distant **1454, 1992** (as far as see up to); fast v. **884**; fasten see tie, (fastened together) **309**; fat, grease **702, 928, 1879, A 152**, (fat, plump) **635, 928, 1111, 1169, 1196, 1465, 1490a, 1523a**; father **68, 112, 893, 1265** (father-in-law see parent-in-law); fathom **327, 1944, B 83**; fault, offence **836, 1082, A 181**; fear **30, 154, 203, 261, 552, 880** feathers of arrow **1291**; feed **395, 1327, 1361, 1378** (see also eat); feel **124, 1042, 1262, 1402**; feign **214**; female **113, 151, 653a, 1126, 1163, A 141**; fence **496a, 578, 738, 1258, 1581a, A 147, B 90**; fern **237a, 899a**; festering **1566**; fever **32a, 962, 1898, A 103a**; few **816, 939, B 6**; Ficus **170**, (*Ficus septica*) **221**; fiddle **176**; field **185, 300, 1521, 2029a**, (dry field) **1651**, (abandoned dry field) **167, 1676** (cf. clearing); fig **238, 241**; fight **145, 870, 906, 1274, 1614, 1728, 1945a**, (cocks) **A 202a**; fill **395, 407** (see also full); filter **694, 2058**; fin **265, 600, 709, 1597a, 1624, B 51**; find **B 114**; fine (particles) **243**; finger **1128, 1717, 1853, 1939**, (fourth finger, index finger) **1914**, (little finger) **A 68**; finish, finished **798, 875, 943, 1539, 2017, 2066, 2080** (see also over); fire **231, 885, 1723, 1872**, (catch fire) **1575**, (make fire) **1336**; firefly **729**; firewood **254, 491, 1872**; firm **209, 530, 1176**, (firmly) **1312**; first **1554, 1667, 1703, B 63**; fish **16**, (v., see net; fish with line) **1161, A 145**, (smelling of fish) **1227**, (fish-paste) **481**, (fish-trap) **178, 602, 628, 1060, 1275, 1371, 1902, A 143**, (mouth of fish-trap) **1920a**, (set fish-trap) **1371**, (fishing-line) **A 123a**; fit, convulsion **1093**; fitting, suitable, proper **174, 399, 1240, 1387, 1580, 1713**; five **1214, 1363**; fix **986**; flame **231**, (flame

up) **253**; flap 1249; flash **444a**, 2009; flat 1078, (flat surface) 611, **1639**; flea 1252a; flesh **1956**, **A 54**; flicker **444a**, **1411a**; float (n.) 752, (v.) 1516, **1642**, (float in air) 1783 (cf. drift); flood, flooded **854**, 1287, **A 120**, **B 94**; floor **1632**, (floor timber) **595**, **841**; flour 1909, **2044**; flow 710, **878**, **1597**, **1686**, (flow out) 267, **2032**; flower 276, **1469**, **1604**, **1819**, **2023**, (v.) 346, 986a, 1083, **2023**, **B 119**; flute **1087**, **A 175**; flutter 1249; fly (n.) **1534**, (horsefly) **1247**, (v.) **1633**, **1683**, (fly through air) **777**, **1783**; foam, froth **372**, 2038; foetus **629**, **A 148**; fold **1029**, 1257, (fold back) **1086a**; follow **991**, **1463**, **A 89a**; foot **538**, **611**, **1139**, (on foot) **312**; forbid **785**, **A 134**; force in **395**, **B 71**; forearm **1673**; forehead **599**, **691a**, **731**, **1699**, **1962**; forest **181**, **394**, **B 30**; forge **1610**; forget **861**, **1094**, **1641**, **1796**; fork 352, 789, 1223, **1242**; form **463**; formerly 1667, 1854, 2017, **B 48**; four **1166**; fowl **1552**; fox 528, 1594a; fragile *see* brittle; fragrant **1432**, 1441, 1563; framework **533**, **598**; francolin 847; frayed **1509**; fresh (green) **1925**, (fresh water) 1292; friend **27**, 102, **109**, **535a**, **1241**, **1762**, 1836; frighten **261**, (frightened) **857**, **1086**; fringe **A 132**; frog **393**, **956** from 3, 1342; frond of palm **789**, **1223**; front 1554, **1703**, **B 63**; froth *see* foam; frown 62, **896**; fruit **871**, **1524**; fry **338a**; full **335**, **907**, (full to overflowing) 1643; fungus **1903**; furrow **1599**.

G

Galanga 564; gall, bile, gall-bladder 554, **1048**; (wild) game **1382**; garden 1581a, **B 90**; gate of sliding poles 1665; gather *see* assemble, (gather up) **901**, **983**; gaur 577, **A 135**; generous **2047**; get 384, **1179**, (get up) 852, 1824 (cf. receive); ghost **388**, 835, **B 55**; gibbon **934**, **1784**; giddy *see* dizzy; gin cotton 2024; ginger **216**; gird 1061; girdle **1173**; give **1119**, 1148, **1434**, **1616**, **1712**; gizzard 1752a; glide **1664**, 1783, (glide through air) **169**; glisten **758**; glitter **523**, 750, 1873; glow-worm 729; gnash **845**, 106k; gnat **644**, 1496; gnaw **1125**, **A 84**; go 291, **415**, 1080, **1202**, **1821**, 2079, **A 99**, (go away) 81, 301, **998**, (go back, go backwards) **1109**, 1190, (go out *see* emerge; go round) **765**, **767**, **931**, **1056**, **1090**, **1333**, 1625, **1669**, **A 53a**, (go up *see* ascend); goat **126**, (mountain goat) **1967**; go-between 918; gold **1789**, 1873; good **193**, **443**, **832**, **1401**, **B 92**, (good-tempered) **B 92**; goose **1216**; gore 603, 1340; gourd **748**, 1525, 1756, **1835**, (bottle-gourd) **587**; grain, kernel 1276, 1574, **B 29**; granary **A 117**, **B 109**; grandchild 40, **43**; grandfather 68, 192; grandmother **49**, **151**; grandparent **A 171**; grasp, hold **510**, **1042**, **1134**, **1209**, 1243, **1275**, **1311**, **1312** (cf. grip); grass 749, **1034**, **1054**, **1269**, **B 30**, (thatching-grass) **106**, **155**, **749**; grasshopper **838a**, **1256a**, **A 202** grassland **B 30**; grate 799, 867; grave 835; gravel 1792, **1936**; graze, grazing **1797**; great-grandchild **40**; great-grandfather 51; great-grandmother 49; green **47**, **1559b**, **1585** (cf. fresh); grey **369a**, (grey hair, grey-haired) **25**, 164; grill 487, 1559a, **1812**, **2041**; grind **1056**, 1064; grip **1236**, **1239** (cf. grasp); groan 1588, 1959, **A 186**; groin **1749**; grope 432, 1042, 1262; ground **64**; group **362**, 1338, 1344, **1759**, 1762; grow 378, 651, **986a**, **1219**, **1220**, **1343**, 1402, 1649, 1878; growl **1429**; grub 457, **1551**, (edible grub) **204**, **B 43**; guava **1876**; guess **A 154**; guest **1498**; gullet 686; gulp in air **2087**; gum 1040, 1601, (gums) **924** (cf. resin); gush, spurt **710**, 719, 2051; gut v. **843a**; gutter 406.

H

Hail **1791**; hair **467**, (body hair) **1803**, **A 24**, (facial hair) 932, **A 104**; half 352, 1721, 2015, 2035; hall 670; hammer **332**, **333**, **607**, **1047**, 1340, **A 107a** (*see also* forge); hand **66**, **244**, (put hand in) **1833**, (hand's breadth) **A 107**, (hand of bananas) **A 14a**,

(hand over) 511, **1148**, 1712, **1822**, (hand to) 1264; handful **1366**; handle **516**, **547**, 1311, **1578**; hang (up) 374, **459**, **648**, (hang down) **1657**, (hang from) 1754; happy **482a**, A 121; hard **674**, (hard wood) **398**; harden in flame 1685; hare **1468**; harness 1240; harp 896a; harrow 300, 1928; harsh **657**, **801**; harvest *see* reap; hat **381**, **1159** (cf. cap); hatch 821, 2062; hate **224**; have, possess **639**, 1183, **1472**, **1980**, (have to) 1472; hawk 714; he 2, 6, **26**, 92, **252**, **1115** (cf. him); head **361**, 426, 614, **889**, 1260, **1443**, 1718; heal, healed, cure(d) 1108, 1501, A **195**; healthy, well **386**, 445, **482a**, A **52**; heap **350**, **369**, **1178**, 1741; hear **555**, **646**, **649**, **833**, **1586**; heart **1912**, 1924; hearth 231, **262**, **775**, A **23**; heartwood **398**; heat (v.) **1671**, 1812, (to radiate heat) **936**; heavy **52**, **1146**, **1347**; heel 1748, B **64**; help **571**, **1270**, **1390**, **1705**, B **106**; herd 1759, (v.) 1797; here 6, **79**, 91, 92, 1435a; hero 2060; hibiscus **1646**; hiccough **9**; hide, hidden **143a**, **1121**, **1168**, 1261, 1273, 1592, A **40**, A **107b**; high **537**, **690**, **763** hill, hillock, mountain **182**, 350, 626, **676**, **1369**, **1626**, **1738**, **1741**, **1775**, A **28**; him 60; hinder A **155a**; hire, lease **713**, 1531, **1726**; hiss 2087; hit, strike **76**, **174**, **318**, 322, **558**, **1010a**, **1014**, **1027**, 1092, 1251, **1340**, **1945a**, **1978**, **1997**, 2001, **2010**, **2022**, (lightning) A **36b**, (hit the mark) 293a, **1361a**, (hit with fist) **1617**, (hit with stick) 2001; hoarse B **39**; hobble (v.t.), hobbles **745**; hoe 215, 300, **371**, **418**, **1987**, A **166a**; hog-plum **1189**; hold *see* grasp, (hold in arms) **1372**, (hold out) 576a; hole **72**, **430**, **557**, **622**, **666**, **686**, **724**, **778**, **790**, **1396**, 2069, **2070**, (make hole) **1329** hollow 622, **666**, **724**, **790**; homosexual 1474; hood of cobra **394**; hook, hooked 286, **375**, 458, A **56**, (fish-hook) A **145**; hop **863a**; hope 1367a, 1773; horizontal 496; horn **21**, **699**, (rhinoceros horn) A **2**; hornbill **284**, **495**, **672**; hornet **485**, 873, 1560; horse **707**, **2089**; horsefly **1247** hot **70**, **803**, 858a, **897**, 936, **1000**, 1307, 1559a, **1671**, A **193**; house **37**, **152**, **509**; how many, how much 1650; howdah **769**; howl **196a**, 1959; hump **107a**, 108; hundred **792**, **1405**, B **122**; hungry **975**; hunt down **118**; husband *see* spouse; husk 1237, 1568, (v.) 320a; hut, shelter 278a, **1145a**, 1237, 1252, 1273, **1359**.

I

I 1, 2; idle, lazy **1512**, **1891**, **1941**, 2088, B 66; ill *see* sick; immerse(d) **721**, **834**, **1287**, **1321**; immoral **836** (cf. bad); immovable **209**; importunate A 162; imprison 296, 675; in **67**, **85**, **593**, 1217, 1342; incise *see* engrave; increase **1219**, **1503**, **1649**; indigestion 1695; indistinct **1752**; infectious A **105**; inflated 101; inform 896a, 2043; inhale 1104, 1106, **1294**; injure **411**; in-law **1180**; inlay **419**; insect **134**, 457, 541; insert, put in 292, 296, 395, **532a**, 982, 986, **1005**, 1245, (insert hand into hole) **438**; insult *see* abuse; intention **1905**; interlaced *see* intertwined; interrupt 972; intertwined, interlaced **324**, **1177**; intestines **441a**, **708**, 735, **776**, **844**, 1752a; invulnerable 512; iron A **184**, B **110**; island **23**; it 2, 46, 1115; itch **35**, **957**, **1848**, 1880; ivory **225**, **450**.

J

Jackfruit **1810**; jar (kinds of jar) **163**, **195**, **323**, 743, 826, **1983**, A **43**, A **108**; jaw **497**, **1318**, (jawbone) **1303**; jew's harp 557; jingle, small bell **1870**, A **125**; Job's tears **123**, 1447; join 1032, 1240, 1245, 1463, 1605, (joined edge to edge) 1245; joint **452a**, **543**, 1240, A 45a; joist 595, 1914; joke A **96a**; joyful **1553**; jump, leap **863a**, **988**, **1080**, **2016**.

K

Keep 1120, A 116a; kick 1910, 1989, 1997, A 179; kidney 229, A 204; kill 965 (see also die); kind 2047, (feel kindly towards) 1188; kite (bird) 714, (toy) A 46; knead 858, A 92; knee 486, 543a, 1706, (back of knee) 1147; kneel 938, 1644; knife 540, 864, 1908, 1953, (back of knife-blade) A 86; knock 1978; knot 959, 967, (knot in wood) A 16; know 592, 677, 896a, 904, 1286, 1341, 1973; koel 1863.

L

Lac 849; lack, lacking 943; ladder, stair 515, 565; ladle 159, 344, 456, 1490; lake 1858a; lame B 35; lament 902, 1622, A 186; lamp 660, 1831 (cf. lantern); land 64, 350, 1970, (going by 1.) 312; (paper) lantern 1316 (cf. lamp); large, big 164a, 569, 737, 1996; last, final 798; late 1462, A 17; laugh A 113, B 116; lay egg 2013; layer 1257; lazy see idle; lead (n.) 409, (v.i.) 1554, B 67, (v.t.) 304; leaf 230, (edible 1.) B 7; leak 843, 1600, 1606, 2051; lean (adj. see thin; v.) 532, 596, B 50, (lean on) 84, 1470, 1705, 1754, (lean over) 759; leap see jump, (leap over) A 194; learn 72a, 904, 1192; lease see hire; leave, abandon 190, 291, 320a, 1022, 1397, 1514, 2051, 2064, 2072, (leave alone) 1514 (leave off see cease); leech 1858, (land 1.) 1410; left-hand 233, 1795, 1814; leg 538, 1139; leisure (at 1.) A 7; lend 1390; lengthen 1402; leprosy A 88; level 655, 1394, 1998, 2001, (level, with hands) 815; lever 802a, 1157; lick 1075, 1286a, 1409; lid see cover; lie, tell lies 861, 1663a, (lie abed) B 66, (lie down) 305, 797, 1357, (lie face down) 1238, 1277, (lie on back) 1590; life 1958; lift 100a, 385, 425, 479, 1207, 1656, 2050 (cf. raise); light 489, 660, 1920, (illuminate) 1725, (set light to, kindle) 524, 549, 805, 1004, 1546, 1984, A 11, (not heavy) 881, 1731, 1801, B 62; lightning 431, 444a, 1893, 1947, 2009; like, resembling 149, 1332 (v. see love); lime 1636; linchpin 1477; line 1605, 2057; lip 1471, 1598, 1629, 1648; listen (to) 575, 604, 646, 942, 1586; litter 166, 548, 701; little, small in quantity 59, 816, 817, 939, 1016, 1118, B 100; live, be alive 651, 1299, 1925 (reside see dwell); lively A 52; liver 1411, 1912, 1924, B 89; lizard (Calotes lizard) 1446, (kind of lizard) 1767, A 37a; load 334, 395, 407; lodge for night 1357; loft 179, 683, 1533; log A 146; lonely, deserted 36, 979; long 537, 690, 740, 768, 1219, (in duration) 1856, A 17, (long thing) B 45, (long-haired) 1509, (longer) A 128; look (at) 129, 664, 1138, 1572, 1773, B 72, (look at from a distance) 1696, (look for with light) 1725, (look round) 640, (look up, look upwards) 288, 493a; loose 157, 859, 1549, 1690, 2085, (come loose, become loose) 1081, 1512, 1658, 1666, 2051; loosened 1968; lorikeet 1010; lose, lost 190, A 201, (lose one's way) 741, 766; lotus (blue lotus) 534; loud 1900; louse 39, (body louse) 920; love 391, 798a, 2040; low 1259, 1747, 1887, 2012; lower v. 1657, 2062; lump, clod 1736; lung 247.

M

Mad 1093, A 44; maggot 54, 840, 1551, 1666a; maize 122a, A 130; make 550, 1965; male 692, 893, 1776, 1859, 1940, B 14, (male animal) 502, 2078, (young male) 1355, A 199; man 692 (cf. male); manner 1332; many 737, 1211, 1219, 1344, 1545, A 14; Maranta dichotoma 1193; mark 1506; marry 652, A 139 marsh 602, 628, 1330, 1393, 1858a; massage 255; master 208; mat 1761; matchet, dah 184, 1953; matter, affair A 170; meal B 20; measure 1018, 1951; meat 647, 871, 1382a, 1480, 1956, A 54; medicine 1343; meet 1241, 1246, 1338, 1344, 2010, A 89a, B 67, B 120; melon 468a, 614 melt 422, 716, 1512; memorize 904; mend, patch 220, A 160, B 54; middle 85,

735, 1721, 1743; midnight 1721; millet 123, **1447, 1834** mindful **2033**; miracle 1206; miss 753, **861**, 1082, A 181; mist, fog 277a, 311, 1225, 1255, **1479**, 1546, 1839; mistake 741, **861, 1404, A 140, A 181**; misty 1268; mithan 95; mix **222**, 234; molar **1303, 1318**; mole 1129, 1481; mongoose 528; (kind of) monkey **242, 335a**; moon, month **1542, B 105**; moor, mooring-post **764**; more (than) 1219, **1314**, 1511, 1854, A 128; Morinda **61**; morning **1242a, A 129**; mortar **370, 1715, 1757**; mosquito 873, **947, 1496**; moss **1527a**; mother **113, 131, 132**, (mother-in-law) B 75; mould, shape **1213, A 92**; mouldy **15, 138, 368**; mound 350, **1738**, 1741; mount **334**; mountain *see* hill, (mountain goat) **1967**; mouse **93**; mouth 484, **605, 911, 1001**, 1375, 1378, 1629, 1648, **2020**, (have in mouth) **1375, 1376**, 1378; mouthful 1375; mouth-organ A **80**; move **2013, A 95a**, (move aside) 2062, (move away, move house) 1501, 2062, (move up and down) **1267**; much **737, 1310, 1415, A 14**, (as much as) 1650, A 38; mucus, snot 1655, **1961**; mud 442, **482, 1393, A 26**; muddy, turbid 277a, **1708a** multiply, proliferate **1545**; must *see* have to; musty 13, 138, 1304; myna 757; myrobalan (chebulic myrobalan) **1654**.

N

Nail, claw **642, 1422, 1874**; naked **1707, A 31**; name **147, A 5**; nape of neck **1135**; narrow 949, **1105, 1160, A 82**; nation, tribe **1708**, 1759, (tribal group) 1498; nausea, nauseated 951, **1301a, 1695**; navel **434, 582, A 148**; near **1015, 1152, 1272, 2014** nearly 1483; neck **17, 744, 1135**; necklace *see* beads; needle 929; negligent **1487** (*cf.* careless); nephew, niece **1187, 1497**; nerve **149a, 561, 1210**; nest **1421**; net 324, **B 85**, (clap-net) A **27a**, (scoop-net) 536; nettle 873; new **144, B 86**; news **705, 1845**; next 1554, **B 86**; niece *see* nephew; night **264, 638, 974, 1077, 1268, 1328, 1352, 1647**; nightjar **449, 455**; nine **1144, 1351**; nip **819, 1239** (*see also* pinch); noble **1829**; nod 52, **287, 1444, 1722**; noise 1584, 1900, A **144**, (make a noise) 1900, (make inarticulate noise) **161**, (make noise with lips) **810**; noisy **B 13**; nose 517, **2045**; not **1297**.

O

Obstruct *see* block; ochre (earth yielding red ochre) **1576**; offer, present 1148, 1531, (offer to superior) **1133**; offerings (make offerings) **2059**; oil **702, 805a, 928**; old **57, 164, 1386, 1395, 1667, 1787, 1891, A 64**, (old bachelor, old maid) **1851a**, (old man) 68; omen 1753; on **194, 727, 1207, 1217, 1718**; one **86, 1495**, (one pronoun, oneself) 90, **483** onion **1300**; only A **110**; open **276, 307, 346, 353, 484, 606, 2029, 2036, 2067, 2081**, (open eyes) **421**, (open mouth) **251, 484**, (force open) 1884; opening **605, 2081**; oppose **1888, 1896**; opposite, contrary **1896**; oppress 1224; or **2065**; order, command **1555, B 87**, (in order to) 1332, 1472, 1905; oriole **1849**; orphan **1440**; osprey 278; other **490, 1435, 2019**; otter **260, A 50**; outside 181, 394, **1975**; outstretched **327, 577a**; over, finished **250, A 196**; overflow 1287, 2032; overturn, turn upside down, capsize **423, 722, 1238, 1277, 1287, 1544**; owl **1816**; owner **208**; ox, cattle **119, 377, 396, 577**, (wild ox) 577.

P

Pacify **A109**; packed close 1279; paddle **159**; paddy *see* rice; pain, painful 44, 1566; paint 428, B 18; pair 1326, 1389, 1720, (one of a pair) 2015; palate A **150**; palm, sole **337, 447, 611, 1735**, (kinds of palm-tree) **461, 700, 1055**; pangolin **1732**; pant **480, 1104**; papaya **793**; paradoxure 528, A 25; parakeet **1010**; parch (rice) 338a (parched rice

see rice); parent-in-law **102**, 1679; part 352, 1969, 2035; partition **see** wall; pass 462, **739**, 1015, **1200**, **1854**, 2064, **A 81a**, **B 78**, (pass through) **703**, (pass under) **1652**; passage 703, 739, 2081; past 1200, **1854**; path **see** road; patient 883, **B 79**; paw the ground 1398, 1954; pea 1489; peacock **416**; peak **676**; pebble **1792**; peck 295, 418, 1442, **1987**, **1993**; peel **347**, 421, **464**, **466**, **1799**, 1938, 2030, 2067; peg locking spoke 1477; pelican **572**; pen, pound 675, 767, 1669; penetrate 853, 2069; penis **855**, **1520**, **1857**; pepper **851**; perch, alight **1158**, 1357, 1994, (n.: climbing perch) **915**; person **2**, **20**, **60**, 110, **139**, **183**, **1455**, 1940; persuade **248**, 1404; pester **820**; pestle **1508a**; pheasant 847, **A 48**, **B 97**; phlegm 476; pick, pluck **390**, **800**, **804**, **823**, 1020, **2030**, (pick handfuls of) 1931, (pick teeth) 808, (pick up) 983, 2030, **B 98**; piece 1969, **A 157**; pierce, stab, transfix **292**, 295, **532a**, **808**, **822**, **982**, **1250**, 1329, **1678**, **1988**, 1993, **2069**; pig 19, **417**, **1596**; pigeon **448**, **1284**, (green pigeon) **1766**, (imperial pigeon) **1319**; pile 1245, 1257, 1247a, 1741, (piled up) 1062; pillow 1705, 1744, **B 44**; pimple **1186**, 2008; pinch 949, **1020**, **1236**; pine **B 2**; pit **72**, **557**, 686; pity **798a**, **B 103**; place (n.) **1217**, **A 18**, **B 4**, (v.) **42**, **1120**. (take the place of **see** replace); placenta **468**; plain 1797, **1921**; plait **898**, 910; plane 799, 1929; plant (n.) **562**, **1343**, **1570**, (v.; cf. n.) **1457a**, **1733**, (plant used to treat wounds) 1591; plantain **see** banana, (plantain bud) **82**; platform **179**, **278a**; play **712**, **933**, (play wind instrument **see** blow); pleasant-tasting **A 188**; plentiful **1557**, **1643**, 1701; pliant **see** soft; plough **1599**, **1720**; pluck (feathers) 1084, (strings) **896a** (**see also** pick); plump **see** fat; point (out) **1830**; pointed **929**, **1413**, **B 65**; poison **1461**, **A 207**, (arrow-poison) **2082**, (vegetable poison) **28**, 1601, 1765, (poison fish) **1846**; poisonous 1765, **B 82**, (poisonous sap) **1601**; poke **see** prod; polished **758**; pond, pool **602**, **629**, 733, **1858a**; poor 1190, 1440; porcupine **142**, 528, **1883**; possess **see** have; post 538, **691**, **1050a**, (sacrifice post) **511**, (tethering-post) 764; pot (kinds of pot) **195**, **556**, 826, (work clay) **1184**, (water-pot) 748; potato (sweet potato) 1374, 1532; potsherd **774**; pounce 1398; pound (n. **see** pen; v.) **370**, **383**, 1340, **1909**, 2001; pour **480a**, 843, **986**, 1504, **1597**, 1606, 1686, **2039**, 2051, (pour out) **267**, **480a**, 710, 842, 1460, 1504, 1544, **2003**, 2051; powder 2034; prawn **1419a**, **1901**; pray **A 55**; pregnant 1649, **A 90**; prepare, prepared 1269a, **1282**; present **see** offer; press **1020**, **1021**, (press down, press down on) **971**, **1746**, (press together) 1279, (press lips together) 1375, 1376; pretence, pretend 214, 1198, 1798; prevent **785**, 1003; prey 118; price **1886**; prick 292, 295, **532a**, 982, **1897**; prickly pear 173; prisoner of war **1522**; privy **B 40**; proceed **1202**; proclaim **1899** prod, poke **292**, 1678; profit **1508a**; project, protrude **576**, **1663**; prong **281** prop, support, shore 596, **1263**, **1470**, **1705**, **1744**; protrude **see** project; provide 511; provoke **295**; pudenda (female pudenda) **A 144a**; pull, draw **546**, **570**, 914, (pull apart, pull to bits) 823, 1028, 1952, 2030, (pull away) **914**, (pull hard on) **1058**, (pull off) **320a**, **1904a**, (pull out, pull up) **354**, 831, **1002**, **1058**, 1884, **1904a**, **A 28b** pulverize **see** crush; pumpkin 1525, **1637**, **1756**; pungent, hot **783**, 1307; pupil of eye 1453; pus 2015a, 2038, **A 39**; push **A 164**, (push in) **1665**; pustulate **74**, **2008**, **2015a**; put **42**, **317**, **1120**, (put away) 1282, (put down, lay down) **317**, **1898a**, 2013, 2062, (put in **see** insert; put in place) **306**, (put on **see** wear; pull round 357, 1208; python **1205**, **B 16**.

Q

Quail 847, **969**; quantity **1650**; quarrel, quarrelsome 870, **895**; question **1050**; quick **1602**, **1932**; quiet, silent **379**, **979**, **1323**, **1427**; quill of porcupine **1681**, A 48a; quiver 426, B 34.

R

Rack **179**, **533**, **683**; raft **1167**; rafter **10**; rain **127**, **141**, **180**, **539**, 930, 1419, 2003; rainbow **706**, 1626a; rainy season 1419; raise **100a**, 385, **425**, **2050**, 2061, (bring up) 664, **1361**, 1438, **1670**, (raise fist) 1656, (raise high) **1781** (cf. lift); rake 1564, 1881, **1928**, **1935**; rampart *see* wall; rancid **1698**, B **57**; rat **93**; rattan **249**, 302, **782**, **1827**, A **197**, (kind of rattan) **772**; rattle **341**; ravage 927; raw **1925**; ready **399**, **1282**; really A **85**; reap, harvest **390**, 800, **804**, **866**, **1058**; receive **573**, **1151**, 1261, (welcome) A **32** (cf. get); reciprocal A **114**; recognize **1716**; recover, repossess 2000, (recover from illness) **1493**, A **195**; red **688**, **788**, 1362, **1977a**; redeem 1531, 2067; reduce 1945; reed, rush **693**, **2027**, (*Maranta dichotoma* rush) **1193**; reflect 660; refrain, forbear B **79**; regret 1323; release 2000, 2064; rely on **1367a**; remain *see* stay; remember 1341, 1907, **1973**, 2033; remove **307**, 315, 766, **2000**, (remove from hole) **438**; repay 1112, A **116**, B **73**; repeat **1156**, 1794; replace, take the place of **545**; report **705**; residue, waste **2048**; resin, resinous **1458**, **1595** (cf. gum); respect 1387, 2050; rest 78, **226**, 1994; restless **1204**; retch **11**; return 765, 1090, 1156, 1669, 1794, **1821**, 2079; rhinoceros **1072**, **1923**, (rhinoceros horn) A **2**; rib **410**, 1914, (rib-cage) **1937**; rice **38**, **120**, **187**, (cooked rice) **610**, **617**, 1295, 1345, **1480**, 1634, (glutinous rice) 948, (husked rice) **257**, **1820**, (parched rice) 2008, 2015a, (rice-beer) 1345, (rice-gruel) 1634, (rice seedling) 133; rich 639, 1980; riddle A 154; ride **334**, 374; ridge **517**, **667**, **1578**, (roof-ridge) **1309**; right, correct 76, **293a**, **1713**, A 36, (right-hand) **135**, **1353**, (right way up) **1590**; rind 347, 466, 1568; ring **498**, **1145**, **1182**, 1208, 1794; rinse **165**, 719, (rinse mouth) 1645, **1837**; ripe **1362**, **1878**, (half-ripe) **695**; rise (sun) 378, 852; river **210**, **668**, (river-mouth) 2081; road, path **162**, **590**, **698**, **736**, **1123**, 1174; roar **177**; roast 487, **544**, 1571, 1812, 2041; rob **211**, 856 (cf. steal); rock (n.) B **42**, (v.) **1437**, 1444, 1473; roll **1201a**, 1208, 1772, A **126**, (roll thin) 815, (roll up) **1033**, 1086a, 1208, 1529, **1653**, 1669, 1772; roller **1751**; roof 496, (roof-ridge) **1309**, (roof timbers) 683; room, compartment **1359**; root **1927**, (root up) **315**, A **180**; rope *see* cord; rot 171, **1875** (*see also* decay; rotten); rotate **730**, 1013, **1056**; rotten **138**, **148**, **368**, **955**, **1304**, **1441**, 1563 (*see also* rot); rough **1071**; round (in shape) **1201a**, 1653, **1772**, 1794 (*see also* around); row (n.) **659**, **665**, **1605**, 2057, (v.) **507**; rub **255**, **858**, 994, **1024**, **1036**, **1102**, **2004**, (rub between palms) 815, (rub on) 1042; rubbish 1399; rumble, reverberate **1358**, **1392**, 1622; run 81, **988**, 1057, **1080**, **1602**, **1612**, (run away) **81**, 1057; rust **2055**.

S

Sacred being 388, 2060; sacrifice post **511**; sad 979; saffron *see* Curcuma; saliva A **168**; salt **1770**, **2037**, B **27**, (salted, salty) A 75; same 149; sand 358, **874**, **1737**; sap **1601**; sapling **756**; sated **259**, **473**, **951**, **1424**, **1701**, B **26**; savage **657**; save, deliver **1108**, 1705; saw **944**, 958; say 161, 1457, 1900, **1964**, B 101; scab 1848; scabies **273a**; scale (v.) 1938, 2030, (scales of fish) **1244a**, B **38**; scar **219**; scare away 1544; scatter, scattered **837**, 872, **1059**, **1066**, **1460**, **1501**, **1504**, **1991**, 2039, 2051; *Schima wallichii* **175**; scissors 1500; scold 902, A 83a, A **205**; scoop, dip **315**, 380, 456, **634**, 867, **2080a**,

(scoop-net) 536; scour 469; scrape **802**, 958b, 1541, **1564**, **1880**, **1881**, **1935**, **1938**; scratch 371, 472, **802**, 802a, **867**, **958b**, **964**, **1442**, **1541**, **1880**, **1881**, **1928**, A **138**; scrub, heathland **1676**, A **173**; sea **210**, **67**; search **970**, 1928, A **131**; seat 1620; *see* **45**, **158**, **1696**, 2043, B **72**; seed **133**, **1276**, **1492**, **1574**, 1733, 1778, B **29**; seek out **807**, **1581**; seep *see* trickle; seize 827, **1243**, 1261, **1275**, (seize in talons) A **70**; select *see* choose; self **20**, 87, **483**; sell **813**, 1822; send 1712, (send out) A **200**; separate **291**, 1501, 1538, 1968, **2030**, 2051, 2064, (separate by force) **1884**; sessamum **34**; set *see* enter; settle dispute B **58**; seven **1758**; sever, severed **812**, **999**, **1028**, 1500; sew **894**, **1897**; shade **1225**; shadow **111**, 935a, 1225, 1268, **1447a**, **1647**, **1779**, B **99**; shady 1273; shake **29**, **161a**, **394**, **454**, **559**, **811**, 1898, **1995**, **2007**, A **122**, B **74**, (shake down) 2051, (shake off) 1081, 1623, 1995, (shake up and down) 1267; shallow **1747**, A **165**; shaman 1823; share out 352, 451; sharp **1100**, **1413**, 2069; sharpen, whet **925**, 1026, **1100**, **1929**, A **158**; shatter, dehisce (cereals) 2051; shave (down) **799**, **802**, 867, 1500, **1564**, 1880, **1881**; she 2, 26, 1115; sheath, sheathe 1098, 1289, **1400**; shed n. 670, 1237; shelduck 1266; shell 199, 1568; shellfish **199**; shelter (n. *see* hut; v.) **405**, **1592**, A **107b**; shield **1805**; shine **489**, **535**, **660**, **750**, 936, 1575, **1873**; (roof) shingle 440, (shingles, herpes) A **190**; ship **633**; shoot (n.) **629a**, 636, 711, 726, **756**, (v.) **905**, (shoot with blowpipe) 1023, 1958, 2028, 2069, (shoot with pellet-bow) 2024; short 202, 1016, 1160, **1747**; shoulder **100**, **218**, **445**, (shoulder-blade) 100, A **12**; shout 392; show 158, 214, 1696, 2043; shred 1026; shrimp **1419a**, **1919**; shrivel 1095; shut, close **522**, **1039**, 1237, 1261, **1289**, (shut eyes) **1228**, (shut mouth) **1228**, 1378; sibling (elder sibling) **5**, **117**, 1494, **1531a**, (younger sibling) **122**, **1306**, **1957**, (sibling's spouse) 48; sick, ill **44**, **55** (cf. sickness); sickle 866, B **77**; sickness **55**, 1566, A **103a** (cf. sick); side 352, 410, **446**, **504**, **1914**, **1974**, A **57**, (side of figure) **742**, ((on the) far side, further side) 1466, 1475, (one of two sides) **2015**; sieve **401**, **662**; sigh 1588, 1958, 2087; silent *see* quiet; silk B **8**; silver **1774**; simmer **1478**; sinew **249a**, **561**, **1210**, B **32**; sink **423**, 721, 834, **854**, 1287, 1330, 1384, **1403**; siphon **1607**; sister 48, (sister-in-law) 1494 (cf. sibling); sit **283**, **1427**, **1448**, **1818**, (sit on eggs) **1165**, **1356**, (sit still) **379**; six **1734a**, **1851**; size 1650; skate, ray **1760**; skewer **1005**, 1678 (cf. spit); skilful **1452**; skin 464, 466, **1370**, 1568, **1687**, **1825**, 1904a, 2063, 2067; skirt *see* waistcloth; skull 426, 1699, 1981; sky **180**, **776a**, **930**, A **29**; slander A **83a**; slant **494**, **532**, 1031; slap 1010a, **1251**, 2010, **2022**; slave **329**, B **23**; sleep **305**, **424**, **797**, 1444; slice 402, **839**, 981, 1591, 2063; slide in **1665**; slip 1076, **1081**, **1666**, (slip in, sneak in) 1412; slippery **1076**, 1081, **1646a**, **1668**; slit-drum **341**, 903; slope, sloping 532, 759, **1069**, 1970; slough 1024a, 2067; slovenly **189**; slow **1334**; small **59**, **817**, 939, **1016**, **1096**; smallpox 923; smear (on) 1024, **1076**, B **18**; smell **887**, 1104, **1563**, 1960, (bad smell; cf. stink) 148, (smelling of burning) 1302, (smell, smelling, of fish) **1227**, 1698; smile A **113**; smoke **1302**, 1546, **1828**, A **11**, (emit smoke) **1450**, **1546**; smooth 1076, 1081, **1668**, **1803a**; snail **71**, **199**, (water snail) **1867**; snake 54, **937**, 1205, 1846, **1921a**; snap (at) **373**, 1231, A **124**, (snap fingers) 1014; snare *see* trap; sneeze **1894**, 1900; sniff **1104**, **1296**; snore **1631**; soak **563**, **1321**, **1355a**, 1384, 1419; soap acacia **1609**, 1640; soar 1625; sob **273**, **480**; soft 47, **909**, **1044**, **1124**, **1335**, **1692**, (pliant) 711, (soft-hearted) 1515; soldier 906; sole *see* palm; solid 209, **819a**, 1003, **1248**; solitary *see* lonely; some 1650, 2065; someone 92a, 110; son (son-in-law) 43, **248a**, 1180, **1519** (*see* child); soon **893a**; sore 186a, A **72**; sorghum 122a; soul **111**, **935a**, **1447a**, **1543**, **1779**; sound (make a sound) **1900**, (make a loud sound) **1840** (cf. noise); soup 1480, 1634; sour **50**, 989, **1074**, **1895**, B **57**; sow

837, 1059, 1252, **1457a**, 1504, **1778**; spade 215; span **89**, **1301**, **B 84**, **B 108**; spark **2008**, **2015a**; sparrow **838**, 1243a; sparse 1538; speak **1425**, **1457**, **1704**, 1900, 1907, **1964**, **B 101**; spear, lance 227, **308**, **1157**, **1906**; speech **1949**; spend **1459**; spider **630**, **A 161**; spill 267, **435**, 480a, 669, 2032; spin **730**, (spinning-wheel) 1114, 1625; spindle 213, 1114; spine **667**, 1578; spirit **1367**, **1543**, 2060, (afflicted by spirits) **1364**, (evil spirit, malevolent sprit) 168, 388; spit (v.) **828**, **2006**, **2090**, (transfix; also n., cf. skewer) **822**, (hawk and spit) **476**; splash 837, 872; spleen 229, **232**; split, divide, cleave **291**, 331, **352**, **364**, **402**, **404**, **451**, **465**, **472**, **1982**, **2035**, **2063**, **A 192**, **A 198**, (split open) **821**; Spondias mangifera **1189**; spoon 159, 344, **456**; spotted **922**; spouse, husband 24, **652**, 893, **1519**, 1679, **1836**, 1859, **A 139**, (sibling's spouse) 48; spout **1488**; spread **191**, 421, 680, **926**, **1078**, **1285**, 1402, 1501, 1538, **1629a**, 1660, (spread legs) **687**, (spread mat) **1761**, (spread out to dry) 1991, **A 177**; sprinkle **837**, 872, **1059**, 1504, **2039**, 2051; sprout, grow **986a**, **1083**, 2067; spur of cock **641**, 1929; squat 938, 1149, 1357; squeeze 830, **1020**, **1021**, 1061, **1239**, 1242, 1746; squint 494, **759**, **1862**; squirrel **412**, **B 102**, (flying squirrel) 159km, (kind of squirrel) **1934**; squirt, syringe 837, 872, 2051; stab *see* pierce; stable, byre **697**, **725**; staff *see* stick; stagger **1013** stain, stained 1337; stair *see* ladder; stake 322, (marker stake) 1050a, (sharpened point, panji) **685**; stale 955, 1304; stalk, stem **506**, **516**, **543**, 562, (stalk v.) 1412; stammer **13**; stamp foot 1153a, **1398**; stand (up) **332**, **538**, **1502**, **1824**; star **888**; starling **757**; startled **1057**, 1206; stay, remain 78, **283**, **643**, 1131, **1818**, **1994**, 2046, **A 128**; steal **211**, **560**, **856** (cf. rob); steam v. **779**; steep adj. 681; step **349**, 1153a, **1315**, **A 83**, (step of stair) **342**, (step back, retreat) **842**; stew 513; stick, staff **328**, **A 42**, (stick v.; *see also* catch) **908**, **1040**, (stick in) **407**, **982**, 1005, 1250, (stick up) **514**; sticky **948**, **1040**, 1076, **1646a**, **1659**; stiff **508**, 530, 567, **574**, 917; still, yet **A 128**; sting **873**, (smart) 186a, 957, 1684; stink, stinking 15, 138, 1304, **1441**, 1563, **1960**; stink-badger **A 151**; stir 1090, 1529, **1569**, 1669, 1794; stockade **1258**; stomach **776**, **865**, 1752a (cf. belly); stone **146**, **429**, **B 42**; stop **78**, **958a**, **B 31**, (stop up) **296**, **1098**, 1739, 1745, **A 149** (*see also* cease); storm **1567**, **1839**; straddle 577a, 687; straight 530, 567, 696, **1583**, **A 36**, (run straight) **696**; strain (at) **914**; strangle 1061, 1197; straw **186**, 516, **A 9a**, **B 56**; stream 733, (stream-bed) **1556**; stretch, stretched **530**, **544a**, **567**, **574**, **813a**, (stretched out) 577a, (stretch out foot, hand) 432, 1402, **A 28a**; strike *see* hit; string (of beads &c.; *see also* cord) **1605**, (crossbow string) **781**, **A 123a**, (v.) **679a**; strip (leaves &c.) 800, **1946**, 2030, 2051, **A 187**, (strip off) **1024a**; striped 717, 922; stroke 1021, **1024**, 1036, 1262; strong 1111 (*see also* harsh); struggle 914, **1025**, **B 126**; stub toe 603, 2013a; stubble **A 9a**; stumble 2013a, **A 73**; stump **1719**, **A 167**; stupid, dull 900, **1723a**; sty **697**, **725**; suck (up) **63**, 114, **780**, **829**, **1106**, **1283**, **1294**, 1375, 1378, (stuck in mouth) **1041**, 1375; suffocated 441; sugar **1573**, (sugar-cane) **125**, **137**, **1826**, (sugar-palm) **1019**; suitable *see* fitting; sun **31**, 180, **1630**; sunshine 588; support *see* prop; suppurate 1600, 1606, 2008, 2015a; surround **621**, 765, 1090, **1272**, 1389, 1669, 1794, **A 53a**; swallow (n.) **760**, (v.) **86**, **1088**, **1201**, **A 124**; swamp, swampy 821a, **1300**, **1393** (cf. marsh); swarm *see* throng; sway, swaying **239**, **728**, **1722**, **B 59**; sweat **1230**, **1966**, **A 166**; sweep **1916**; sweet **978**, **1322**, **A 75**, (sweet potato) 1374, 1532; swell, swollen **101**, **108**, **348**, **635**, **1523a**, **1871**, **1976**, 2067, **B 119**; swelling **1738**; swerve **753**; swim **1456**, **1516**, **A 6**; swing 728, **1191**, **1437**, **1473**, **1780a**, **B 59**, (swing arms) 1529; swollen *see* swell; sword 465, **540**, **864**; syringe *see* squirt; syrup 1573.

T

Table 1170; taboo 1669; tadpole **427, 1203, 1793**; tail **73, 542, 585, 1017**; take **188, 384, 573, 1134, 1243, 1261, B 98**, (take by force) **B 28**, (take down) **1898a**, (take in fingers) **830, 1243**, (rice) **380**, (take off clothes) **825, 1081, 2000, 2067**, (take out) **1898a, A 153, B 98, B 104**; tale 1845; tall **A 203**; tamarind **1771**; tame 857, 1985; tangled **324, 917, 1548**; tap 1013, 1978, (tap repeatedly) **439**; tar **56**; tarnished 1416; taro **1850**; taste 1409; tasteless **217, 1107a, 1292**; taut *see* stretched; tax *see* tribute; tea **B 91**; teach, instruct **72a**; teal 1266; tear, torn 291, **404, 30, 465, 472, 1689, A 71**, (torn apart, torn to pieces) **356, 1952**; tears **1043**; tease 820; tell **B 101**; temper metal **A 45**; temples **321**; ten **993, B 112**; Terminalia chebula **1654**; terrace **619**; test, try **723**; testicles **2078**; that **66a, 91, 92, 1435a, 1466, 1475**, (that yonder) **65, 1466**; thatch **155, 440**; thatching-grass **106, 155, 749**; then 65, 2066; there 65, **66a, 91**; they **26, 92, 252**; thick **1111, 1408, 1768** (*see also* viscous); thigh **223**; thin **568, 1096, 1451, 1507, 1790, A 100**; thing **A 4, A 170, B 10**, (noun quantifier) **A 127**; thirst, thirsty **786, 1682**; this **6, 26, 79, 91, 92, 252, 1435a, 1475**; thorn **205, 275, B 69**; thou **128**, (fern.) **1436**; thread (n.) **246, 1510**, (v.) **679a, 1005, 1665**; threaten 1611, **1804, A 162**; three **98, 1437a**; thresh **1037**, (by trampling) **1162, 1195**; threshing-floor 678; throat **17, 744**; throng, swarm **1491**; throw **206, 156, 770, 776b, 1091, 1547, 1948, B 60**, (throw away) **256, 1022, 1948, 2051, 2072**, (throw horizontally) **1693**, (throw spear) **227, 777, 1693, 1783**, (throw up) **566**, (throw water) **1991**; thunder **679, 1358, 1392, 1567, 1582, 1622, 2009**; thunderbolt 2009; tick **1445**; tickle **281a, 316**; tie, fasten, bind **313, 325, 357, 745, 959, 967, 1030, 1032, 1061, 1232, 1264**, (tie &c. round) **357, 613, 621, 1635**, (tie &c. together) **525, 1240, 1245**, (tie up) **525, 764**; tier **1063**; tiger **197, 389, 1535, A 171**; tight, tighten **1061, 1240**; tilted **759**; time **1171, 1222, 1234**, (noun quantifier) **1090, 1199, 1942, A 21**, (be in time) **1254**; timid **857**; tinder **1336**; tinkling **1847**; tip, end **299, 529, 889, 1017**, (tip out) **1544**; tired **773, 1536, A 159**; to 67, 1217, **A 76**; toad **393**; toe **1128, 1853, 1939**; together 24, 1310, 1338, 1389, 1463; tomorrow 1234, (day after tomorrow) **A 30, B 1**; tongs 1236; tongue **320, 1075**; tool **1917**; too much 1557; toot **1006**; tooth **289, 709, 924**, (eye-tooth) **597**; top, summit **299, 529, 1533, 1718**, (on top, on top of) **194, 1533**; torch 1725, **1831**; torn *see* tear; tortoise **200, 1235, B 118** toss up **566**; total n. 1878; touch **124, 432, 1262, 1264, 2010**; towards **1483**; tower 179; town 501, 581; track *see* road, (tracks) **736, 1506, 1733a, 1745a**; trade **1527**; trample **1195, 1398, A 74**; transverse **496**; trap, snare 281, **330, A 36c**; travel 1513; tray **363, 1170, 1955**; tread **301, 1153a, 1195**; tree **254, 491, 1343, 1570**, (kind of hardwood tree) **591**, (kind of resinous tree) **594, 734**, (kind of spice-yielding tree) **935**, (kind of tree with astringent fruit) **1012**, (kinds of tree with bright red flowers) **615** (kinds of tree *see further* Bombax, Careya Caryota, Ficus, Morinda, Schinia, Sponctias, Terminalia, Zalacca); tree-rat 1934; tremble, shiver **397, 559, 811, 1278, 1623, 1898, A 122**; tribe *see* nation; tribute, tax 1531; trickle, seep 1606, **2058**; trim (down) 1026, 1702, **1882, 1952**; trot 1954; trouble **343** trough **623**; true **1185, 1361a, A 36, A 85**; trumpet v. 810; trunk (of tree) **562, 1343, 1719**, (proboscis) **1488, A 118**; try *see* test; tub **791**; tube **752, 903**; tuber **608, 1374** tuft **1035**; turban 613; turbid *see* muddy; turbulent **B 13**; turmeric *see* Curcuma; turn 213, **234, 423, 765, 910, 931, 1033, 1090, 1164, 1529, 1669, 1794, A 53a**, (turn aside) **766, 862**, (turn away) **766**, (turn over) 1518 (turn upside down *see* overturn); turtle **1235, B 118**, (freshwater turtle) **104**; tusk **225, 450, 597**, (attack with tusk) **603**; twill v. **898, 910**; twine round 1032, **1754**;

twist, twisted **235, 862, 863, 910, 917, 931, 1208, 1467, 1669, 1772, 1794**, (twist together) **1467**; two **1562**.

U

Ugly **62**; ulcer **923**; umbilical cord **A 148**; umbrella **153, 586**; uncle **58a, 236, A 171**, (maternal) **893**, (paternal) **882**, (older than parent) **2044a, B 47**, (younger than parent) **122**; uncoil **2067**; uncover **307**; under, underneath **1362a, 1391, 1735, 2012 (cf. below)**; understand **677, 1341**; uneven (ground) **437**; unfasten **1968**; unfold **191, 276, 421, 720, 2067**; unload **A 153**; unlucky **169 (cf. taboo)**; unravel **2067**; unstable **196**; untidy **413, 1509**; untie, untied **1501, 1538, 1658, 1968, 2067, 2085**; until **1394, 1703, 1740**; untrue *see false*; unwind **2067**; unwrap **2067**; up to, as far as **1394, 1740, A 76**; upper garment **1813, B 12**; upright **538, 691, 1583**, (plant upright) **407**; uproot **307, 354, 1058, 1904a**; urge **1555**; urinate, urine **1365**.

V

Vagina **A 144a**; valley **426, 1606**; vapour **311, 1546, 1807**; varan **963**, (kinds of varan) **156, 1350**; vegetables **1480**; vein *see sinew*; venomous **1461**; veranda **658, B 115**; very **1200, 1211, 1691, 1943, A85, B 70**; victorious **2018**; vigorous **386**; village **501, 767, A 91, B 17**, (section of village) **581**; violent **1071**; virgin **2052**; viscous **326, 1221**; visit **1246, 1669, 1994, A 95**; voice **1949**; vomit **11, 75, 470, 474, 1695**; vulture **1051, A 81**.

W

Wade **1516**; wag **1090, 1669**; waist **18, A 79, B 95**; waistcloth, skirt **618, 1173, 1244, A 65**; wait **531, 664, 883, 1325, 1661, 1818, A 102**, (lie in wait) **1261, A 102**; wake **1502, 1724, 1885, 1986, A 189**; walk **349, 462**, (walk bent over) **1142**; wall, partition **578, 580, A 147**, (rampart) **626, B 61**; wallow **612, 821a, 1280**; wander **663, 715, 1513, 1669**; wane **825, 842, 1268**; want, wish, desire **832, 1140, A 60, A 123**; war **145, 906**; warm **487, 1000, 1307, 1559a, 1671, 1685, A 121**, (warm oneself at) **1603**; warn **1611, A 134**; wart **1009**; wash **165, 469, 719, 837, 872, 879, 1287, 1841, 1938, 2004**, (wash clothes, laundry) **2004, 2021, 2026, 2053**, (wash head) **69**; wasp **485, 873, 886, 1065, 1560, 1562a**; waste *see residue*; watch (over) **664, 771, 1325, 1773, A 80a, A 136**, (watch for) **1773**; water **274, 1298**, (water-bottle) **B 107**, (waterfall) **710**, (water-hole) **733**, (water-lily) **534**, (water snail) **1867**; wave (v.) **454, 765, 1484, 1529, 1950**, (waves n.) **2030a**; wax **919a, 1517**; way **162**; we **1, 150, 1172**, (we two) **4, 1439**; wealth **1886**; weapon **420, 1917**; wear, put on **453, 1120, 1237, 1244, A 206**, (lower garment) **452, 762, 1208, A 65**, (wear on finger, on wrist) **A 22**, (wear on head) **80, 1742**, (wear over shoulder) **A 98**, (wear &c. round neck) **374, A 22, A 98**, (wear shoes) **301**, (p. on turban) **B 80**; weasel **528, A 25**; weave **898**; wedge **1212**; weed v. **300**; weep **1381**; weevil **1049**; weigh **1711, 1951**; weight (small unit of weight) **1489**; well n. **72, 557, 724**; wet, moist, damp **277b, 339, 477, 795, 954, 1280, 1330, 1419, 2049**; what **46, 92a, 136, 1115, 1435a, 1855, B 10**; wheel **213, 498**; where **1217**; which **46, 92a, 136, 1115, 1855**; whine, whining **30, 1068, 1959**; whip **1037**; whisper **1293, 1864**; whistle **877, 1068**; white **25, 116, 369a, 436, 732, 1971**, (white hair, white-haired) **25, 164**; whittle **1882**; who **60, 110, 136, 1115**; wide **327, 1996, 2083, A 10**, (widely spaced) **680**; widow, widower **1851a**; wife **113, 183, 1163, 1628, A 141**; Willoughbeia **444**; wind (n.) **616, 1567, 1782, 1958**, (wind; winding) **235, 765, 862, 1164, 1208, B 80**, (break wind)

1007, 1433; window **608a, 2072a, A 41**; wing 496, **601, 850, 1291**, 1633, **B 51**; wink, blink 1228; winnow 678, 1037, 1090, **1317, 1428, 1638**, (winnowing-basket) **584**, 678, 1638; wipe 858, **879, 946, 994**, 1102, 1916; wise 2033; witch 388, 1543, **B 19**; with 1342; wither, wilt 171, 980, **1095, 1386, 1697**; wobble **1013**; woman 113, 151, **1126, 1628, A 141**; womb 468, 1752a; wood **254, 491**; wood-oil tree **848**; woodpecker **2076**; woodworm 840, **1049**; work **890**; world 64; worm **54, 457, 541, 1194, 1666a, 1926, A 94**, **B 43**; worse (get worse) 1945, **B 121**; wound **A 63, A 72**; wrap (round) **1030**, 1173, **1635**, 1669, (wrap up) 1344, **1407**; wrestle 1025; wring 863, 931, 1021, **1033**, 1090; wrinkled **62, 896, 997**, 1095, **1155**; write **1675, 1890**.

Y

Yam **1532, B 81**, (kind of yam) **1011**; yawn **1229**; year **1368**; yeast **A 137**; yellow **1052**, 1362, 1559b; yesterday **A 1**; yoke **1354**, (carrying-pole) 1157 (**see also** pair); you **96, 99** (**see also** thou); young **47, 711, 726, 1124, 1339**, (young male) **1355, A 199**, (young unmarried girl, man **see** virgin, bachelor; younger of two) **B 90**; (youngest of sibling) **A78**.

Z

Zalacca **1312a**.

Appendix D The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia¹

The contributions which language studies can bring to protohistory are of two kinds, which unfortunately do not make a whole. There is, first, the evidence to be drawn from the emergence of inscriptions: not from their content, which is sufficiently accessible and exploited, but from their date, geographical location, and general character. This (in conjunction with the even earlier Chinese references, which are discussed in other pages in this volume) furnishes an incipit for the historical period itself, beyond which ethnographic and cultural outlines can be traced with relative certainty. The second kind of evidence is that derived by inference from the distribution of languages within the historical period and from studies of their structural affinity. It is of a far more indirect and conjectural sort and can at best, perhaps, be used to furnish hypotheses or suggest lines of archaeological inquiry. That is, however, an insufficient reason for failing to examine it.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions, in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, appear around the middle of the first millennium A.D. They are found about this date in a number of areas all readily accessible from the sea and prominent among those in which the beginnings of Indianized urbanism are to be sought. From Champa we have inscriptions of Bhadravarman in Sanskrit and Cham found at Tra-kieu and dating from the early fifth century. To the same century belong Sanskrit inscriptions from the region of Ligor at the southern end of the Kra isthmus, and around its end others from Fu-nan which continue into the succeeding century. They are, as near as can be determined, contemporary with the first Mon inscriptions of Dvāravatī from Nakhon Pathom and (a recent discovery) near Lopburi. The earliest inscriptions in Khmer, from Sambor Prei Kuk, date from the beginning of the seventh century and reflect the spread of this politico-cultural movement inland. All these epigraphs are engraved in a script which appears to be derived from the Brahmi of southern India and is, at this early date, pretty well homogeneous; local differentiation only comes later. It is the ancestor of all modern non-Roman scripts on the mainland.

¹ [Editorial note: the present paper was originally published as: Shorto, H. L. 1979. Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland South East Asia. In Smith, R.B & W. Watson (eds.) *Early South East Asia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp. 273-278. Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press.]

Burma shares this chronology, but clearly marked as a separate province. Śrī Kṣetra at the head of the Irrawaddy delta yields in the seventh and eighth centuries the laconic funeral inscriptions of the Pyu kings in a wholly distinct script of possibly Kadamba affinities. It continued in use for Pyu alone down to the 'Myazedi' quadrilingual of 1112 and then became extinct. It can be traced back, however, to the oldest written document known from Burma, a set of gold plates inscribed with Pali texts now in the British Museum. These plates from Maunggan near Śrī Kṣetra have been dated c. A.D. 500.

The chorological weight of this evidence is impressive, but care must be taken in drawing more general conclusions. First, writing may be presumed to have preceded the monumental act of setting up stone inscriptions, though not necessarily by long. It would be dangerous to equate the beginning of the epigraphic record with that of Indian settlement, as distinct from political 'Indianization'. We may note that some of the inscribed seals found at Oc-Eo may antedate the earliest Funan inscriptions by as much as three centuries. Palaeographically, most local traditions show a more or less rapid development from script forms taken over from other writing media to forms better adapted to cutting on stone, suggesting the re-creation and not the transplantation of a technique. Linguistically, the phonological system deducible from vernacular inscriptions may show development from that for which the transcription must have been devised, a point deserving of more widespread investigation. Certainly in later history we can demonstrate continuity of the writing tradition over long periods when no stone inscriptions occur and other documents have not survived. Indeed, over the whole historical period epigraphy can in many places be only described as sporadic, an atypical product of the energy and literary ambition of some few particular rulers. The phenomena of the middle of the first millennium argue to me a competitive contagion and a fair degree of commerce between the states concerned.

To these implicit limitations must be added those of subject-matter, which is overwhelmingly religious. Political and social information has generally to be gleaned from the preambles of dedications and slave-rolls, so that a further constraint—that of economic surplus—has to be added to those controlling the output of texts. Eulogistic *praśasti* of the kind associated with Kyanzittha in Burma is exceptional. The subsequent stages of epigraphy provide rather a means of intermittently assessing the reliability of other sources such as chronicles than any accurate chart of political developments or ethnic movements. Where other sources are lacking, their effect ranges from indicative to tantalizing; as in the recent discovery of a Dvāravatī inscription of uncertain date (7th-8th century?) 39 miles north of Vientiane. It contains a Mon place-name in a non-Mon form, suggesting a colonial occupation of some duration, and inviting a re-interpretation of the Dvāravatī sites at Muang Fa Daed and elsewhere on the Korat plateau.

Not till after A.D. 1000 have we inscriptions from Pagan, Thaton or Haribhunjaya. Pagan was founded in 850, but had small importance for the next two centuries. Thaton inscriptions come just after the end of our period, Haribhunjayan ones two hundred years later, but by whatever percentage we discount tradition both states must have flourished well within the first millennium, though only Thaton was near the sea, and the other two were frontier principalities. With these exceptions, epigraphy provides a point of contact with all the early political centres of the mainland and with those ethnic groups which dominated them. These are, however, only a minority of the ethnic groups of the region; and estimates of their numerical importance at the time should not be projected from the

dominant groups of much larger modern states, grown by linguistic and cultural absorption of their neighbours. To fill in the gaps in the account with, at any rate, intelligent conjecture we must turn to the evidence of linguistic classification; reflecting that, as discoveries accrue in other fields, intelligent conjecture is likely to need frequent revision.

Language families

The languages currently spoken in mainland South East Asia are representative of five families: Indonesian, Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Tai and Miao-Yao. Of these, the Tai languages were brought in by groups whose arrival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is part of the historical record, while the Miao-Yao ones are confined even now to the northern fringe. Neither, therefore, immediately concerns us here, except to observe that the Tai wedge driven down the centre of South East Asia has (like the Slav intrusion into the Balkans) had the effect of sundering areas of cognate speech and interrupting a formerly constant communication between them.

The Indonesian languages of the mainland ('Chamic') form a coherent group extending from Phan-rang in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula northwards to Pleiku in the central Highlands, within the area of ancient Champa, plus some Cham-speaking colonies in Cambodia. The Cham remnant alone possesses a literary tradition (and the Muslim religion), the other groups being pagans and largely dry cultivators. Chamic appears as an isolated pocket of the Austronesian family which extends from Madagascar through the East Indies to New Zealand, and includes the aboriginal languages of Formosa. It has received less attention as a mainland curiosity than it would have done had it been located in Indonesia itself.

The Mon-Khmer languages may be regarded as the characteristic speech family of the mainland from the Menam basin eastwards. Their position in Burma was probably at all times marginal, even though once in the eighteenth century the Mons came close to seizing power throughout the country. They have, however, outliers across the northern highlands as far as the Khasi Hills south of the Assam valley, in the Nicobar Islands, and in the aboriginal languages of Malaya ('Aslian'). Any ethnic protohistory must take account of their relationship with the Munda languages of eastern India, which together with them constitute Austroasiatic. A remoter relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian has been proposed and is accepted by the present writer, though it is not universally accepted. Three Mon-Khmer languages have longstanding literary traditions: Mon, Khmer, and Vietnamese.

The Tibeto-Burman languages of South East Asia are at the limit, in that direction, of a family extending from Tibet across Nepal and Assam through the hills of the Indo-Pakistan border region to Burma, where they predominate, and in pockets across northern Thailand to Laos. They are now held to include the Karen languages, spoken characteristically throughout the hills between the Sittang and Menam basins. Within South East Asia only Burmese and the extinct Pyu have literary traditions older than the nineteenth century.

We must assume that languages belonging to none of these families have at times in the past been spoken in the area. They have left no identifiable traces. I. H. N. Evans once asserted that common elements can be found in all the Asian negrito languages, but unfortunately quoted no examples.

The relationships within the Mon-Khmer family are clearly crucial to any reconstruction of ethno-history. Early attempts at classification were based largely on geographical distribution and such structural arguments as could be extracted from generally inadequate material. Within the past decade or so more serious attempts have been made; but we are still some distance from a comprehensive ordering of the whole group. It is clear, first of all, that Khasi and the languages of the Shan Plateau from Palaung to Lawa stand in a close relationship and bear witness to one migratory current, while similarities between Shan Plateau languages and Khmu of northern Laos can be attributed to recent geographical contiguity. There is historical as well as traditional evidence that at the eastern limit of this group the Lawas were known to the Mons of Thaton. Second, descriptions now becoming available suggest that Aslian and Nicobarese stand nearer than other Mon-Khmer languages to Munda in their overall structural pattern; how this should be interpreted is obscure, but a special relationship between the two Mon-Khmer groups is not unlikely. Thirdly, Vietnamese, an undoubted Mon-Khmer language showing the effects of long contact with Chinese both in its vocabulary and in its phonological progress to monosyllabism, appears to have separated fairly early and to be peripheral in the technical linguistic as well as in the modern geographical sense.

A classification of the languages of the southern Annamite chain on lexicostatistic grounds has been made by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and shows a general correlation with geographical distribution. The most interesting question it raises derives from the probability of a close relationship between the languages to the north and south of Chamic, implying that the inland part of that area is an intrusion and not a residuum.

Most intriguing is the position of Mon and of Khmer. Mon shows no obvious immediate relationship with any other language except for those of two tribal groups in the hills on the edge of the plateau north and south of Korat, who appear to be remnants of an original Dvāravatī population. The position of Khmer has been recently examined by Headley, using a variety of phonological and grammatical criteria. His general conclusions differ somewhat from those outlined above, notably in grouping Mon, the Annamite chain languages and Vietnamese together at the centre of the family. But again he puts Khmer in an isolated position, giving no clues to the route by which the Khmers may have reached the lower Mekong.

The present distribution of languages in mainland South East Asia is extremely intricate, and lexical investigation is complicated not merely by the presence in any language of numerous loanwords but by reborrowings and borrowings back into the first donor language, making an encyclopaedic memory and logical rigour equally necessary to the investigator. There is reason to think that this state of affairs goes back to an early date. Austronesian loans are clearly recognizable, once the phonological rules are known, in Vietnamese, and this is not surprising given the finds at Dong-son. More surprising are words known from Austronesian and found, in Mon-Khmer, in one or other northern language; can they be loans? Benedict has proposed an 'Austro-Thai' grouping of Austronesian and Thai (relegating Austroasiatic to a 'substratum' in some Indonesian populations), which would be disposed of if, after eliminating Austric words which entered Tai from Mon-Khmer, the possibility of early borrowing was accepted. 'Tiger' and 'river' (*kiang*) are well-known Austroasiatic loans in Chinese, and there are many in

Tibeto-Burman. A hypothesis which traced back migration routes to contiguous Urheimats would be attractive on more than one ground.

Certain terms, indeed, have an areal distribution which cuts across language-family boundaries, reviving speculations as to extinct languages. Thus for 'horse' Tai has carried the Chinese *ma* down to the Gulf of Siam, cutting in two a northern zone where Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer alike have *mrang* and a southern one where Karen, Mon-Khmer and Cham have *aseh*.

Various theories have been propounded as to the original home of the Austronesians. Dyen, one of the most authoritative Austronesian comparatists, has proposed either New Guinea or Formosa. The former is incompatible with the Austric hypothesis and must be rejected here, leaving Formosa. But Dahl, in a recent study, has shown that Formosan must have separated early from the remainder of the Austronesian languages; making an Urheimat on the opposing mainland equally probable. We can envisage it as an extensive, if thinly populated one, with the future Austroasiatics ranging north to the Yangtse *kian*g. It is possible to suppose successive migrations, first of Austronesians and then of Austroasiatics. But, given what is known of the chronology of Polynesian migration, it is equally plausible to suppose simultaneous migration of both groups and attribute the greater dispersal of the Austronesians to their taking early to the sea. The Northern Mon-Khmers and Khasis are likely to have followed what became a Chinese trade route to India, as the Mundas may well have done before them. But there seems no overriding reason to trace routes for the Mons and Khmers, and other groups who occupied the river-plains, down the rivers from the hinterland rather than up them from the coast. Why should they then, with a technology adapted to highland regions, have descended into plains where it was useless?

It is tempting to regard the Chams as a residual island of the Dongsonian transients, but the evidence is inconclusive. There are remarkable structural parallels between the mainland Indonesian languages and Achinese on the north-western tip of Sumatra, beyond what could be accounted for by parallel exposure to Mon-Khmer contacts (of which in Achinese there is sufficient evidence). This, again, is difficult to interpret.

Applications of comparative linguistics of the kind employed in this paper have been out of favour for at least thirty years, partly in reaction against earlier excesses. Even more firmly discarded has been what used to be called 'linguistic palaeontology', the analysis of reconstructed vocabulary to draw conclusions as to habitat and technology. This is a field in which, with due precautions, something of extralinguistic value might be achieved; and French scholars have been making a beginning, notably in the field of agricultural origins. It is to be hoped that these lines will be pursued, and in awareness of the work of Vavilov and his successors; so that we may recognize that Mon-Khmer and Austronesian have their word for 'cotton' from India, even if India has 'rice' and 'plough' from South East Asia.

Appendix E In Defense of Austric¹

In “Austro-Thai”, Paul Benedict has laid before us a scrupulously elaborated as well as an audacious thesis. It requires a pantagruelist assurance to declare that where three language stocks reflect, for instance, respectively ***mata**, ***mat**, and ***pra** ‘eye’², it is the first and third that are genetically related while the similarity between the first and second has other causes. Such boldness must have expected to provoke counterargument. But if (as I argue) Benedict has consistently undervalued the strength of the Austric hypothesis, it should be said at once that the fault lies with the Austroasiaticists. Comparative research into Austroasiatic has proceeded slowly after the pioneering reconnaissances of Schmidt (which it is not wholly fair to judge as if they had been campaigns of conquest). A reconstruction of Proto-Mon-Khmer phonology can now be offered, but it is still largely unpublished. Pinnow’s corpus of Munda comparisons is at least available for reference, though the reconstructions are often tentative. But a systematic construction of Austroasiatic is a task for the future. Given the inaccessibility of the Austroasiatic data by comparison with those of Austronesian, Benedict is hardly to be reproached because there is more to be adduced in favor of an Austric cognation than he has taken account of.

In 1942 Benedict still accepted the Austric hypothesis, but claimed that the primary cleavage lay between Mon-Khmer, with Vietnamese, and “Thai-Kadai-Indonesian” (Benedict 1975:461). This is not an easily tenable position. By 1966 he had abandoned it, and instead attributed the coincidences between “Austro-Thai”—*a fortiori* Austronesian—and Austroasiatic to an Austroasiatic substratum in the ancestral Austro-Thai-speaking population (Benedict 1975:32-3). Now he has turned this view inside out to posit an Austro-Thai substratum underlying Austroasiatic (Benedict 1975:484). Both the 1966 and the 1975 hypotheses differ from the classic instances of substrata in that there is no probative opposition of languages with the substratum to sister languages without it; it already underlays the ancestral language. I remain unconvinced that an inwandering group sufficiently powerful to impose its language on a section of the Austro-Thai population would have left no linguistic trace elsewhere; but the point need not be labored. On Benedict’s view as much as on a genetic one, the Austro-Thai/Austroasiatic

¹ [Editorial note: the present paper is an edited version of a draft manuscript which was subsequently augmented with appendices and published as Shorto, Harry L. 1976b. In Defense of Austric. *Computational analyses of Asian and African languages* 6:95-104. For publication here the manuscript we worked from was only changed in so far as most abbreviations were spelled out fully and some language names were made consistent with present usage.]

² Proto-Austronesian reconstructions in this paper follow the system of Dahl (1973), but for convenience in typing I use the symbols **c**, **e**, **j**, **R**, **s**, **z** for **k'**, **ə**, **g'**, **ɣ**, **t'**, **d'** introduced by Dyen.

coincidences must reflect a considerable time-depth even if Proto-Austroasiatic is held to postdate the splitting of Austro-Thai into its main branches. In fact, as will be seen, the posited substratum would have to be specifically Austronesian (“Lexically it stands closest to Austronesian”: Benedict 1975:485); but contact-words between Proto-Austroasiatic and Proto-Tai would have simultaneously to be admitted.

Logically there are three possibilities which we have to consider: (1) Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically unrelated, as Benedict asserts. Or they are related; then either (2), contra Benedict, Austro-Thai is an invalid construction; or (3) it is a valid construction. In the third case what is at question is the ordering of relationships; and then almost certainly we are left with Austroasiatic/Austronesian, Schmidt’s Austric, as the last branching—in other words with the diagram at Benedict 1975:485, minus its substratum.

If from the patchwork mingling of language stocks in mainland Southeast Asia the linguistic facts of the area are inordinately complex, the possibilities of explaining them are not much less so. Some of Benedict’s “Austro-Thai” lexemes more probably parallel borrowings from Mon-Khmer of relatively late date. To identify them is not to weaken his thesis but to refine it by eliminating doubtful material.

‘Ant’, p. 219, may serve to illustrate the criteria employed. Both the Indonesian and the Tai forms are in my view to be derived from continuants of a Proto-Mon-Khmer **s/m/uuc* etc. (Tai: and/or **s/rm/uuc* etc.) which incorporates the root **suuc* ~ **suc* ~ **suəc* also **sac*, **siic* ‘to sting’; cf. e.g. Sre **souc** ‘to prick, sting’, Riang-Lang **ṭhuc** ‘to sting’, Sora **suj-** ‘to pierce’; Bahnar **hmoc**, Umpai Lawa **mɔic** ‘ant’, Temiar (Aslian) **somuj** ‘wasp’, Sora in compounds **muj-**, **mui-** ‘ant’, Mon **hamot**, Khmer **sramaoc** ‘ant’. The direction of borrowing is indicated by the morphological analysability of the Austroasiatic forms and, unless alternative (3) above holds, by the palatal final, which cannot be explained from Austro-Thai as constructed under alternative (1).

Again, unless alternative (3) holds, some contact-words which belong to Proto-Tai have to be admitted as loans from Austroasiatic. They include besides **ya*, Proto-Mon-Khmer **yas* ‘grandmother’ (Benedict 1975:339, 482; also Proto-Austroasiatic **yaq yaq* (or similar) > Proto-Mon-Khmer **yaay* > Khmer **yàəy**, etc., whence Thai **yaay**) the paired term **ta*, Proto-Mon-Khmer **taq* (Benedict 1975:287; Men **taʔ** ‘father’, Riang Lang **ṭaʔ** ‘master, husband, grandfather’, Temiar **tāʔ** ‘sir’, **tatāʔ** ‘old man’, etc.). Note also Proto-SW-Tai **kluai.2* ‘banana’ (Egerod 1961:85), Proto-Mon-Khmer **tluay* borrowing from Tai cannot account for Khmuic **tl-** (Khmu’ **tlɔəy**, etc.) and is hardly to be suspected in Aslian (Semang **telui**, etc.: PRMP, B 42) or Nicobarese (**talui**).

These topics, however, are marginal to the assessment of the Austric and Austro-Thai hypotheses, so far as the two are competitive. Usually when the corpora overlap the Austroasiatic and Tai forms are sufficiently unlike for the question of borrowing between them not to arise. I therefore now turn to the evidence on which a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian might be alleged.

The putative relationship is plainly a remote one. I rely in this paper on an assembly of circa 200 roots or bases about as many as Schmidt, though not the same set drawn for the most part from a comparison of circa 2,000 Proto-Mon-Khmer roots with around the same number of Austronesian ones. The corpus is likely to be enlarged by further research; indeed, I have already cited two items (Proto-Mon-Khmer **yaq* ~ **yaay*, **taq*) revealed as Austric candidates by Austro-Thai. It is biased, however, in two

respects. First, by the method of investigation; the comparison was with Proto-Mon-Khmer roots and such Munda cognates as are cited (from Pinnow 1959 and from an examination of Sora) had been established in reference to the Proto-Mon-Khmer forms. Without undertaking an equally extensive comparison with Munda *per se*, we cannot infer from the relatively low frequency of Munda items here that Austronesian is more closely related to Mon-Khmer than to Munda. Secondly, correspondences which might conceivably be due to borrowing during, say, the last two millennia have been excluded. Loans from mainland Austronesian dialects are found in many Eastern Mon-Khmer languages and Indonesian loans are also present in Mon; while Mon-Khmer loans are found in languages of Sumatra, Java, and even some of Borneo (Shorto 1975:82 and n. 3). Only lexemes attested in geographically remoter languages on both sides can be used as evidence except where distinctive phonological treatment makes borrowing improbable³. This means that if Austroasiatic and Austronesian are genetically related the true cognate corpus will be significantly larger than the evidential one. The exclusions are probably not sufficient to account by themselves for the high proportion of items with cognates in Oceanic.

It would not be practicable to review the whole of this material in a relatively short paper. In order to support my opinions with some refutable argument, I propose to examine in detail three sets of correspondences where a hypothesis of borrowing, or the inverse one of marginal retention from an Austro-Thai substratum, seems to me least credible. These comprise (1) those involving Austronesian bases of structure *2(CVC); (2) the type of ***mata** : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***mat**, where unusually the second syllabic of the Austronesian base is lost in Mon-Khmer (and Austroasiatic); (3) pases with Mon-Khmer correspondents only in “northern” languages; here a substratum hypothesis is not necessarily, but recent borrowing is, excluded.

Reduplicates. Schematic relationships between the canonic shapes of Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Austroasiatic are readily established. In principle, almost all roots are reduced to a monosyllabic form in Proto-Mon-Khmer; for Proto-Austronesian, disyllabic bases are commonest, with trisyllables not infrequent; Proto-Mon-Khmer shows both monosyllabic and disyllabic types. The variation correlates with general areal tendencies. Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Munda *CVCV(C) most often correspond to Proto-Mon-Khmer *CCVC. Where Proto-Mon-Khmer has *CVC, Proto-Austronesian has fully or, less often, partially reduplicated forms, *2(CV(C)) and *2(CV)C; Proto-Munda shows both *CV(C) and *2(CV(C)). One would assume, on an Austric hypothesis, that forms *CVC and *2(CVC) existed side by side in PA and were retained in Proto-Austroasiatic; that Proto-Austronesian generalized the second type; and that Proto-Mon-Khmer preferred the first, while retaining some traces of the second. (In fact, *CVC is occasionally attested in languages of Formosa; e.g. Bunun reflects ***gud** ‘to drink’ ad Proto-Austronesian ***()ud ()ud**.)

The straightforward type of correspondence may be exemplified by Proto-Austronesian ***bejbej** ‘to wrap round’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***bək** : Mon **pək** ‘to put [waistcloth] round’, etc. Less frequent is the type seen in ***bitbit** ‘to take in fingers’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer ***c[ɓ]ic** : Khm. **cbr̥c**, etc. I take ***c[ɓ]ic** here to continue earlier (Proto-Austroasiatic?) ***[ɓ]ic-[ɓ]ic**; the divergent treatment of such reduplications (contrast ***yaay** < ***yaq-yaq**, above) appears, on the limited evidence now available, to depend on

³ Some of the items cited in Pou and Jenner (1975) are suspect by this criterion.

the classes of phonemes involved. The most interesting of the examples is Proto-Austronesian **ləbləb* ‘to inundate, to dive’, where Mon-Khmer cognates reflect variously **ləp* and, from the reduplicate, **bləp*. This furnishes presumptive evidence for final **b* in Austroasiatic (not contra Benedict 1975:472) lost in Mon-Khmer.

The correspondents of Austronesian partial reduplications are illustrated by Proto-Mon-Khmer **tuuŋ* : Proto-Austronesian **tutuŋ*. The partial type is overrepresented in Dempwolff, who only reconstructed **2(CVC)* where he was obliged to by Tagalog and/or Batak cognates. Some of his formulae should accordingly be rewritten (e.g. **gi(t)git* for **gigit*).

In Achinese and Chamic, which show strong mainland affinities in phonology, Proto-Austronesian **2(CVC)* is with minor exceptions reflected as *CV(C)*; for the probable course of this development see Shorto (1975:98). The same areal pressures bear on most of Mon-Khmer, though not Munda. But the dual types of reflex in these two branches rule out the assumption of a parallel development there of forms borrowed from Austronesian or retained from a substratum. Nor is it likely that Mon-Khmer *CVC* roots were borrowed into Indonesian as *2(CVC)* (the contrary can be shown; cf. **bunbun*). The simplest explanation of the facts is the one indicated above, that coexisting types *CVC* and *2(CVC)* were differentially favored in branches of a common stock under different areal pressures.

Type **mata*. Where reduplication is not in question, Proto-Austronesian **CVCV(C)* usually corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer **CCVC*. The correspondence Proto-Austronesian **mata* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **mat*, to which Benedict devotes some attention, is thus unusual; we would expect Proto-Mon-Khmer ***mtaq* (so e.g. **baRa* ‘shoulder’ : Proto-Mon-Khmer **blaq*). I have collected eleven probable sets where the second syllabic of the Austronesian base corresponds to Proto-Mon-Khmer *Ø*, all with Proto-Austronesian final vowel or laryngeal (i.e. Austronesian **q*, **S*). There is also one with Proto-Austronesian **-s*, which, however, the Vietnamese cognates suggest may be a suffix (: Proto-Mon-Khmer *-s* causative). Of particular interest is **pan₁aq* ‘to shoot’. Here the tone of Vietnamese *bắn* allows us to reconstruct Proto-Mon-Khmer **paŋ₂* (Benedict 1975:471, rightly rejects Schmidt’s comparison with Proto-Mon-Khmer **pooh* ‘to use a bow’), with apparent secondary palatalization of the nasal as in **(p/b)(ə)ŋ()* : Proto-Austronesian **pəluq* ‘full’.

This material is of recent assembly, and systematic search should reveal more. It is difficult as yet to suggest an explanation of the correspondences unless in terms of variable (distinctive) stress placing. Variable stress is invoked in Austro-Thai (153 and 200-1, n. 4). There Benedict discusses **mata* (201), but the evidence implies dialect variants **matá* (Philippines, Tsouic) and **máta* (Palau); in the case of lungs **pusuq* he speaks of a “pseudofore-stress” form (151, to explain Thai **poót* ~ **pot* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **pu(u)s* ~ **puəs*; *-s* → Thai *-t* would be normal!).

I have also noted two sets which show “vocalic transfer” (Benedict 1975:183), the type-case being **pun₁ay* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **pn₂[uu]y* ‘dove’. Both are attested only in Northern Mon-Khmer, and might be attributed simply to vowel metathesis: their evaluation waits on further research.

The twelve primary examples include five items from the 200-word lexicostatistic list and three more fairly basic terms (‘forehead’, ‘to shoot’, ‘full’); substratum retention is

a more tenable explanation than borrowing. But, again, genetic relationship seems to me most likely.

The northern correspondences. We occasionally find in northern languages (NMK, Khasi, Khmuic) isolated apparent correspondents of Austronesian bases, e.g.: Palaung *juh* ‘distant’; Riang Lang *ṛəy* ‘to swim’ which warrant entry in the Proto-Mon-Khmer corpus only on the assumption that they continue a common PA form. In both the quoted cases there is a distinctively Mon-Khmer synonym of wide distribution (cf. Pal. *səṇjay* ‘distant’, *ləy* ‘to swim’); naturally they startle. I have collected with such cases wider correspondences in which the only known Mon-Khmer cognates are in northern languages, plus in one or two instances Vietnamese or Aslian. The northern correspondences are, of course, striking chiefly because correspondences limited to southern languages have been designedly excluded from this study. A recent 500-word vocabulary of Kammu Yuan, spoken in northern Laos (Lindell 1974), records a word for millet found again in Chamic and Malay; names of cereals travel, but what of Kammu-Yuan *təkán* ‘bamboo-rat’ and Khasi *dkhan* ‘hill-rat, mole’, where Malay *děkan* furnishes the only parallel known to the present writer? Borrowing hardly comes in question here. The substratum hypothesis cannot logically be excluded: but it appears unduly farfetched.

More general phonological considerations arise. I have shown that regularly recurring types of vowel variation are to be reconstructed for Proto-Mon-Khmer (Shorto 1976c; see Benedict 1975:480). There is less scope for one within the four-vowel system postulated for Proto-Austronesian, but there too a similar variation is discernible: notably between close and central vowels, corresponding to Proto-Mon-Khmer: **iə* (~ **i(i)*) ~ **ə*, **uə* ... ~ **ə*; also between front and back vowels, a minor type in Mon-Khmer. Cf. here e.g. Proto-Austronesian **kitkit* ~ **ketket* ‘to bite’, Proto-Mon-Khmer **kiit* ~ **kiət* ~ **kət*. No such variation has yet been reconstructed for Proto-Munda; but difficulties experienced by Pinnow in establishing Proto-Munda vocalism, and the numerous variant correspondences he recorded, suggest a similar underlying phenomenon. All the indications are that the Mon-Khmer and Austronesian facts reflect variation at an “Austric” level.

The comparison of two protolanguages which have been separately reconstructed is likely to modify our understanding of both reconstructions. Proto-Mon-Khmer final palatal stop or nasal cannot ordinarily be accounted for from Austronesian or Austro-Thai—for neither of which are final palatals posited—either on borrowing or on substratum retention⁴. Neither can borrowing from Mon-Khmer account for cognates of Mon-Khmer palatal-final roots in Oceanic or Formosan (e.g. Proto-Austronesian **cabut* ‘to pull up, draw out’ > Fijian *zavut-a* etc.: Proto-Mon-Khmer **cɓoc*; **cɓooc*: Mon *bot*, Khmer *baoc*). I assume that PA had final palatals which underwent merger in Austronesian, just as Mon-Khmer merged the antecedents of Proto-Austronesian **-j*, **-k* (**bejbej* : Proto-Mon-Khmer **bək*). Proto-Mon-Khmer, as probably Proto-Munda, knew a vowel-length distinction such as may be residually represented in some Austronesian languages (Shorto 1975, 84 ff.). But the Proto-Mon-Khmer vowel system, of seven terms in addition to diphthongs, has yet to be reconciled with the four-term system of Proto-Austronesian. (Austro-Thai encounters a similar difficulty; propounding a system of six terms, with merger of mid and close vowels in Austronesian.)

⁴ Some cases of apparent **-c* are attributed to **-t* + suffix + **-s*.

In denying any genetic relationship between Austronesian and Austroasiatic Benedict lays stress on the want of agreement in basic or core vocabulary. The nuclearity of items is not the only factor affecting retention (and does it not apply to substratum retention, when that is invoked on as wide a scale as here?); but in any case we should test the accuracy of his assertion. The absence of agreement in the numerals is damaging, but not necessarily fatal (Khmuic dialects have replaced all the Mon-Khmer numerals above 'two' or 'three'). 'One', Proto-Austronesian **isa*, **esa*, is perhaps marginally represented by Riang Lang *s-*, Khasi *shi*; 'twin/two', admitted in Benedict (1975) is in my view doubtful. —Pronouns also show little agreement, e.g.: cognates of Proto-Austronesian **is(S)*, 3 sing., originally rather 'person'.—Of kinship terms unmentioned by Benedict Proto-Mon-Khmer **taq* 'grandfather' has already been cited; note Proto-Austronesian **wawa* 'uncle', we might add Proto-Austronesian **eNbaq* 'grandfather' (Blust 1971, no. 167; also Acehnese *ömbah* 'father') : Proto-Mon-Khmer **mbaq*: Old Mon *'ba'*, Khmer *ba:*, Khasi *pa*, Central Sakai *apa* 'father', etc.; Kharia *'aba* id, etc.—We may add several body parts: 'forehead', 'tongue', 'heart', 'shoulder', 'palm', 'ribs', note further Proto-Austronesian **gaq(ae)m* 'molar': Acehnese *ghööm*, Cham *khùm*, Malay *g/ěr/ham*, Javanese *g/r/aham*, Iban *ngeli gam/gaam*⁵ : Proto-Mon-Khmer **dga(a)m*: Khmer *thkì:əm* 'jaw', Biat *gam* 'molar', Vietnamese *cầm* 'chin', etc.—Under natural phenomena an important addition is Proto-Austronesian **ubaRi* (? : cf. Shorto 1975, 91 n. 25) 'sun, day' (Benedict 1975:266): Proto-Mon-Khmer **briiq* 'sky': Old Mon *prey* 'rain', Khmu' *mat bri?* 'sun', Praok *pray*, Vietnamese *trời* 'sky, weather', Sakai *bri* 'day', etc.—Under animal life note especially 'ox'.—Numerous basic verbs figure in the appendices. I shall cite one more item: to the Proto-Austronesian locative prefix **di* corresponds Proto-Mon-Khmer **điiq*: Old Mon *dey*, with cognates in EMK, NMK, Aslian, and Munda (Sora).

Benedict has 600 Austro-Thai comparisons to offer against my 200 for Austric, though the gap is likely to be narrowed by further research. Our corpora overlap to a noticeable degree, three-fifths of my Austronesian comparata figuring in Benedict (1975). That he seriously understates the extent of agreement in basic vocabulary between Austroasiatic and Austronesian emerges sufficiently, I hope, from the foregoing however summary review.

200 equations would be thought enough to support a genetic relationship if the languages concerned were geographically separated beyond the possibility of borrowing. Dravido-Elamite has been proposed on a good deal less! Much of the difficulty in assessing Southeast Asian linguistic affinities stems from the likelihood that ancestral speakers of the main stocks were already in contact—in South China?—at an early date; hence elements can be found that link any two stocks, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese included. Agreements in vocabulary, the crucial issue according to Benedict (1975:464-5), are only part of the argument. The historical selection of phonological structures implied speaks strongly for Austric, as does the persistence—against areal pressures—of vowel variation. I have not so far discussed morphology in this paper. Here Mon-Khmer and Indonesian, at least, show considerable agreement in formal resources but little in the semantic value assigned to them (so Benedict (1975:464), can speak of "congruency in over-all configuration, which might be ascribed to areal factors", but the same holds true even within Indonesian). Austro-Thai as Benedict reconstructs it (1975:146-9) is

⁵ My reconstruction. Cf. Tibeto-Burman **gəm*, Benedict (1972): 25 no. 50 & n. 82; Archaic Chinese *g'əm* 頤.

more suggestive in this regard, for Proto-Mon-Khmer has **k-** ‘part of body’ (especially in NMK and Khasi: e.g.: ***mata**; and Riang Lang **kənuas** ‘heart’. ad ***pusuq**, ib.), ***p-** ~ ***-p-** causative (but < Proto-Austroasiatic *(—)**əb-**: see Shorto 1969:112 f.), and perhaps also ***m-** stative.

In this paper I have spoken repeatedly of “roots” and “bases”, by intent. Roots are the common coin of historico-comparative reconstruction, at least of the wider-ranging kind; what by contrast are borrowed from one language into another are rather words. It is true that words often consist of root plus zero affix in Mon-Khmer languages and, though partly by lexicographers’ convention, in Indonesian ones. But neither Austroasiatic nor even Austronesian comparison would advance far if restricted to such simple forms alone. We have here, therefore, a promising tool for distinguishing between the effects of inheritance and borrowing (and substratum retention); productive roots will be more convincing than unramified lexemes as evidence of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic and Austronesian, while correspondence with complex derived forms (as with ‘ant’, p. 2 above) will raise the suspicion of borrowing in Tai and elsewhere.

Benedict treats the position of Austroasiatic as a marginal issue, whence it comes that my critique is concentrated on a small part of Austro-Thai. But if he is wrong on this point, it must affect our assessment of the whole. Of the alternatives set out on p. 2, I need not as an Austroasianist choose between (2) and (3), and so pass judgement on the status of Austro-Thai; but I cannot on the evidence accept (1), and follow him in discarding Austric altogether.